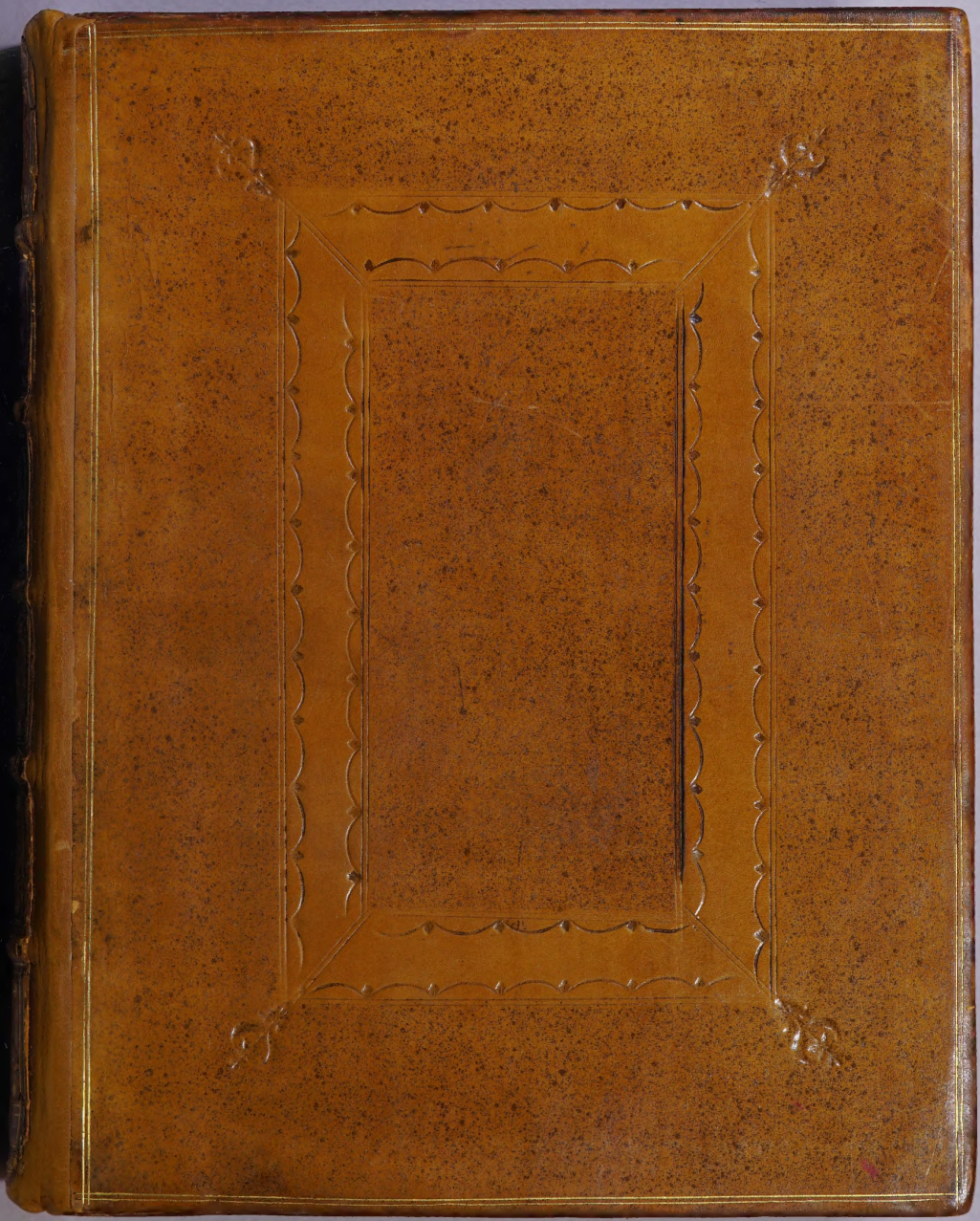

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John Carter Brown.

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OF

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TRAVELS,

Into several Parts of the World, none of them ever before Printed in *English*.

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In Two Volumes, Illustrated with several Maps and Cuts.

LONDON, Printed for *J. Knapton*, *Andrew Bell*, *D. Midwinter*, *Will. Taylor*, *A. Collins*, and *J. Baker*. 1711.

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TO THE

HONOURABLE

Edmund Poley,

OF

BADLEY,

IN THE

County of *SUFFOLK*, Esq;

JOHN CARTER BROWN

SIR,

REiterated Favours claim a Repetition of Acknowledgments; should the latter be as frequent as the former, they might prove rather troublesome to you, than acceptable. I have therefore resolv'd once for all to express how sensible I am of the many Obligations I lye under. You would not perhaps be pleas'd, should I go about to enumerate them, because great Minds never look back upon what Courtesies they have bestow'd, being always intent upon what farther Acts of Generosity they may perform.

Among the many other Testimonies of your Bounty, there is one I am here oblig'd particularly to mention, which is your having admitted of the Dedication of so small a Work as the Translation of *Cieza*'s

Cieza's Travels in *Peru*. Your Acceptance of that Part has encourag'd me to prefix your Name to the Whole, now grown up into two Volumes, that it may honour them both in the Front, as it gives Reputation to the firſt in that Place, where it ſhall remain as a Demonſtration of your Condeſcenſion, as this is of your Right and my Gratitude. I ſhall therefore avoid any Repetition of what is there ſaid, or adding more here to diſplay your Merit. Neither am I capable of giving your Character, nor will you conſent to it, which puts me upon a Neceſſity of cutting ſhort; leſt my own Inclination and your Deſert inſenſibly draw me on to attempt what I am not qualify'd to go through with. True Virtue can be no more conceal'd than the Splendor of the Sun, nor does it ſtand in need of outward Ornaments to ſet it off; you have render'd your ſelf too conſpicuous to be unknown, and can receive no Addition from my poor Endeavours. The Deſign of theſe Lines is, at the ſame Time, to honour my Work with your Patronage, and to expreſs my Acknowledgment and Gratitude for all Favours already receiv'd; wiſhing this may ſtand a perpetual Monument of both, and to you all Increaſe of Happineſs; and I ſhall always own my ſelf

Sir,

Your moſt Obliged, and moſt

Devoted Humble Servant

JOHN STEVENS.

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE MOLUCCO and PHILIPPINE Islands

CONTAINING,

Their History, Ancient and Modern, Natural and Political: Their Description, Product, Religion, Government, Laws, Languages, Customs, Manners, Habits, Shape, and Inclinations of the Natives. With an Account of many other adjacent Islands, and several remarkable Voyages through the *Streights* of *Magellan*, and in other Parts.

Written in Spanish *by* Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola, *Chaplain to the Empress, and Rector of* Villahermosa.

Now Translated into English: *And Illustrated with a Map and several Cuts.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1708.

THE PREFACE.

OUR *Author*, Bartholomew Leonardo de Argenſola, *was a Learned Clergyman, and as ſuch employ'd by the Preſident and Council of the* Indies *to Write this Hiſtory. He calls it*, The Conqueſt of the *Molucco* Iſlands, *without Enlarging any further in his Title, tho' at the ſame time his Work contains their firſt Diſcovery, their Deſcription, the Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion, Habit, and Political and Natural Hiſtory; with all the Wars, and other Remarkable Accidents in thoſe Parts, ſince they were firſt known to* Europeans, *till their Reduction under the Crown of* Spain. *In Speaking of them he Occaſionally runs out to give the ſame Account of the* Philippine *Iſlands, and of ſeveral others in thoſe Eaſtern Seas. This is frequent in* Spaniſh *Books, wherein we generally find much more than the Titles promiſe, contrary to what is Practis'd with us, who ſtrive to fill up a Title Page with abundance of Inviting Heads, the leaſt part whereof is Treated of in the Body of the Work, or at beſt ſo Superficially, that ſcarce any more can be made of them there, than was in the Frontiſpiece.*

For the Compiling of this Work the Author, being Employ'd by the Authority abovemention'd, had the Command of all Authentick Manuſcript Relations, which were either in the Kings Cuſtody, or in Private Hands; beſides the Teſtimony of ſuch Perſons then Living, as had been Eye-Witneſſes to any part of what he delivers. His Deſign was only to Write the Conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands, by King Philip *the Third of* Spain; *but conſidering how few were acquainted with them, and that of Conſequence moſt Readers would be at a loſs to know where, or what theſe* Moluccos *were, he Judiciouſly Reſolv'd to bring down his Hiſtory from its proper Source. To this End he begins with the Antient, and Fabulous Original of their Kings; then comes to the Diſcovery of them by* Europeans, *and proceeds to the Wars between them, and with the Natives, for the Poſſeſſion of thoſe ſo much coveted Dominions.*

His

His Description of them is very Exact; That of the Cloves, their principal Commodity, no less Curious; and that of the other Product and Animals, Inferior to neither. The Wars carrying him over from one Place to another; he gives a short Account of the Islands Papuas, *and that of* Celebes. *The* Spaniards, *to avoid passing through the* Portuguese *Sea, attempted to settle Trade at the* Moluccos, *by the way of the Streights of* Magellan, *which gives occasion to* Argensola *to entertain us with a particular Account of the* Spanish *Fleet sent into the said Streight, under the Admiral* Sarmiento, *which has been hitherto very Imperfectly Deliver'd in* English, *tho' very Remarkable, and full of Surprizing Accidents. In short, not to stretch out this Preface, with the Subject of the Work, we shall find in it a brief Description of the Island* Sumatra; *of the vast Empire of* China; *of all the* Philippine *Islands, and those of* Ceylon, Banda, Java, *and many others of less Note. Nor does he omit to speak of the* Dutch *Voyages; and Undertakings of Sir* Francis Drake, *and other* English *Adventurers; and Embellishes the whole with such variety of pleasing Incidents, that few Books of Travels afford so much Profitable Entertainment, with such good Authority.*

No Author ever had a better Reputation, among all that Understand, and have had the good Fortune to Meet with him; for being so Valuable, he is extraordinary Scarce, rare to be met with in Spain, *and consequently much more in* England. *This may perhaps be the main Reason why he has not yet been Translated, and being so Valuable, he cannot miss of that Reception which he has found in the Original. But it is not intended to prepossess the Reader, who is left to make his own Judgment, and therefore a long Preface is designedly avoided, that he may the sooner enter upon so Useful and Diverting a Work. It is not improper, nevertheless, to Advise the Reader not to take notice of some Reflections in Point of Religion, and in other Cases, considering the Book was Writ by a* Spaniard, *and that it was not proper to Omit, or Alter any thing, where a Fair, and Entire Translation is promised. Besides, That these are very few, and inconsiderable, and consequently not worth observing, as indeed the generality of Judicious Readers will be sufficiently satisfy'd, and this Caution is given for their Sake, whom perhaps Passion, or overmuch Zeal may move to condem a Work on such an Occasion, when they can find no other matter to Carp at.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK I.

I Write the Conquest of the *Molucco* Islands by King *Philip* the III. of *Spain*, and the reducing of their Kings to their former Subjection, to his Predecessors, by Don *Pedro de Acunha*, Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, and Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet; a Victory worthy the Foresight of such a Godly Monarch, the Application of those worthy Statesmen that compose his supreme Council, and the Valour of our Nation; not so much on account of the Wealth, and Fertility of those Countries, as for that it took from the Northern Nations all occasion of Sailing in our Seas, and Debauching the new Converted *Asiaticks*, and the Inhabitants of our Colonies Trading among them. The Celerity with which the Expedition was concluded, does not in the least diminish the Glory of the Event; which, for that very Reason, might rather deserve a place in a more ample Relation. I am sensible of the Dangers I expose my self to; but am no less satisfy'd, that I shall find some to stand by me. The most famous Painters, and Carvers, have generally a great value for Heads, Arms, and other Limbs, which have been drawn to perfection from the Life, by which they compose all the Parts, when they design some excellent Piece. The ignorant in those Arts have no Esteem for such Fragments, being only taken with the entire Statue, or Picture, consisting of all its Limbs, without examining the Defects there may be in each of them. The Relation I undertake to write of these Islands will find the same Esteem, and be expos'd to no less Contempt; for the Judicious, who under-

Author's Introduction.

ſtand how Hiſtory is Compil'd, will value this part drawn to the Life; whereas thoſe, who, as they ſay themſelves, Read only to divert the Time, will make little account of it, as being more fond of ſome Romance, full of Monſterous Events; or of ſome bulkey Work, bearing the Title of a Hiſtory, treating of numerous Armies, and mighty Slaughters, and beſtowing the Succeſs, not where Providence gave, but where they would have it. This is the Reaſon why many Things, worthy to be known and preſerv'd, remain bury'd in Oblivion; becauſe being left for General Hiſtories, there are only ſlight Sketches of them Drawn at the Time when they happned, by thoſe who had a ſhare in them, ſo that when theſe Manuſcripts are to be made uſe of, either they are not to be found, or elſe they reduce the Writer to a neceſſity of ſubſcribing to whatſoever either Self-Love, or any other Paſſion dictated to the Authors of ſuch Memoirs, without any poſſibility of examining into the Truth. To obviate this Inconveniency, in a matter of ſuch moment as that of *Ternate*, the Capital of the *Molucco* Iſlands, I was Commanded to write an Account of it, at a time when they were ſtill living who acted in and directed it: And I have ſuch full Information of all that is requiſite for this purpoſe, that I hope Truth will make amends for my want of Ability. This is as much as I have thought fit to Advertiſe the Reader, without entering upon the Advantage he will reap by peruſing this Relation; becauſe, if he is well affected, all I can ſay for it will be ſuperfluous; and if otherwiſe inclin'd, tho' I endeavour to ſet him right, he will never conceive it.

Kings of the Moluccos.

Among the fourteen moſt potent Princes, who Lord it over the *Archipelago* of the *Molucco* Iſlands, under the Title of Kings, thoſe of *Ternate* and *Tydore* boaſt of a Divine Original; ſuch Liberty to be vain do Men take upon them, or ſo much do they aſcribe to obſcure Antiquity. There is an ancient Tradition among thoſe People, look'd upon as Sacred, That they were once Govern'd by a moſt Ancient Prince, called *Bicocigara*, who ſailing along the Coaſt of *Bachian*, perceiv'd that among ſome craggy Rocks there were grown up abundance of *Rotas*, ſo they call a ſort of ſolid Canes, which, when ſmall, they make uſe of inſtead of Ropes. He lik'd them, and order'd they ſhould be cut down, and brought into his Veſſel. His Subjects going to fulfil his Orders, and having ſearch'd all the place, return'd to their Maſter, deſiring he would look again, leaſt his Eyes deceiv'd him, for they could meet with no ſuch Canes. *Bicocigara*, who ſaw them diſtinctly from his Boat, was poſitive with his incredulous People, and order'd them again to be brought; but to decide the matter, went himſelf Aſhore, where immediatly they appear'd to them all. He commanded them to be cut down, and as they went about it, Blood ran from the Canes that were cut. Being aſtoniſh'd at that Prodigy, he diſcover'd cloſe to the Roots of them four Eggs, which look'd like a Snakes Eggs, and at the ſame time heard a Voice, proceeding from the hollow of the Canes cut down, which ſaid, *Keep thoſe Eggs; for from them ſhall come four excellent Governours.* He took up thoſe fatal Eggs, with Religious Reſpect, and carry'd them home, where they were kept in the beſt place of his Houſe. In a ſhort time, from the four Yolks proceeded four Rational Chickens, being three Men, and one Woman, who afterwards Reign'd, the firſt of them in *Bachian*, the ſecond in *Butan*, and the third over the Iſlands call'd *Papuas*,

A Fable of their Original.

Papuas, lying East from the *Moluccos*. The Woman was Marry'd to Prince *Loloda*, who gave Name to the Country of *Batochina*, not far from the great *Boconora*. This Fable has gain'd such Reputation, that they honour *Bicocigara* as a Hero, worship the Rocks, and adore the Eggs. The truth of it is, that the cunning Man, by this prodigious Superstition, Sanctify'd his own Race, and gain'd Kingdoms, and Respect for his four Children. So *Greece* feign'd, or believ'd, that *Leda* Conceiving of the Adulterous Swan brought forth the Eggs, from which came *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*. Fortune, when she raises Men to a high pitch, perswades those she designs to Crown, to lay the Foundation of their Majesty on Fables, resembling true Misteries, so to perswade the Multitude that they are somewhat Divine, and to distinguish the Royal Race by a peculiarity even in the Universal Law of being Born into the World. Of this Race thirteen Idolatrous Kings succeeded one another in *Tydore*, down to Sultan *Tydore Bongue*, the first that receiv'd the *Mahometan* Alcoran, tho' intermix'd with Idolatry, which lasted above Eighty Years, and being confounded among the Precepts of that abominable Sect, bred Divisions, and Distractions among the People. Afterwards, when the Commander *Brito* arriv'd in that Island, as we shall soon see, he found a *Caciz*, or Priest, taught them the new Superstition, and that many oppos'd him, on account of the old Fable of the Eggs, which the *Persian Morabout* could never Decry; so great is the power of Error transmitted from our Fore-Fathers.

King *Tydore Bongue*'s Successor, was his Son *Cachil Boleyfe*, no less Superstitious than the Father, but in another way. He pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, gain'd such Reputation, by the Experience and Foresight of his Riper Years, that he came to be Honour'd by his Subjects as a Prophet; or by the least Credulous, as a Person of singular Prudence, so that all Men gave Ear to him, as to an Oracle. Puffed up with this Vanity, he pretended to Fore-tell future Events; which when no particular Persons, or set Times are appointed, is a safe way of Predicting, without Danger of being found False; either because in process of Time something Accidentally happens, that may be adapted to the Prophecy, or in regard, that is always expected which will never come to pass. For this Reason, as in most Countries there are some current Notions of future Expectations, conceiv'd upon trivial Occasions, rather than any Observation of the Stars; therefore *Boleyfe* us'd to tell those about him, That the time would come, when Iron Men should arrive at *Ternate*, from the remotest parts of the World, and settle in its Territory; by whose Power the Glory, and Dominion of the *Molucco* Islands should be far extended. *A false Prophesie.*

In the Reign of King *John* the first, of *Portugal*, his Son, Prince *Henry*, having employ'd several Persons on Discoveries, *John Gonzales*, and *Tristan Vaz* found the Island of *Madera*, in the Year 1419, and others soon after those of the *Azores*, and *Cabo Verde*, and ran along the Coast of *Guinea* and *Africk*. Afterwards, in the Reigns of King *Edward*, and *Alonso* the V. those Discoveries were continu'd, till under King *John* the II. they proceeded as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, and a Hundred Leagues beyond it, along the Coast, call'd *Rio del Infante*. The honour of this Discovery is due to that famous Seaman *Bartholomew Diaz*, if we may believe the Manuscript Memoirs of *Duarte Resende*, for the Historian *First Discoveries.*

Barros. This rais'd Emulation in the *Spanish* Nation, already engag'd in such Voyages, as having Discover'd the Western Islands, call'd *Antilles*, or *Caribbee* Islands. This Discovery occasion'd a Controversy about the Right to them, *Portugal* pretending to, and *Spain* defending its Possession. After much Contention, the Difference was adjusted by *Ruy de Sousa*, and *Don John* his Son, and *Arias de Almada*, Commission'd by *Portugal*, who in the Year 1404. agreed with the *Spanish* Embassador, That, since this inferior Globe, consisting of Earth and Water, answers to the Degrees into which the Celestial Sphere is divided, it should be equally parted between the two Kings, by a Meridian Line drawn through the North and South Poles, and compassing the Land and Sea, so as to cut them into two halves. It was appointed, That the Share to the Eastward should belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the other to the Westward, to that of *Castile*; and that it should be so mark'd down on the Sea Charts; the Line passing through a fixt Point on the Earth, which was to be the Boundary of both Nations. This was by mutual Consent settled 360 Leagues West from *Cabo Verde*, and so the Line, or Meridian, fell upon the Country we call *Brazil*, about the most Westerly part of the Mouth of the River *Maranhao*, which disembogues there to the Northward. This Line cuts through that Country, and to the Southward runs off beyond the River of *Plate*, from whence the *Spaniards* begin to reckon their Degrees of Longitude Westward, and the *Portugueses* Eastward, 180 belonging to each of them, for as much as the whole Circumference of the Earth contains three hundred and sixty Degrees.

Vasco de Gama *discovers* India.

Vasco de Gama, employ'd by King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, to Discover and Conquer *India*, prosecuted this Enterprize, look'd upon by *Ptolomy*, as impracticable; he travers'd the main Ocean, within the *Portugese* Division, where he Discover'd, and since the *Portugese* Commanders have Conquer'd so many Kingdoms, Nations, and Islands, so distinct in Customs, Manners, Laws, Languages, and Colours. They returning home admir'd what they had seen, and lay'd it down in Maps, but stretching out the Longitude, that is the Distance from West to East, beyond what it really was; thus Craftily providing for the Controversy which might arise upon this Occasion, as it soon happen'd, through the Falshood of the Sea Charts.

Portugueses *Pretentions to the* Moluccos.

By virtue of this practice, and by the *Pope's* subsequent Authorizing of it, the *Portugueses* pretend that the *Molucco* Islands, and those of *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, are within their Bounds, as they were adjudg'd, and settled by experienc'd Sailers, calculating the Extent of that Meridian, and they even stretch it 15 Degrees further. *Resende* complains, That *Magalhaens*, whom the *English* call *Magellan*, magnify'd the Opinion conceiv'd of the Eastern Seas, when in the Year 1519 he went away Disgusted into *Spain*. *Magellan* grew up in the service of Queen *Ellenor*, then serv'd King *Emanuel*, and went over into *India* with that *Alonso de Albuquerque*, of whose Bravery, and Conduct, we have written Histories, besides what Fame, and Tradition have deliver'd. This Man, not satisfy'd with the first Conquests, sent *Antony de Abreu*, *Francis Serrano*, and *Ferdinand de Nagalhaens* from *Malaca*, with three Ships, to Discover the *Molucco* Islands. All these three Commanders steer'd several Courses. We shall soon

ſoon ſpeak of *Magellan* again. *Antony de Abreu* arriv'd at *Banda*, and returning towards *Malaca*, richly Laden with Spice of that Country, *Serrano* was parted from him in a Storm, and Shipwrack'd on the Iſlands of *Lucopino*, ſignifying Iſlands of *Tortoiſes*, ſo call'd from the Plenty and Bigneſs of thoſe Creatures.

There the Tempeſt left the *Portugueſes*, only their Lives and Arms ſav'd, for their *Junck*, which is a ſort of light Veſſel, was Stav'd. The *Lucopine* Iſlands were Horrid, by reaſon of their want of Water, and being Deſert; for their Rocks lying under Water, and the many Sea Robbers that frequent them, and always keep Sentinels poſted to diſcover any Sailing by, that they may fall upon, and plunder them. Had not Hunger and Thirſt threatned the *Portugueſes* with ſpeedy Death, they had reaſon to expect it at the Hands of thoſe Pyrats; but that which had been the Deſtruction of others, at this time prov'd their Safety. Thoſe Miſcreants had obſerv'd the Shipwreck, and Rowing up in a Veſſel call'd a *Caracoa*, as it were to a certain Booty, drew near to thoſe who had ſo narrowly eſcap'd periſhing in the Sea; but the *Malaca* Pilots, and Mariners were not ignorant of their deſign. They acquainted their Captain with the Danger, deſiring him to take ſuch Meaſures as might be for his own, and their Safety. *Serrano*, like a Man of Valour and Diſcretion, having view'd the Shore, conceal'd his Men in a hidden Place. The Pyrates landed to purſue them; but as ſoon as ever they were at ſome diſtance from the Shore, the Strangers ruſh'd out, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Caracca*. The Barbarians thus ſurpris'd, reflecting on their Miſmanagement, and perceiving they were loſt Men, gave over the thoughts of Robbing, and had recourſe to Intreaties, throwing down their Bows and Arrows, and begging they would not leave them in that Iſland, but rather take pity, and pardon what they had done; and promiſing, if he would carry them off, to conduct him to another place, where Strangers were well receiv'd, and there was Trade. *Serrano* granted their Requeſt, and admitted them, and having repair'd the ſhatter'd *Junck*, and Embarking together, they directed their Courſe to the Iſland of *Amboyna*, where they were well receiv'd by the People of *Rucutelo*, who were ancient Enemies to thoſe of *Veranula*, a Neighboring City of *Batochina*, with whom thoſe of *Rucutelo* coming to a Battle, they obtain'd the Victory, through the Aſſiſtance of the New-comers. The Fame of this Succeſs flew over to the *Molucco* Iſlands, at the Time when *Boleyfe* Reign'd in *Ternate*, and *Almanzor* in *Tydore*, who were both not long before Idolaters, and then *Mahometans*. Theſe two were at Variance about the Limits of their Dominions, and underſtanding that the *Portugueſes* were at *Amboyna*, each of them deſiring to Strengthen himſelf againſt his Enemy, ſent Embaſſadors, and Ships, to invite, and bring over to them thoſe Forreign Soldiers; thinking it alſo convenient upon other accounts, to enter into Alliance with thoſe People, whoſe great Actions were then ſo freſh in the Mouths of all Men. *Boleyfe* was quicker than *Almanzor*, and ſent ten Ships for *Serrano*, with a Thouſand well Arm'd Soldiers for their Defence, the whole under the Command of his Kinſman *Cachil Coliba*: The *Tydore* Embaſſadors return'd from *Rucutelo* diſappointed. It is but a ſhort Cut between *Amboyna*, and *Ternate*, and therefore *Boylefe*'s Ships ſoon return'd with the *Portugueſes*. That King went out attended by his

Serrano caſt on the Iſlands of Lucupine.

His Eſcape

Arrives at Amboyna.

Subjects, to receive the new Guests; all of them concluding, That they went to see the fulfilling of their so long expected Prophecy. *Serrano* Landed in bright white Armour, and his Companions in the same manner. When the King saw them, he embrac'd every Man, with a Countenance full of Pleasure and Admiration, shedding Tears, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, bless'd God, and gave hearty Thanks, for that he had granted him to see that which had been Predicted so many Years before. *These*, said he, *my Friends, are the Warriers you have so long wish'd for, on account of my Prophecy. Honour them, and let us all vie in Entertaining them; since the Grandeur of our Country depends on their Arms.* The *Portugueſes*, well pleas'd to be thought worthy of a Prophecy, the Beleif whereof was a Politick Invention, conducing to their Reputation, made no less Courteous Returns, expressing their singular Affection. They settled Amity, and Trade in the *Moluccos*; whence they spread it to the adjacent, and remoter Islands, which it will be now requisite breifly to Describe, for the better Understanding of this History.

Settles at Ternate.

Archipelago described.

The Eastern *Archipelago*, not to speak of the Division of those Oriental Parts into Northern, and Southern, Contains so many Islands, that the certain Number of them is not yet known. Hence Modern Authors distribute it into five Divisions, being so many *Archipelagos*, under the names of *Molucco*, *Moro*, *Papuas*, *Celebes*, and *Amboyna*. The Name of the First, in their Language, is *Moloc*, signifying, the Head, because it is the Chief of all about it. Others will have it to be *Malucco*, which, in *Arabick*, imports, the Kingdom, as the Principal of them. It Contains five most Remarkable Islands, all of them under the same Meridian, one in sight of another, their whole Extent being 25 Leagues; the Equinoctial crossing them, so that the most Northern of them has but half a Degree of Latitude that way, and the most Southern, one Degree on the other side. Near to them, on the East, is the Island *Gilolo*, by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Batochina de Moro*, and by the *Moluccos*, *Alemaera*. Among all the others lying about them, call'd also *Moluccos*, as we say the *Canaries*, the *Terceras*, or the *Oreades*, these are the most Remarkable, for their great Plenty of Spice. The Names of them, beginning with the Northermost, are, *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Motiel*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*; by the ancient Heathens call'd, *Cape*, *Duco*, *Moutil*, *Mara*, and *Seque*. This last, which is *Bachian*, is divided into many Islands, seperated from one another by little Channels, Navigable only in small Vessels; for which reason, as also because it is under one Soveraign, it has but one Name, and all the *Molucco* Islands are Subject to three Kings. They are divided by small Arms of the Sea, and some Desert little Islands, as also by their Antient Enmity. The Coast both near the Shore, and farther off at Sea, full of Dangerous Shoals; among which there are some Inlets, where the Ships Ride in Safety. The Soil of them all is generally Dry and Spungy, sucking up all the Water, tho' it Rains never so much, and in many Places the Brooks that run down from the Mountains do not reach the Sea. According to that grave Historian *John de Barros*, these Islands afford an ill Prospect, and are no way pleasant to behold; because the Sun being always so near them, sometimes passing over towards the Northern, and some times towards the Southern Solstice, the natural Damp of the Earth fills them so full of Trees, and Plants,

Plants, that it thickens the Air, and hinders the Sight; for by reaſon of the Earthly Vapours, the Trees are never naked of Leaves; but before one falls another has ſprung out; and the ſame is among Herbs. Others affirm, they are Pleaſant to look to, but not Healthy, eſpecially for Strangers, who are all ſubject to the Diſeaſe call'd *Berber*, which is common in that Country. This Malady ſwells the Body, and diſables the Limbs, but is cur'd with Cloves, the Wine of the *Philippine* Iſlands, drank with Ginger, and the uſe of a certain Herb, known to the Natives; and the *Dutch* do it with the juyce of Lemmons, a Remedy found by their own Apprehenſion, and Experience.

Product of the Moluccos.

Providence has ſtor'd theſe Spice-Iſlands with *Bananas*, *Coco-Nuts*, *Oranges*, *Lemmons*, *Lignum-Aloes*, *Sanders*, *Cinamon*, *Mace*, *Maſtick-Trees*, but above all, with abundance of *Cloves*, and other Plants; all of them valuable for their Fruit, or delightful for their Ornaments. They have neither *Wheat* nor *Rice*; but Nature gave them Induſtry, and Matter to ſupply this Defect. They beat a ſort of Tree, like the *Wild-Palm*, with Mallets made of ſtrong Canes; and thoſe dry Trunks, ſo batter'd, yield an extraordinary white Flower, coming from the bruized Pith; which they mould up in ſquare *Pipkins*, and this is the *Sagu*, or *Landan*, ſo made into ſquare Loaves, like the *Caſtile Sope*.

Sagu.

This Plant is about Fifteen Foot high, and from the Top of it ſprout out ſome Branches, like thoſe which produce the *Tamarinds*. Theſe bear a Fruit like the *Cypreſs-Nuts*, in which there are certain fine Hairs, which if they touch a Man's Fleſh, burn it. From the tender Branches of the ſame Plant cut, flows the Liquor which ſerves them for Drink, putting the Ends of the ſaid Branches ſo cut into narrow Mouth'd Veſſels, which are fill'd in a Night, and the Liquor ſo gather'd, is like Milk Whipped, and Frothy, which they call *Tuac*. When Drank new, it is Sweet and very Fat'ning; boil'd like new Wine it taſtes like Wine, and after grows ſharp as Vinegar. The ſame Advantage they reap from two other Plants call'd *Nipo*, and *Coco*; the laſt of them yields alſo *Oyl*, *Boards*, and *Timber* to build Houſes. They alſo Drink another pleaſant Liquor, which Nature has ſhut up in the Hollow of the Canes they call *Bambcoes*, ſo large that the Knots are a Yard a ſunder. They abound in Fleſh; but the People are more affected to Fiſh; notwithſtanding *Hugo*, the *Dutchman*, ſays they want both. Providence afforded them no Mines, either of *Gold*, or *Silver*; whether it was a Puniſhment, or Mercy we do not decide. Neither have they found any, of other leſs precious Metals; but not far from them is *Lambuco*, an Iſland abounding in Iron and Steel; whence, and from the Mines of *Sula* and *Butva*, the People of the *Maluccos* bring them, to make their *Caampilanes*, which are ſharp heavy *Cymiters*, and their *Criſes*, being ſmall *Daggers*. The *Portugueſes* and *Dutch* have now furniſh'd thoſe Iſlands with ſmall Fire-Arms, and Cannon of all ſorts known among us.

A burning Mountain in Ternate.

Ternate is the Capital City, and Court of that King, near to which a dreadful burning Mountain Flames out, about the Equinoxes, becauſe at thoſe Times the Winds blow; which kindle that natural Fire, on the Matter that has fed it ſo many Ages. The Top of the Mountain, which exhales it, is cold, and not cover'd with Aſhes, but with a ſort of light cloddy Earth, little different from the *Pomice-Stone* burnt in our Fiery Mountains.

Deſcending

Descending thence to the Foot of the Hill, which stretches out like a Piramid, down to the Plain; it is all uneooth, being thick with Trees, whose Verdure is spar'd by the Flames, and the very Fire, Waters and Moistens them with Brooks, which it draws together in the Hollow of the Mountain, and forces it to Sweat, and pour out.

People of Ternate. The Natives Differ from one another, as it were through a Miraculous Bounty of Nature; for it has made the Women Fair and Beautiful, and the Men, of a darker Colour than a Quince; their Hair lank, and many anoint it with sweet Oyls. Their Eyes are large, the Eyebrows long, which, and their Eye-lashes, they colour Black. Of Body they are Strong, much addicted to War, and sloathful for all other Employments. They are long Liv'd; grow grey earlie; and are as Active by Sea as by Land; Officious, and Courteous to Strangers; but when they grow Familiar, Importunate, and Troublesome in their Requests; in their Dealings, all bent upon Interest; Jealous, Fraudulent, and False. They are Poor, and therefore Proud; and to name many Vices in one, Ungrateful.

Religion, Manners, Laws. The *Chineses* possess'd themselves of these Islands, when they subdu'd all those Eastern Parts; and after them the *Javeneses*, and the *Malayes*, and lastly the *Persians*, and *Arabs*; which last, together with their Trade, Introduc'd the *Mahometan* Superstition among the Worship of their Gods; from whom some Families boasted they were descended. Their Laws are Barbarous: They have no limited Number of Wives. The King's chief Wife, call'd in their Language *Putriz*, enables and gives the Right of Succession to which her Sons are preferr'd, tho' younger than those by other Mothers. *Theft* is not pardon'd, tho' never so inconsiderable; but *Adultery* easily. When the Dawn appears, Officers appointed by Law for that purpose, beat a sort of broad, flat Tabors about the Streets, to awake Marry'd People, who they think deserves this Care from the Government, on account of Procreation. Most Crimes are punish'd with Death; in other Respects they Obey the Will, or Tyranny of the Conqueror.

Their Habit. The Men, on their Heads, wear *Turkish* Turbants of several Colours, with abundance of Feathers on them. The King's ends above like a Miter, and serves instead of a Crown. For their other Garb they all wear Wastecoats, which they call *Cheninas*, and Blew, Crimson, Green, and Purple Breeches. Of the same they make their Cloaks, or Mantles, which are short, Soldier-like, thrown over, or knotted on the Shoulder, after the Ancient *Roman* manner, known by the written Descriptions, Statues, and other Monuments of those Times. The Women are Proud of their Hair; sometimes they spread, and sometimes they plat it, sticking abundance of Flowers among the Ribbons, which hold it together; so that in their Dress, they are not encumber'd with loose Viels, Plumes, or Feathers. All that variety adorns them without Art; they wear *Bracelets*, *Pendants*, and *Necklaces* of *Diamonds* and *Rubies*, and great Strings of *Pearls*, which are not forbid even the meanest, no more than Silks, wherein the Women particularly are Clad after the *Persian* and *Turkish* Fashion; and all this costly Attire is the Product of the Neighbouring Lands and Seas. Both Men and Women in their Habit show their natural Haughtiness.

Language. The variety of Languages among them is great, for sometimes one Town does not understand the People of the next; the *Malaye* Tongue is most us'd,

the Melancholy Tree
the Habit of ye Molucco Islands.

RIPAC

us'd, as eaſieſt to pronounce. This Diverſity of Languages ſhows, that thoſe Iſlands were Peopled by ſeveral Nations. In thoſe Parts all Antiquity, and the Art of Navigation are aſcrib'd to the *Chineſes*. Some affirm, That the People of the *Moluccо* Iſlands are Deſcended from the *Jaoi*, who ſettled there, being invited by the Fragrancy of the Spice. They loaded their Veſſels with Cloves, till then unknown, and holding on that Trade, carry'd it to the Gulphs of *Arabia*, and *Perſia*. They Sail'd about all thoſe Countries, tranſporting Silks, and Porcelance, the Product, and Manufacture of *China*. The Cloves were by the *Perſians*, and *Arabs* tranſmitted to the *Greeks*, and *Romans*. Some *Roman* Emperors had a deſign of Conquering the Eaſt, till they ſhould come to the Spicy Countries; ſo covetous were they of that Commodity; and believing they all came from *China*, call'd all thoſe People *Chineſes*. The *Spaniards* formerly brought them among other Goods from the *Red-Sea*. The Kings of *Egypt* for ſome time poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Spice, which they Tranſmitted from the Hands of the *Aſiaticks* into *Europe*. This the *Romans* continu'd, when they reduc'd *Egypt* into the Form of a Province. Long after, the *Genoeſes*, Transferring the Trade to *Theodoſia*, now *Caffa*, handed them about to all Parts; and there the *Venetians*, and other Trading Nations, had their Conſuls, and Factors. They afterwards were convey'd over the *Caſpian* Sea and *Trabiſond*; but this Trade fell with the Eaſtern Empire; and then the *Turks* carry'd them in Caravans of Camels, and Dromedaries to *Berytus*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and ſeveral Ports on the *Mediterranean*. The Sultans of *Egypt* brought them back to the *Red-Sea*, and thence to *Alexandria*, down the *Nile*. The *Portugueſes* having Conquer'd the *Eaſt-Indies*, took them from *Egypt*, and brought them in their Fleets by the Cape of *Good Hope*, ſinking and taking all Ships that attempted to carry any to *Grand Cayro*. For that purpoſe they kept Squadrons on the Coaſts of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, and at Cape *Guardafu*. By this means the Trade of *Egypt* was ſuppreſs'd, and all the Spice brought on the Kings account to *India*, and thence taking a prodigious compaſs, to *Lisbon*. He who is Maſter at Sea will be poſſeſs'd of this Wealth; by which, and other Commodities, we ſee that is made good, which ſome write *Themiſtocles* was wont to ſay, *That he has all things who has the Sea.*

How Cloves were brought into Europe.

The Kings, *Boleyfe*, of *Ternate*, and *Almanzor*, of *Tydore*, contended about Entertaining *Serrano*, and each of them courted him to build a Fort in his Iſland. It is well worth Obſervation, To ſee how eagerly theſe Kings fought after, and begg'd for that which they were ſoon after to be averſe to. They writ about it to the King of *Portugal*; but *Antony de Miranda* coming to the *Moluccos*, beſides a wooden Fort, or Houſe he built at *Talangame*, erected another at *Machian*, an Iſland belonging to the two Kings, by which means he ſatisfy'd the Requeſt of both. Soon after *Cachil Laudin*, King of *Bachian*, made Application to *Don Triſtan de Meneſes*, on the ſame account. *Don Triſtan* was come to the *Moluccos* to Load Spice, and with a deſign to carry away *Francis Serrano*, and to induce *Boleyfe* to conſent to it, he perſwaded him, it was requiſite that *Serrano* ſhould go to *Portugal*, to prevail upon King *Emanuel* to order the Fort he deſir'd, to be built upon *Ternate*, and not elſewhere. *Boleyfe* approv'd of his deſign, and to that end, ſent *Cachilato*, as his Embaſſador, with

Serrano. *Don Tristan* set out, and his Ships being dispers'd in a Storm, was oblig'd to return to the *Moluccos*, and to Winter in the Wooden House above mention'd; but as soon as the *Monson* blew, he put to Sea again, and touching at *Bachian* was inform'd, That they had kill'd some *Portugueses*, of *Simon Correa*'s Vessel in that Island. This troubled him, but he dissembled it, and proceeding on his Voyage, return'd to *Malaca*, by the way of *Amboyna*.

Brito *at the* Moluccos.

Antony de Brito, appointed by the Governour of *India* to succeed *Serrano* in that Post, Sail'd from Cape *Sincapura*, through the Streights of *Sabam*, with 300 Men, and some experienc'd Commanders. He touch'd at *Tuban*, a City in the Island of *Jaua*, and went over to another, call'd *Agazim*, a Mart in those Parts, opposite to the Island *Madura*. Its nearness inviting him, he sent a Roving Vessel thither to get some Information what Course he was to Steer. Seventeen Men there were in the Vessel Landed on the Coast, and went up along the side of a River, cover'd with beautiful Trees, whose Fruit deceiv'd the Sailers; for they attracted with the pleasant sight, and unexpected satisfaction, forgot to secure their Vessel. The Natives observing the Opportunity, first took the Vessel, and then all the Men, whose Ransom prov'd afterwards difficult, tho' the Lord of the City favour'd it. *Brito* sail'd directly for the *Moluccos*, and touching at *Bachian*, sent *Simon de Abreu* in all haste to burn a Village, and kill all the Inhabitants, in Revenge for *Simon Correa*'s Companions slain there; that King *Laudin* might understand, they should not escape unpunish'd, who wrong'd the *Portuguese*, and that since his Island was the first that took up Arms against them, it should also be the first that felt their Vengeance. He executed his severity without any Loss, tho' that King did not forget the Obligation he laid on him. *Brito* went on to *Tydore*, and was Inform'd by *Almanzor* of the Disorders there were at *Ternate*, because *Boleyfa* was dead, and it was suppos'd he had been Poyson'd. He being near his Death order'd, That during the Minority of his eldest Son *Cachil Bohat*, or *Boyano*, the Queen his Wife, who was Daughter to the King of *Tydore*, should Govern; and that *Cachil Daroes*, Natural Son to the said *Boleyfe*, should Act jointly with her. The Queen who was Crafty, suspecting that her Father *Almanzor* might under that colour aim at some Advantage, to the Detriment of her Son, call'd her Subjects together and told them, That it was enough for her to take care of her Sons Education; and therefore she laid the greatest stress of Government on *Cachil Daroes*.

King of Ternate *Dies.*

The King, and the Governour *Daroes*, expected the Commander *Antony Brito*, as the Kingdoms, and the young Kings Protector. They went out to meet him in a Fleet of *Carcoas*, with the Noise of that Barbarous Musick of Brass Basons, and Tabors. He Landed, shewing State, and appearing worthy of that Applause; visited the Queen, the King, and his Brothers; and after the Ceremony of Condoling the Death of *Boleyfe*, ordering Affairs in Conjunction with *Daroes*, he approv'd of that Form of Government, and upon all occasions Defended his Province against that of *Tydore*. To do this with the greatest Security, he pitch'd upon a proper spot of Ground, according to the Rules of Fortification, which were not then very perfect, no more than Military Discipline. The Foundation being dug, *Brito*, in the presence of the King, and all the People, laid the first Stone of the new Fort, with his own Hand. This happen'd on Midsummer Day, and therefore

A Fort Built at Ternate.

fore he gave the Fort the Name of *St. John Baptiſt*; and tho' it was built for the Defence of *Ternate*, yet in *Brito*'s mind it was Dedicated to the ſervice of the Goſpel, and its Miniſters. He us'd endeavours to ſend away the *Caeiz* he found there ſpreading of *Mahomet*'s falſe Doctrine, as an Obſtacle to the True; but the War which is there always ſettled and natural againſt *Tydore*, obſtructed theſe Deſigns; tho' at the ſame time the Troubles of thoſe two Revengeful Nations increas'd the Revenues of *Portugal*, by contributing of their Spice; and the deſire of Superiority brought them into Subjection. However, in *Portugal Brito* had a Succeſſor appointed him, and he was inform'd, That the other was already ſailing for the *Moluccos*; and there was need enough of them both, and of doubling their Forces; becauſe *Spain* ſtill inſiſted upon taking thoſe Countries as its Right, and *Brito* began to be hated, on account of his offering Violence to the Royal Family.

Magellan goes over to Spain.

At the ſame time *Magellan* having Sail'd 600 Leagues towards *Malaca*, was in certain Iſlands, whence he correſponded with *Serrano*; who having thriv'd ſo well in *Ternate*, with *Boleyſe*, ſent his Friend word what Kindneſs, and Wealth he had receiv'd from him; adviſing him to return to his Company. *Magellan* conſenting, reſolv'd to go to the *Moluccos*; but in caſe his Services were not Rewarded in *Portugal*, as he expected, he would take the way directly for *Ternate*, under whoſe King *Serrano* grew ſo Rich in Nine Years. He conſider'd, that ſince the *Moluccos* were 600 Leagues Eaſt from *Malaca*, which make 30 Degrees, little more or leſs, they were out of the *Portugueſe* Limits, according to the antient Sea Chart. Returning to *Portugal*, he found no Favour, but thought himſelf wrong'd, and reſenting it, went away into *Caſtile*, carrying with him a Planiſphere, drawn by *Peter Reynel*; by which, and the Correſpondence he had held with *Serrano*, he perſwaded the Emperor, *Charles* V. that the *Molucco* Iſlands belong'd to him. It is reported, That he Confirm'd his Opinion with Writings, and the Authority of *Ruy Faleyro*, a *Portugueſe* Judiciary Aſtrologer, and much more with *Serrano*'s.

Sets out on his Diſcovery.

Hereupon the Emperor gave him the Command of a Squadron, with which he ſail'd from *Sanlucar*, on the 21*ſt*. of *September*, 1519. He ſtay'd four days at the *Canaries*, where a Caravel overtook him, with private Intelligence, that his Captains went with a Deſign not to Obey him, particularly *John Cartagena*, who had the ſame Commiſſion as *Magellan*. He bravely ſeem'd to take no notice, and ſailing away with a fair Wind, being paſs'd *Rio de Janeyro*, in the Province of *Santa Cruz*, commonly call'd *Brazil*, the Sea growing very cold, and much more the *River of Plate*, which is in 35 Degrees of South Latitude, the Captains queſtion'd him about the Voyage, ſince they could not find the Cape, or Streight, they went in ſearch of. He anſwer'd, as to Men that were entirely Subordinate to his Direction and Authority, *That they muſt go on, for he knew what he was about, and the Coaſts of* Norway *and* Ireland *were in a greater Latitude, and yet Ships ſail'd along them.* Theſe Conteſts laſted almoſt all the Voyage, and increas'd with the cold and dreadful Winds, and the hideous ſight of the Mountains of Snow and Ice, grown old, which they met in the Latitude of 52 and 53 Degrees. They magnify'd theſe Difficulties, alledging, That it requir'd ſix, or ſeven Months to come from *Caſtile*, croſs

croſs the Line, and run all along the Coaſt of *Brazil*, through ſuch diverſity of Climates, in each of which the Weather vary'd. That this was throwing away Men and Ships, which were more valuable than all the Cloves in the *Molucco* Iſlands.

He diſcovers the Streight of his Name.

The Aſtrologer, *Ruy Faleyro*, being Diſtracted, was left in the Mad-Houſe at *Sevil*; and in his Place went *Andrew de San Martin*, to whom *Magellan* gave Ear, as to what he ſaid of the Weather; but not in other Caſes, as ſome lay to his Charge, and with ſuch Moderation and Integrity, as becomes Chriſtian Piety. Nor is it to be believ'd, That *Magellan* ſhould conſult ſuch a Deceitful a Science as Judiciary Aſtrology, upon ſuch difficult Points, or ſhould prefer it before Aſtronomy, amidſt ſuch dreadful Dangers. The Hardſhips became intollerable; and Diſcord ſo far prevail'd with the Captains, *John de Cartagena*, *Gaſpar Queſada*, and *Lewis de Mendoza*, that they reſolved either to Kill, or Secure *Magellan*. This Conſpiracy coming to his Ears, as he lay at the Mouth of the River of St. *Julian*, having contriv'd what was to be done, as *John de Barros* writes, he caus'd *Lewis de Mendoza* to be Stab'd, which was done by *Gonzalo de Eſpinoſa*. Next *Gaſpar de Queſada* was Quarter'd Alive; and a Servant of his, who was concern'd, had his Pardon. *Cartagena* he condemned to a lingering Death, leaving him in that Deſert Country, with a Clergy Man, guilty of the ſame Crime, which was High Treaſon againſt their King. So ſay the *Portugueſe* Hiſtories; but the *Spaniſh* inform us, That they were privately proceeded againſt, and the Judgment was Read to them. This done he made ſome Speeches to Juſtify the Fact, and Comfort his Companions. *Cartagena*, and the Clergy-Man, who were left with ſome Proviſions, got away a few days after, in one of the Ships of the ſame Squadron, which return'd to *Spain*. *Magellan* overcoming incredible Difficulties, found the Streight, and Paſſage, which makes the Communication between the two Seas, and preſerves his Name to this Day. He there took Giants above fifteen Spans high, who wanting raw Fleſh, which they us'd to feed on, ſoon Dy'd; then he paſſed the Streight ſucceſsfully. But tho' he got under the Equinoctial, either by reaſon of the Currents, or the Faultineſs of the Sea Charts, he Sail'd round about, and almoſt in ſight of the *Molucco* Iſlands, yet could never come at them. He Touch'd at others, where he was oblig'd to Fight; and went on to thoſe of *Zebu*, or the *Manilas*. At this ſame time his Friend *Serrano* was ſailing for *India*, and tho' it happen'd in ſeveral Places, yet they both Dy'd on the ſame Day, and much after the ſame Manner.

It would be ſuperfluous to dilate upon the Story of *Magellan*, his tedious Navigation, and the many Difficulties he met with, before and after he paſs'd through his Streight into the *Pacifick*, or *South-Sea*; his Arrival at the Iſland of *Zebu*, and perſwading the Idolatrous King to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, and the Battles he fought on his account, with his Enemies; for beſides that theſe things are Related by very good Authors who Treat of the Diſcovery of the *Molucco* Iſlands, which was the main Object of his deſperate Undertaking, we muſt be brief in repeating them, to ſhow how eager ſeveral Princes, and Nations were for theſe Iſlands, and the Notion they had of what great Conſequence they would be to them.

The King of *Zebu* was Baptiz'd, rather to make his Advantage of the *Spaniſh*

Spaniſh Arms, than out of any Zeal, or that he knew the Faith he Embrac'd. He took the Name of *Ferdinand* in Baptiſm, to flatter his Godfather, who was *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, himſelf. After obtaining ſeveral Victories by his Aſſiſtance, thinking he could ſhake off the ſecond Yoke he expected thoſe Strangers might lay on him, he turn'd againſt them. He contriv'd an Entertainment, in Honour of *Magellan* and Thirty five *Spaniards* being at it, he fell upon them at a time appointed, with a Multitude of Barbarians, and confounding the Feaſt, murder'd his Gueſts, who handled their Arms to defend themſelves, which only ſerv'd to render their Deaths more Honourable. The reſt of the *Spaniards*, who eſcap'd becauſe they were at Sea, for their better Government under that Misfortune, preſently choſe *Barboſa*, a Kinſman of *Magalhaens*, for their General, and *Lewis Alfonſo*, a *Portugueſe* to be Captain of the Ship, call'd the Victory. The perfidious King, thinking to conceal his Treachery and Apoſtacy, as if it were poſſible to keep it ſecret, ſent to invite *Barboſa*, ſaying he would deliver him the Jewel he had promis'd for the King of *Spain*. *John Serrano*, thinking it a Raſhneſs, to truſt a Man again, whoſe Hands were ſtill Bloody with the late Execution, diſſwaded *Barboſa* from accepting of the Invitation; but was not regarded. *Barboſa* went with the other Gueſts, and *Serrano* himſelf, who, to ſhow it was not Fear that mov'd him to give ſuch Advice, was the firſt that got into the Boat. They were conducted into a Wood of *Palm-Trees*, where the King expected them, with a ſmall Retinue, the Tables being ſpread in the Shade, amidſt the Muſick of Bag-Pipes. When they were ſeated, and began to Eat, a great number of Archers that lay in Ambuſh, ruſh'd out, and ſhot our Men. They ſaved *Serrano*, whom they lov'd, not out of Kindneſs, for they ſhow'd him bound to thoſe that were at Sea, demanding for his Ranſom, two Braſs Guns, and then he told them, the Slaughter that had been made. Our Men, not truſting to them, any longer, ſet Sail, and did not only ſee the *Indians* carry *Serrano* back to their Town, but ſoon after heard mighty Shouts in it; and it was afterwards known that they gave them when they killed *Serrano*, and ran to throw down a great Croſs, ſet up before the New-Church, which they could not perform. The *Spaniards* wanting Men, burnt the Ships, call'd the *Conception*, and choſe *John Caravallo* for their General, and *Gonzalo Gomez de Eſpinoſa*, Captain of the Ship the *Victory*. They came to *Borneo*, on the Coaſt whereof they found thoſe Peoples Fleet of *Carcoas*, Painted, and the Prows of them like Serpents Heads gilt.

He is Murder'd with others.

Soldiers of Borneo, and Reception of Spaniards.

The Soldiers appear'd well Arm'd, who having ſpy'd our Ship, acquainted their King with it. He order'd 2000 of his Guard to go out, and receive them, before they reach'd the City. Theſe Men came brandiſhing their Bows and poiſon'd Arrows, Trunks, Cymitars, and Sheilds, and wore Breaſt-plates made of *Tortois* Shells, and encompaſs'd an Arm'd *Elephant*, on whoſe Back there was a wooden Caſtle. When the *Spaniards* came up the Elephant ſtoop'd down, and ſix arm'd Men coming out of the Caſtle, put *Gonzalo Gomez de Eſpinoſa*, who was then General, into it. Thus attended, he went to Viſit the King, in whoſe Preſence his Secretary ſpoke to him through a Trunk, and *Eſpinoſa* gave him an Account of the King of *Zebu*'s Perfidiouſneſs. All condol'd the Accident, and our Men taking Leave Sail'd away for the *Molucco* Iſlands, being reliev'd with what they wanted, and furniſh'd with able Pilots.

Not

Spaniards at Tydore.

Not far from *Borneo*, they met 150 Sail, whereof they took two *Junks*, in which they found an Hundred Men, five Women, a Son of the King of *Luzon*, and an Infant two Months Old. This they thought would be a sufficient Ransom to recover their Companions; so they let go the Prince upon his Parole, he promising to restore them the Captive *Spaniards*. They had some Storms; but arriv'd at *Tydore*, on the 8th of *November* 1521, When *Almanzor* heard the salute of the Canon, he sent to enquire what People they were, and presently after he came to our Ships in a little Boat. His Shirt appear'd woven with Gold and Silk, a white Cloth which trail'd being girt over it. About his Head a fine Veil of several Colours, made like a *Persian* Miter: Being Aboard the Commodore, the Relations of that Voyage say, he stopp'd his Nose with his Fingers, either at the Smell of our Meat, or of the Ship. *Mahometanism* was newly come into his Island, and most of his Subjects, especially those Inhabiting the Mountains, ador'd Idols. He bid our Men wellcome, gave them good Words, and afterwads was as kind in his Actions; and being inform'd of their past Sufferings, gave them leave to load Cloves. They presented him with a Chair of Crimson Velvet, a Robe of Yellow Velvet, a great Loose Coat of false Cloth of Gold, a piece of Yellow Damask, four Yards of Scarlet Cloth; Handkercheifs, and Towles, wrought with Silk, and Gold; Drinking-Glasses, Glass Beads, Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scizers, and Combs. They gave his Son another parcel of Gifts, and a Cap, and did the like by his *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks*. When they ask'd the Kings leave in the Emperors Name to Trade, he granted it, adding they should kill any that offer'd to hinder them. He seriously view'd his Majesty's Picture and Arms on the Standard, and desired to see our Coin. And pretending to be an Astrologer, or Soothsayer, or as others say, having Dreamt, or Guess'd it, or being told it by *Chinese* Priests, he said, *He knew the Christians were to come to his Lands for Spice; and desired that they would not leave him.* They treated about an Alliance, and when they were agreed, two *Tydores* brought something in their Hands to the Ships, which they afterwards understood was the *Alcoran*, tho' at first they did not, because cover'd with Silks, and Strings. *Almanzor* lay'd his Hands on it, and then on his Head, and Breast; and this was the Ceremony of his Swearing Friendship, and Fealty to the Crown of *Castile*, and that he would allow them Cloves, and all Commerce for ever. Then the General *Espinosa*, in the Emperor's Name, before an Image of the blessed Virgin, swore to protect them both in Peace and War, and presented King *Almanzor* with Thirty *Indians* he had taken Prisoners. Soon after, as some Authors affirm, *Corala*, Prince of *Ternate*, Nephew to *Almanzor*, came to *Tydore* to swear Fealty in like manner, as did *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, of whom it is Written, That he had Six Hundred Sons, and that *Almanzor* had Two Hundred Wives. These Kings Writ to the Emperor; ratifying their Fealty, and *Sebastian del Cano* sail'd away in the Ship, the *Victory*, by the way the *Portugueses* use, with the Letters and Instruments; the General *Espinosa* returning towards *Panama*, for *Castilla del Oro* on the Continent of *America*, to pass thence to *Spain*.

Ally with that King.

At this time the new Governor, *Don Garcia Henriquez*, was under Sail, to succeed *Antony Brito*, and being come to *Banda*, waited for the *Monson*

to

to carry him to *Ternate*. *Monſon* is the Name by which the *Portugueſe* call the Wind, which blows ſix Months to carry them to *India*, and then ſix Months again to bring them back. There he furniſhed himſelf with all Neceſſaries for the Fort built by *Brito*. He had need ſo to do, for he received Advice, That *Spaniſh* Ships were ſailing thro' the Bays, and openeſt Parts of the *Archipelago*. He ſent to diſcover them, by the Induſtry of his Soldiers, and being receiv'd at *Ternate*, view'd the Fort, and obſerv'd the poſture of the Government. He propoſed a Peace with *Cachil Almanzor*, King of *Tydore*. We ſhall have frequent Occaſion to repeat theſe Words *Cachil* and *Sangiack*. *Cachil* is perhaps deriv'd from *Katil*, which in *Arabick* is the ſame as among us, a Valiant Soldier. In the *Molucco* Illands they Honour their Nobility with this Title, which is ſomething more than *Don* in *Spain*. The Title of *Sangiack*, which anſwers to that of Duke, or Earl, might come from *Senchaq*; which in the *Turkiſh* Language, imports a Commander: To conclude this Peace, he thought it convenient to ſecure the Royal Family; which he accordingly executed, and though he colour'd it with fair Pretexts, they plainly perceived this was an Introduction towards Oppreſſing them, and ſhow'd a miſtruſt. We may ſafely affirm, This was the firſt Diſtaſte which, as being a notorious Wrong, diſturb'd that Nation, and from that time they grew Cold, and Jealous, thinking themſelves oblig'd to ſeek Revenge; and this Action was the occaſion of all the enſuing Slaughters, as we often ſee a great Fire riſe from one ſmall Spark.

Monſon, *what it is.*

Cachil *and* Sangiack, *their ſignifications.*

Portugueſes, *why hated.*

Cachil Daroes endeavour'd to obſtruct this Peace, as Tutor, and Governor, fearing the Trade of Cloves would be transferr'd to *Tydore*, to the Deſtruction of the Infant King's Dominions. But notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, the Peace was concluded, upon certain Conditions, as, That the King of *Tydore* ſhould deliver a Ship he had taken, the *Canon*, and ſome runaway *Portugueſe*. *Almanzor*, who ſtood in need of a Peace, and the Friendſhip of the *Portugueſe*, to gain the Affection of *Cachil Daroes*, propos'd to Marry him to one of his Daughters. *Don Garcia* believing that this Union among them would produce that of their Forces, and leſs Submiſſion to the *Portugueſe*'s Dominion, to obſtruct this dangerous Alliance, ſent to the King of *Tydore* to borrow the Canon. That King excus'd himſelf, alledging, that he had lent it a few days before, to the King of *Bachian*. *Cachil Daroes* complying with him, agreed to all the Articles. *Don Garcia* being diſſatisfy'd, waited an opportunity to break all that Contrivance, and be Reveng'd. *Almanzor* fell Sick, and deſir'd *Don Garcia* to ſend him a Phyſician; who ſent an Apothecary, and he either not underſtanding Phyſick, or, as was believ'd, by order of *Don Garcia*, kill'd the Patient. Manifeſt tokens of Poyſon afterwards appear'd. The Funeral was order'd, and at the ſame time the Commander, *Don Garcia*, appear'd in the Morning, in a parcel of *Carcoas*, before *Tydore*. He ſent *Baldaya*, the Clerk of the Fort, to demand the Canon, threatning War, in caſe of denial. The Regents excuſing themſelves at that time, with juſt Reaſons, and particularly the Funeral Solemnity, when they were in the Height of the Ceremony of Burying their King, they heard the Shouts of *Don Garcia*'s Men giving the Aſſault. The *Portugueſe* enter'd the City, firing the Houſes, plundering and killing, which oblig'd the *Tydores* to abandon their King's

More of their Outrages.

King's Body, and fly to the Mountains. During their Absence, *Don Garcia* seized the Canon, and carry'd it away to *Ternate*. Those who had fled return'd, with some Apprehension, and found the City ruin'd hideous, and almost reduc'd to Ashes; but recovering from their Fright; they proclaim'd *Cachil Raxamira*, the Son of *Almanzor*, King. They committed the Education of him to *Cachil Rade*, his Kinsman, the War being declared between *Ternate* and the New King of *Tydore*, who was seasonably supported by the *Spaniards* that came to his Country.

Spanish *Ship first round the World.*

The Ship *Victory* returning into *Spain*, with the Letters from the King of the *Molucco* Islands, which the Emperor receiv'd, he was more fully convinc'd, that these Islands were within his Limits. Their Wealth, and his Right to them were so lively represented to him, that he order'd another Squadron of four Ships, two Galloons, and an Advice Boat to be made ready at *Corunna*, to be Commanded by the Commendary *Fray Garcia de Loaysa*, a Gentleman of *Biscay*, and under him, as Vice-Admiral, *Sebastian del Cano*, and the Captains *Don Rodrigo de Acunna*, *James de Vera*, &c. They Sail'd on the Eve of St. *James* the Apostle, 1525, touch'd at *Gomera*, and running along the Coast of *Guinea*, could not make Cape St. *Augustine* for want of Wind. By reason of this Calm, all agreeing to it, he alter'd his Course to the Cape of *Good Hope*. A *Portuguese* Ship guided them to the Island of St. *Matthew*, which is Desert, and full of lofty Orange Trees, where they saw Hens, the Track of wild Boars, and some *Portuguese* Words carv'd on Trees, which shew'd they had pass'd that way. The Ships leaving them, they pass'd Cape St. *Augustine*, making for the Streights of *Magellan*. In this Course they endur'd Storms, and Err'd in their Accounts. *Sebastian del Cano* struck on a Shoal, and was reliev'd. The Galloons and Advice Boat made *New Spain*. The Admiral, by the Advice of *Cano*, pass'd the Equinoctial, upon information, That in 12 Degrees of South Latitude, he would find certain Islands that were rich in Gold and Silver. All the Men sickn'd, the Admiral, and *Cano* dy'd, with some others. The remains of the Squadron chooling *Toribio de Salazar* for their Commander, return'd under the Line; but he dy'd at the Islands *de las Velas*, now call'd *Ladrones*, or of *Thieves*. After some Strife, *Martin Iniguez*, and *Ferdinand de Bustamante* succeeded him, and agree'd to Command by turns. Thus divided they came in sight of *Mindanao*, and thence to the *Molucco* Islands, took in some Refreshment at *Cope*, a Town of the Island *Moratay*, whence they went on to *Camafo*, of *Morotoja*, whose *Sangiack* is Subject to the King of *Tydore*.

Another Squadron passes Magellans Streights.

War betwixt Spaniards *and* Portugueses.

They proceeded through the Gulph of *Camafo*, where they were Inform'd by the Ship of *Don George de Meneses*, who had been forc'd thither by the Currents, that the *Portugueses* held the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Don Garcia* made War on *Tydore*. *Iniguez*, and *Bustamante* offer'd them the Assistance of *Spain*, by which, coming so opportunely, they gain'd the Affections of them all, and furnished themselves with Necessaries. *Don Garcia* being already provided against the new Enemy, gather'd some *Carcoas*, and tho' he could not persuade *Daroes*, the Tutor, to go along with him, oppos'd the *Spaniards*. First the *Portuguese* sent an Admonition, wherein he offer'd them Peace, and Entertainment, as Subjects to the Emperor, who was so near Ally'd to the King of *Portugal*; protesting, That the *Molucco* Islands

Islands were within his Limits. This avail'd nothing, and *Daroes* Embarking in 12 *Carcoas*, with *Emanuel Falcao*, sent that Protestation in Writing, and in case it was Rejected, to declare War. The *Spanish* Commander receiv'd the Lawyer that was to make the Protestation, with much Civility and Respect, and answer'd, That the *Molucco* Islands belong'd to the Crown of *Castile*, and therefore he, in the Emperors Name, required *Don Garcia* not to break the Peace establish'd between their Kings. After all they were oblig'd to have recourse to Arms. *Inlguez* Landed on *Tydore* strengthen'd the Works, and furnish'd them with Canon. The *Portuguese* follow'd, and both sides Firing, there was a great Slaughter; but those of *Ternate* retir'd so disorderly, that the *Tydores* remain'd Victors. However neither the Protestations, nor the War ceas'd, the *Spaniards* urging *Magellan*'s Discovery, and the *Portuguese*, *Serrano*'s, and *Brito*'s. The *Tydores* and *Spaniards* took some *Carcoas* belonging to *Gilolo*, in which they kill'd a *Portuguese*, and some *Ternates*, as also a *Champan* Laden with Provisions for *Talangame*.

Portuguese *and* Spanish *War.*

In the *Philippine* Islands they give the Name of *Carcoas* to a sort of Vessels that use Oars, open, and bigger than our Barks, and are Steer'd by two Rudders, the one ahead, and the other astern. The *Ternates* call'd them *Janguas*, which differ from the *Carcoas* only in having two Half-Moons of Wood, Painted, or Guilt, rising above the Keel at the Head and Poop. About 100 Men Row in each of them, to the sound of a Tabor, and a Bell. They carry twenty Soldiers, and six Musketiers. The rest are employ'd about four or five little Brass Guns. Both the Men that Row, and the Soldiers are Arm'd with *Campilancs*, that is *Cymiters*, and *Shields*, and abundance of *Calabays*, and *Sagus*, being long Canes burnt in the Fire, to harden them; which they throw, without tacking, as the *Moors* do their Darts. Their way of Fighting is to come within Gun-shot, and as soon as they have Fir'd, both sides fly with all speed, till they have Loaded again, and then return to the same Post. They set three Men to each Gun, the one Levels, the other Charges, and the third Fires it. This is the way among the Islanders; for when they have to do with *Europeans*, our Example has Improv'd them in the Art of War. But in their *Carcoas* they are always expos'd to be kill'd by our Cannon, because they have no Fights to cover them; and the same is in the *Champanes*, which differ but little from the others.

Carcoas, *what sort of Vessels, and others.*

The Victory we have spoken of Encourag'd the *Tydores*, and with the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, they Arm'd, and falling upon *Gaca*, a Town of *Ternate*, Plunder'd and Burnt it; but at their Return, they met with *Martin Correa*, whom they Fought, plying their *Carcoas*, the Success remaining doubtful. Whilst this War was at the hottest, *Don George de Meneses* came from the *Papuas* to *Ternate*, to whom *Don Garcia* presently resign'd the Post, tho' the Hostilities continu'd, with Burning and Slaughter on both sides, which it was expected would be greater when the *Portuguese* Succours came from *Malaca*, and the *Castilian* from *Spain*. The new *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, and *Martin Inniguez* came to a Conference, and with much Courtesy, and desire of Peace, concluded a Truce, which lasted not long, tho' not on account of the main cause.

D. George de Meneses *at* Ternate.

There were many Battles between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Nations,

from *Gilolo* and other adjacent Islands, about the Possession of the *Molucos*, and they were under several Commanders, the Event whereof we shall see in its Place. Therefore, and because others have Treated of them Copeously, they shall be now pass'd by, that we may return to the Actions of those Kings, which ought to be distinctly deliver'd now at the Beginning, for the better Understanding of the Causes why they came to be Lost.

King of Tydore *makes Peace.*

The King of *Tydore* was less Supported by *Spain* than he had been before, and was therefore oblig'd to sue for Peace, laying some Burden of Tribute, on his own Revenue proceeding from the Cloves. He also promis'd never to admit of any *Spanish* Succours; besides some other Conditions, which put an end to the Wars for a time.

Daroes, *and the Queen govern* Ternate.

We have already observ'd, That *Cachil Boleyfe*, King of *Ternate*, left three lawful Sons, *viz. Cachil Bayano*, *Cachil Dayalo*, and *Cachil Tabarija*. The Eldest of them was not above six Years of Age; besides whom there were seven Bastards, the Eldest of them, *Cachil Daroes*, was Governor of the Kingdom, in Conjunction with the Queen. When *Brito*, in the Year 1521, Built the Fort, to secure the Subjection of the Island, tho' he had another Pretence for it, he took the Infant King, and the Queen his Mother, into it. She generously resenting this Violence, as not able to endure, that they should oppose the course of her Government, which she manag'd, together with her Step-Son, loudly Complain'd, and Threatned, as a Queen, and as a Mother. She wanted no Conveniencies for the Education of the Children; but there being Wrong disguiz'd among all that seeming Kindness, neither her Family, nor the Nurse, nor the Perswasions of Great Persons, could appease her Anger. The Natives observ'd the Difference of the *Portugueſe* Domination, and that since their building of that Fort, they us'd intolerable Rigor, and consequently began to grow cold in their Affection,

Portugueſe *Insolent.*

and to slacken in their Respect; especially when they perceiv'd that *Brito*'s Successor continu'd to keep the Royal Family under Oppression. The young King was bred up in the Fort, till he was of Age to enter upon the Government of his Kingdom; and being 18 years old, soon dy'd, not without the usual suspition of Poison, but it was affirm'd to be given by private order of *Cachil Daroes*. O the wonderful Effects of the Desire of Rule!

They Insult the Natives.

Sultan *Bayano* being Dead, order was taken that the People should immediatly Swear *Cachil Dayalo*; but *Don George* found also means to get him into the Fort; the Mother demanding him, as fearing his Death, by the example of the Elder. *Don George* condescended, not so much in compliance to her Fears, as to oblige *Cachil Daroes*, with whose Government he was well satisfy'd; and it was he that had interven'd in, and advis'd that way of Breeding the Princes. Soon after there happen'd an Accident, which broke off their good Intelligence; for *Daroes* grew jealous of the Commander in chiefs Behaviour, observing him much to favour *Cachil Bayaco*, a Man of note, whose Friendship he was suspicious of, and he with reason fear'd, that the Commander would in time value *Bayaco* more than him. This well grounded Fear grew up in his Breast, till it turn'd to down right Hatred, and he contriv'd to kill *Don George*. The Design could not be carry'd on so private, as to be conceal'd from him, and he to disappoint it, retir'd into the Fort. *Daroes* puffed up with the Applause of the People, sent immediatly to require him to deliver up *Bayaco*, to try

him

him upon ſome Complaints he had againſt him, being his Judge, as Governour, and oblig'd to do Juſtice. *Don George* was deſirous to ſave *Cachil Bayaco*, and to that purpoſe aſſembled the *Alcayde*, and other Officers. Some ſaid he ought to deliver him, others advis'd to appeaſe *Daroes* by fair means. *Bayaco*, who hated him ſo mortally, that he woul'd chuſe any ſort of Death, rather than fall into his Hands, being lock'd up in a Room of the Fort, underſtood that his Caſe was doubtful, for they Conſulted without any great Privacy. This made him Reſolve what to do, and going to a high Window, he threw himſelf out with ſuch Fury, that he beat himſelf to Pieces. *Don George* was troubl'd at the Accident, and thought himſelf oblig'd to Revenge it; which he began upon finding a Sow kill'd, either to ſpight him, or becauſe the Neighbours were *Mahometans*, and had done it as ſhe graz'd, or went about the Courts of the Fort. This was a ridiculous Occaſion, but of Moment enough among thoſe People; Enquiry was made who had kill'd her, and it appear'd, or *Don George* would have it, that the Fault belong'd to *Cachil Baydua*, a near Kinſman to *Cachil Daroes*, very Learned, and Zealous in the Law of *Mahomet*, as alſo a *Caciz*, or Prieſt, and of great Authority in the Kingdom. He was ſeiz'd by *Don George*, and carry'd into the Fort, without regard to the publick Peace. *Daroes*, in a great Conſternation, went with the chief Men of the Kingdom, to deſire he would releaſe that Sacred Perſon. Whilſt they were diſcourſing this Point, *Peter Fernandez*, a mean Fellow, Servant to the Commander in Chief, by his Maſters Order, or of his own Accord, in the Preſence of them all, went up to *Cachil Baydua*, and rubb'd his Mouth, and Face with a fat Collop of the ſame Sow, neither the Oppoſition he made, nor his Complaints to God, and the Commander in Chief availing him; but on the contrary, the *Portugueſes* laugh'd out aloud, approving the Action by their Applauſe. *Daroes* on his part, caſt himſelf on the Ground, and Weeping, prevail'd to have *Baydua* reſtor'd to him, whom, *Don George* being ſattsfy'd, or appeas'd, and taking Security, ſent to his Houſe. *Daroes* attended him, and all the Prime Men; and *Baydua*, by Reaſon it is an Abomination among them to touch Swines-Fleſh, preſently uſed their Purifications; and the more to expreſs his Concern, voluntarily left the Iſland for ſome Years, and travel'd about all the others in the Neighbourhood, preaching, and magnifying the Affront offer'd to one of *Mahomets* Prieſts, thus ſtirring up the Natives, and perſwading them to Unite in Defence of their Honour.

Rudeneſs.

This Accident, which as a Diſgrace to their Religion, exaſperated the People, was ſeconded by another much worſe, which quite render'd the *Portugueſes* Odious. The contrary Winds kept back the Trading Galeon, that us'd to carry the Soldiers Pay, and their Wants increaſing, they began to ſeek Relief, breaking into the Natives Shops, and Store-Houſes, and taking away their Proviſions, without Paying for them. *Daroes*, offended at it, order'd, That no Proviſions ſhould be brought into the City to ſell, and that the Shops which dealt in them, ſhould be ſhut up. This was accordingly done, and reduc'd thoſe in the Fort to ſuch Diſtreſs, that the Soldiers mutinying, rail'd at their own Commander, and the Governor of *India*, demanding Relief with their Arms in their Hands. *Don George* being hard preſs'd, and blaming the Avarice of his Country Men, ſent ſome

Portugueſes *become odious for Rapine, &c.*

Carcoas with Soldiers, under the Command of *Gomez Ariaz*, to barter Goods in the adjacent Islands for Provisions. They Landed on an Island near by, where, being desperate with Hunger, they Plunder'd the Town of *Tabona*, the Inhabitants whereof, no longer able to endure such Affronts, and Robberies, running to Arms, fell upon them, and kill'd the greatest Number, and most of the rest being Wounded, were Disarm'd. They embark'd for *Ternate*, where their Wounds and Nakedness spoke what had befallen them, as much as their Words. *Don George*, who, besides his being naturally Passionate, was now quite enrag'd, threatned *Daroes*, That if he did not deliver up the principal Actors in this Mischief, he would seek his Revenge other ways. He was obey'd, and tho' *Cachil Daroes* knew that all the Fault belong'd to the *Portugueses*, yet he deliver'd up the Governor of *Tabona*, and two other Chief Men of the Place, to *Don George*, thinking he would be satisfy'd with keeping them Prisoners for some Days. As soon as they were brought before him, he order'd the Hands of the two to be cut off, and that they should be then set at liberty. The Governors Punishment was answerable to the Cruelty of him that was his Judge; they ty'd his Hands behind his Back, and exposing him on the Shore, set two fierce Woolf-Dogs upon him, he having no way to withstand their Fury, made several vain attempts to slip aside from them, and endeavour'd to defend himself with what little Power was left him in those Limbs that were not Bound. The Multitude with Horror beheld the Spectacle, touch'd with Compassion, and admiring the Inhumanity of the Punishment. The wretched Man attempted to Fly, but perceiving that the arm'd Soldiers, had shut up every way, on the Land side, he cast himself into the Sea, the only Refuge accidentally left him, to seek some uncertain Hope of Safety. However the Dogs being already blooded, left him not; but barking and howling, bit and tore him, tho' he still swam with his Legs. At last, being desperate, and almost in the last Agony, he took a horrid Resolution and fell upon those fierce Creatures with his Teeth; such was the Effect of Pain and Despair. Thus the unhappy Man took hold of one of the Dogs by the Ear, and holding fast, sunk with him to the Bottom. The like Barbarity had never before been seen in any of those Countries to which the *Portugueses* Traded; and by it they lost the Reputation they had before gain'd, to their great Applause, that they inflicted Punishments, as it were by Compulsion, and Oblig'd to it, and that with Mildness, and Compassion, to shew their Generosity.

Barbarous Cruelty.

Conspiracy to destroy the Portugueses.

This Action brought them into general Hatred, and all the People of the *Molucco* Islands being exited by *Cachil Daroes*, contriv'd to kill *Don George*, with all the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, and to deliver themselves from their Yoke. *Daroes* undertook to Unite all the Kings of those Islands in a League against the Christians; sent away trusty Persons to stir up the Confederates; and particularly to *Cachil Catabruno*, Governor of *Gilolo*, during that Kings Minority, advising him, at a Time appointed, to rise in Arms against the *Spaniards* inhabiting his Dominions, and then to kill the Infant King, and Usurp the Crown; for the compassing whereof he promis'd his Assistance, for they should both make that their common Cause, because he design'd the same Slaughter upon the *Portugueses*, and upon the Infant King *Sultan Dayalo*, whom he would Succeed in the Throne, and never submit

to

to any *Spaniſh* Tyranny. At this time the Voice of the Goſpel reſounded in the Ears of the Barbarons Nations of the *Archipelago*, by the Preaching of the Religious Men of the Orders of St. *Auguſtin*, St. *Dominick*, and St. *Francis*, and of Father *Francis Naverius*, a *Jeſuit*, and his Companions; Churches were built, and therefore God, who was taught by them, would not ſuffer the Miniſters of the Goſpel to be extirpated. *Don George* was inform'd of the Conſpiracy, and the Preparations that were making to put it in Execution, which he kept to himſelf. *Daroes*, the better to diſemble it, never abſented himſelf, but reſorted to the Fort, and paid Viſits to the Governour; ſometimes when ſent for by him, and others, of his own Accord. He ſent one Day deſiring he would come to him, and bring *Cachil Tamarano*, Admiral of the Iſland, and *Cachil Boio*, the chief Juſtice of the Kingdom, to treat about ſome important Affairs. *Cachil Daroes* knowing nothing of *Don George*'s Deſign, took thoſe two *Cachils* with him, and went away to the Fort. *Don George* receiv'd them courteouſly, and with a chearful Countenance; but being come into a Room where all Things were prepar'd for the Purpoſe, they were ſeiz'd and put to the Rack, on which they diſcover'd the Conſpiracy. Immediately he paſs'd Sentence upon them in Form, and at the ſame time caus'd a Scaffold to be erected, adjoyning to the Fort, on the Outſide, where the People were already gather'd in a Crowd. Then *Cachil Daroes* being brought out, and plac'd high on the Scaffold, a Cryer proclaim'd his Crimes, and the Penalty he was condemn'd to. His Head was cut off, and his Companions put to a leſs honourable Death; but what that was, no Hiſtory or Relations inform us.

Doroes *and others put to Death.*

The Queen and all the Natives, were ſo terrify'd by this Action, that they fled out of the City, to a craggy ſtrong Mountain at the Town of *Toruto*: Thence the Queen ſent to demand her Son, whom the Governour kept as a Priſoner; but he not anſwering her Letter, ſhe was ſo offended at, and jealous of his Silence, that ſhe caus'd Proclamation to be made, forbidding all the People of the Iſland, upon Pain of Death, to ſell any Proviſions, or other Neceſſaries, to the *Portugueſes*. Her Orders were readily obey'd, and the *Portugueſes* preſs'd by Hunger, found it a more powerful Enemy, than thoſe they had wrong'd. Their Skins began to ſhrivel, they grew Lank and Weak, and muſt have periſh'd, had not *Gonzalo Pereyra* arriv'd then with the Trading Galeon. *Gonzalo Pereyra* came from *Malaca* to ſucceed *Don George de Meneſes* in the Poſt of *Ternate*; and improving the Opportunity, touch'd at *Borneo*, where he viſited the King, with whom, the *Spaniards* not obſtructing, he ſettled perpetual Peace and Amity; thence he ſet out immediately for *Ternate*, where he arriv'd in Safety. He preſently took Poſſeſſion of the Fort, and paid the weak Soldiers. The Queen ſent to viſit him, and to complain of *Don George*, and demand her Son *Cachil Dayalo*, which was her greateſt Concern. *Gonzalo Pereyra* anſwer'd her generouſly, promis'd to do her Juſtice; and to begin, ſecur'd *Don George* in the Principal Tower, to appeaſe the Queen, engaging his Word, That he would reſtore her Son, as ſoon as the Fort was in a good Poſture. He ſent to intreat her to return to the City, and former Amity; that Juſtice might be peaceably adminiſter'd. She ſeeing ſome Effects of his Promiſe, in the Impriſonment of her.

Natives fly, and affrighten the Portugueſes.

New Governour.

her Enemy, and the Expectation of Releasing the King her Son, turn'd past Sorrow into Joy, return'd to Court, and *Gonzalo Pereyra* reform'd Abuses, repair'd the Fort, and built Bastions of Square Stone, which till then had been unhew'd, the Queen furnishing Workmen and Materials. Still *Cachil Dayalo* was detain'd in the Fort, without being restor'd to his Liberty; and the Queen and People help'd to build the Fort, as the sure Means of obtaining their King's Liberty. *Gonzalo Pereyra*, when he thought it a proper Time, resolv'd to execute some Orders he had brought from *Goa*, which were the same that had before endanger'd the Disturbance of those Kingdoms.

Fresh Uproars caus'd by the Governour.

Some Governours, says the *Portuguese* Historian, *Couto*, only study to enrich themselves, impoverishing the Provinces, and their King; for no Prince can be rich, if his Grandeur depends upon poor Subjects. The Governour now perceiving that all Things were quiet, and he had little or no Dependance on those People, made Proclamation, that none should buy Cloves in those Islands, but the King, his Master's Factors. At the same Time he order'd, that his Officers should enter the Houses of marry'd Men, which are the Richest, and take away all their Cloves; and this not only among the Natives, but in the Habitations, and Colonies of the *Portuguese*, paying for it after the Country Rate; and that they should break all their Weights, Scales and Measures, and other Implements of this Sort, all which he caus'd to be publickly burnt. The Island was again in an Uproar, and the *Portuguese* were for quitting it, because it was to no Purpose to live there, if they were depriv'd of that Trade. Most of the *Portuguese* repair'd to the House of *Ferdinand Lopez*, a Priest, who was the Bishop's Vicar in the Fort, and ought to have given them an Example of Modesty. There one *Vincent Fonseca*, a seditious Fellow, heading the Mutiniers, they resolv'd to require the Governour to permit them to live in their former Liberty; and in case he should not Consent, they would depart the Fort, and the Country, and go over to the *Spaniards*, or else to the *Mahometans*, and Idolaters Towns. Some there were, who boggled at the Crime of abandoning the Service of their King, together with the Fort; and voted it would be less Harm to procure the Governour's Death, by Means of the Natives. Whilst they were thus unresolv'd, the Governour sent to seize *Vincent de Fonseca*, for some disrespectful Words he had spoken upon this Occasion, to another Soldier who was viewing the Guards. The Multitude, who had already given themselves up to the Direction of *Fonseca*, were as much concern'd at his Imprisonment, as if every one of them had been put into Irons; and as generally in such Mutinies, they are not without some specious Pretence, tho' it be but superficial, many of the Seditious, being incens'd, and resolute, repair'd to the Queen's Palace, where they were easily admitted, and some of them to more Privacy with certain Counsellors of her's. There they represented the Hardship of depriving them of the Trade of Clove, without any Demerit on their Side. *But*, said they, *they may as well deprive us of this common Air, of this Light, and of the Benefit of our Senses. Our Kings give no such Orders; but they proceed from the Avarice of the Governours and Commanders, who tyrannize over us, and this Man more than all his Predecessors, being come to destroy, that which he was sent to preserve.*

Portuguese *mutiny.*

He

He has no Design to restore your Majesty your Son; but on the contrary we are satisfy'd he contrives to destroy both the Son and the Mother. Her he will secure, as soon as he has brought his Works to perfection, that he may not be again kept from Provisions. If you will stand up for your Country, and kill the Commander, we shall not obstruct it, but on the contrary shall be as vigorous to act against him, as we are ready to promise it.

The Queen and her Councellors were well pleas'd, hoping by that means to get rid of Tyrants, as they call'd them, and therefore would not let slip so favourable an opportunity to compass their Ends. The Queen assembled the prime Men of the Island; represented to them the Condition it was in; put them in mind, how King *Boleyse* her Husband, protected the *Portugueses*, who came thither in Distress; how they had sworn Amity, and solemnly given their Hands upon it; the Honour and Kindness he show'd them; and that for their sakes he forfeited the good will of the Neighbouring Princes; that after he had receiv'd them, he maintain'd Wars, and sustain'd losses, even to the hazard of his life, to protect them; that he treated them as affectionately as if they had been his own Children; and how they, in return for his Entertainment and Favours, *as soon as the Breath was out of his Body, presum'd*, said she, *to lay violent Hands on me; from whose Tyranny and Oppression I escaped, by absconding long among the Rocks, and Brambles. My Children, they snatch'd from their Nurses Breasts, to confine them in Prison, in their own Kingdom, and among their Subjects. When* Cachil Bayano *came to age to govern, they poyson'd him. They now design after the same manner to destroy his Brother, a lawful King, as if he were some run-away Slave. See what regard a parcel of intruding Strangers have for your Fortunes, your Houses, your Daughters, and your Wives, in your own Country, and in my Presence. Any one of these things ought to be a sufficient motive to cast off the Yoke we laid upon our Necks through our own Credulity. What then will not they all together oblige us to do? But besides all this, what ought we not to do, seeing our Religion affronted? Our Temples polluted? Our Priests trampled on? And all our selves in general despis'd? Can you have a greater Testimony of the justice of your Cause, than to see the* Portugueses *themselves on your side? Do not let slip this Opportunity, my Friends, stand by them, since they promise to assist us. Deliver by their means your King, your Country, and your Religion: that all these may be afterwards reseu'd from them, and we may exclude such ungrateful Guests.*

The Queen stirs up her People.

These and other Exhortations made by the Queen, as *Maffeus* writes in his *Latin* History, were receiv'd with Abundance of Tears, and they all engag'd to put their helping hands to the execution of what had been concerted; and fixt the day and hour. Great Dissimulation was us'd, and the Queen forwarded the work of the Fort with much application, without sparing any Cost, giving out, so as it might come to the Governour's Ears, That the King her Sons Liberty depended on the finishing of the Fort. This was the effect of Motherly Affection. The appointed Day being come, the Natives appear'd in Arms, just during the scorching Heat of the Noon-day; Some hid themselves in a Mosque, behind the Fort; others in a Wood, not far off, all of them ready to assault it, upon a Signal given, they being to enter at a Breach, which was not yet made up. Some of

Conspiracy against the Governor.

of the Arm'd Islanders slily mixt themselves among the Masons, and Labourers, and among the King's Servants, who were going and coming with kind Messages between the Son and the Mother, and by this means convey'd him his Arms, and being us'd to talk to him freely at other times, they had then the Opportunity of acquainting him with the Design, and advising to be in a readiness to fall on boldly in due time. Thence they went to the Governour's Apartment, where he was taking his Afternoons Nap in all possible Security, his whole Family being asleep. The *Ternates* burst the Doors open with their Shoulders, and rush'd upon the Governour, whom the noise had awak'd. He defended himself with his Sword and Buckler for a considerable space; but his Enemies being numerous, and all pressing forwards, they cut him in pieces. A Woman-slave of his hearing the Hubbub, shreek'd out, which with the other Noise brought the Islanders out of the Mosque, without expecting the Signal. They laid hold of a *Portuguese* they met, but he broke loose, and escap'd their Fury by flight. The Slave continu'd crying out, *Moors, Moors.* With this the Governour's Servants came running arm'd, and going up to the chief Tower, where their Master was wont to divert himself, found all the Murderers there, whom they laid hold of, and cast down headlong, and then shut the Gates of the Fort. Then they rang the Bell, the sound whereof, and their not hearing the Signal, discourag'd the *Ternates* who lay in Ambush, so that they slunk away into the City.

His Death.

The *Portugues* Conspirators went slily dissembling into the Fort, and finding the Governour dead, requir'd the rest in his place to admit of the *Alcayde*, or Constable of the Fort, because the King of *Portugal* had so order'd. They refus'd him, and particularly the Vicar, who took upon him to head them all, and prevail'd so far that they chose *Vincent de Fonseca* for their Governour, who immediately took Possession of the Fort, and beginning to go on in the Tyrannical Design of *Gonzalo Pereyra*, left the Trade of Clove as it was before; but secur'd King *Dayalo*. No notice was taken of the Governour's Death, as being executed by the consent of them all. The Queen insisted to demand her Son, since she had furnish'd all Necessaries for that Work; *Vincent Fonseca* refer'd the Answer to the Marry'd Men. All those Nations are of opinion that the discreetest among them are the Marry'd Men, both on account of their Age, and as more faithful Councellors, because they have a greater interest in the publick Good, and therefore it is usual to refer to them all Debates and Answers in matters of Difficulty. They all voted, That the Queen should not have her Son deliver'd to her, because it was convenient to keep him as an Hostage, fearing the second part of what had been concerted, and that their Friendships would last no longer than till it could be executed. But to palliate the true cause of detaining him, they answered, That they must first acquaint the Governour of *India*. In the mean while the Mother did not cease to weep, and to intreat. She fed upon these Hopes, grounded on the Hatred the *Portugueses* still retain'd for *Pereyra*, and on the Generosity she had us'd in restoring the Trade of Clove, and other means. The most prevalent of these seem'd to be the gaining the affections of the Marry'd *Portugueses*, to whom that Affair was referred, and under-hand of *Vincent Fonseca* himself, by rich Presents, and extraordinary Gifts. But she was

Fonseca *made Governour.*

soon

ſoon undeceiv'd, for *Fonſeca* offered her ſuch Reaſons or Excuſes, as proved his Tyrannical Deſign; alledging, that having already ſent to conſult the Governour of *India* about the King's Liberty, it was not in his power to come to any Reſolution in that affair, till the Anſwer came from *Goa*, for they would cut off his Head, ſhould he go about to act of himſelf. The Queen perceiving that neither Gifts, nor Intreaties would prevail to get her Son, ſhe reſolv'd to uſe Force.

The Queen recovers her Son by force.

She ſtir'd up all the Neighbouring Kingdoms againſt the *Portugueſes*; and order'd the Proviſions to be all remov'd, that none might come to the Fort, either by Sea or Land. Thoſe within began to feel the want of all Neceſſaries, to ſuch a degree, that they ſu'd to the Queen for Peace, which was concluded, and they gave up her Son, which was the only thing ſhe aim'd at, without regarding the inconveniency of loſing the Fort. The Queen having obtain'd the King's Liberty, granted the *Portugueſes* all the Conditions they demanded, and was ſo throughly appeas'd that the Chriſtians continu'd their Settlements and Colonies, and Trade, and Proviſions were reſtor'd. The Queen put the Government into the hands of her Son, who at firſt ſhew'd ſome Severity and Harſhneſs towards the prime Men, and diſcover'd ſome Weakneſſes, which till then his Confinement had either conceal'd, or ſuppreſs'd. Theſe things render'd him ſo odious, that the caſe was alter'd, and they would have been glad he had been Priſoner again. The Mother could not curb his ill Inclination, for the extravagant Youth's deprav'd Nature would not allow of it.

Portugueſe *Robbers kill'd.*

At this time three mean Fellows of the *Portugueſes* Colony, went to thoſe of the Natives to rob; beſides which they raviſh'd ſome Women. The Iſlanders would not bear with that Inſolence; but thoſe who had been wrong'd in revenge kill'd the Offenders. *Vincent de Fonſeca* hearing of it, magnify'd the Heinouſneſs of the Fact, without mentioning his Countrymens Guilt, and order'd ſtrict Enquiry to be made after the Slayers. What Care ought Princes to take to ſecure the Affection of their Subjects. The King was ſo hated, that certain Natives went to the Governour, and being conducted into a private part of the Fort, becauſe they were Men of Quality, they aſſur'd him that the King had been the Occaſion of the killing of thoſe *Portugueſes*, grounding the Accuſation on their own Surmiſes, and aggravating the Offence with other Circumſtances, in ſuch manner, that had *Fonſeca* lov'd the King, he could not but have believ'd them. He preſently contriv'd to ſeize him; but being impatient, and deſpairing of ſecuring him by Art, had recourſe to Force. The King did the like, tho' ſenſible how little Aſſiſtance he could expect from his People, however he arm'd a few Veſſels, and falling upon ſome Chriſtian Towns, took ſeveral Priſoners. The Governour on the other Hand, without ſparing *Ternate*, attacked what Towns he could, ſo that Cruelty and Rapine were again in uſe, even to aſſaulting of Cities, the very Sufferers approving of it, and pleas'd with their Loſſes, that ſo they might be reveng'd of their King. He fearing that the Hatred they bore him, might occaſion his being ſeiz'd and deliver'd up to *Fonſeca*, went over to *Tydore*, where that King for the preſent entertain'd and aſſiſted him, as a Friend and Relation. The Governour ſent with ſpeed to call the King's younger Brother, named *Sultan Tabarija*, who was fled with ſome Malecontents, and with the conſent of

King of Ternate *flies.*

Sultan Tabarija *mad King.*

all the rest of the People, who were before no less dissatisfy'd, proclaim'd him King, with all the Forms and Ceremonies us'd in that case. Many approv'd of it, yet some were scandaliz'd. The same Division reign'd among the *Portugueses*, remembring the unjust Election of *Vincent de Fonseca*, and that he was the first and main instrument of the Death of *Gonzalo Pereyra*. *Fonseca* himself was not at Peace with his own Conscience; but so full of Apprehensions and Dread, that he was never unarm'd, disconsolate, melancholy, and attended by all those ill Symptoms, the Memory of Guilt produces in the Mind; and he could wish he were discharg'd of the Burden he had taken upon him. The new King *Tabarija* began his Reign shewing Kindness to all Men, and cherishing the *Portugueses*, which offended his absent Brother; and administer'd occasion to irritate the Kings of *Tydore* and *Ternate* against him so hastily, that he immediately broke the Peace, and declar'd himself their Enemy.

Tristan de Atayde *Governour of* Ternate.

At this time *Tristan de Atayde* came to *Ternate*, whose Presence brought all Things into better Form. He appeas'd the Queen, and commending *Tabarija*'s Government, gain'd his Affection. Trade went on without any Obstruction. *Vincent de Fonseca* imbark'd for *India*, and was seiz'd by the Viceroy of *Goa*, for the heinous Crimes he had committed in the *Molucco* Islands, whence a full Account of them was sent with him; yet he was not punish'd, but liv'd quietly for the future. *Ternate* flourish'd under this mild Government; the King, his Subjects, and the *Portuguese* Officers being united; but all those Garrisons so remote from the Head, being Receptacles of seditious Persons, who are contriving Innovations to disturb the Peace, and thrive by Discord, there wanted not some Promoters of such Changes, who perverted *Tristan de Atayde*, and divested him of his former Mildness. About the beginning of his Government two *Carcoas* of Barbarians plunder'd and almost destroy'd the City *Momoya*, the Inhabitants whereof were Idolaters, in the Island *Moro*. The Lord of it a powerful *Sangiack*, and good Moral Man, tho' a Heathen, made his Escape. *Gonzalo Velloso*, a *Portuguese*, was then not far from his City, following his Trade, and going thither, upon his paying a Visit to the *Sangiack*, he told him the Havock that had been made, complaining of the dangerous Neighbourhood of the other Islanders, and asking his Advice, how he might be reveng'd and secur'd for the future. *Velloso*, God directing his Tongue, told him, That the surest way was to sue for Peace to the Commander in chief of the *Moluccos*, and entertain Amity with the *Portugueses*, for if his Enemies once saw he was supported by their Power, no King nor *Sangiack* would dare to offend him. He assur'd him that the King of *Portugal* sent them for that End, being oblig'd to put down Tyranny and Oppression; but that for the obtaining that benefit more fully, it was requisite he should become a Christian; for by that means he would save his Soul, and secure his Escape, which was the least important of the two. *Velloso* said so much to this Point, and the Spirit which directed, suggested such important Truths, that the *Sangiack* at first admiring them, approv'd and submitted to them, and grew very earnest to be admitted to Baptism. He desir'd *Gonzalo Velloso* to be assisting to him, and gathering some of his Family and Friends, they set out for *Ternate*, the *Sangiack* himself staying behind for their Answer. The Heathens came with *Velloso*

A Sangiack converted.

ſo to *Ternate*, where they were generouſly received, and entertain'd by *Triſtan de Ataide*. Having heard what they came about, he put them all into the Chriſtian Habit, appointing Clergy-men to inſtruct and Catechize them. Being thus prepar'd, they receiv'd Baptiſm with extraordinary ſatisfaction, the Commander in chief being their God-father. Then he commended the *Sangiack*'s Reſolution, ſhewing how advantageous it would be to him to become a Son of the Church, and reject the abominable and foul Ceremonies of Idolatry, in which he had liv'd. He ſent him word, to appoint the Day and Place for being Baptiz'd, and he would ſee all perform'd as he ſhould direct, for which Reaſon he left it to his Choice. The Meſſengers returning to *Momoya*, were not only proud of having embrac'd the Chriſtian Faith, but of the good Uſage they receiv'd from the Governour and other Chriſtians, telling the *Sangiack* all that had happen'd, and the Anſwer they brought him. The *Sangiack*, led by his own inclination, and encourag'd by their Account, imbark'd in ſome *Carcoas* with the greateſt Splendor of Muſick and Gayety he was able. Being come in Sight of *Ternate*, *Triſtan de Ataide* went out to meet him with no leſs Pomp. He lodg'd and entertain'd him accordingly, and order'd a Learned and Religious Man to Catechize and inſtruct him. Some Days after when the Cathecumens were fitted for it, they receiv'd Baptiſm, with publick Rejoycings, and greater Solemnity than had ever been ſeen in *Ternate*. There was not a Chriſtian but what brought Palm-Branches and Flowers from that natural Garden of the Iſland; beſides Muſick, Dancing, Firing of great Guns, and even the very Barbarians rejoyc'd. The *Sangiack* in Baptiſm took the Name of *Don John*; he ſtay'd ſome Days rejoycing and Feaſting with the *Portugueſes*, and then return'd home, taking along with him the Prieſt that inſtructed him, call'd *Simon Vaz*, to improve him in the Knowledge of the Faith. That Prieſt liv'd with him ſome Years in his City, leading an Exemplar Life, and exerciſing himſelf in Works of Officious and pure Charity, by which means he converted great Numbers of Heathens, and particularly the Inhabitants of *Momoya*. But being alone, and the Number of thoſe God was pleaſed for his Glory, to bring to him increaſing very faſt, he ſent to *Triſtan de Atayde* for another Prieſt to aſſiſt him in that Function, and he accordingly ſent *F. Francis Alvarez*. They both in a ſhort time converted the Infidels of that Part, throwing down all the *Pagodes*, ſo they call'd their Idols, cleanſing thoſe Places, and converting the Houſes of Abomination and Darkneſs into Churches of the living God. *Triſtan de Atayde* ſo far favour'd the new *Don John*, as to ſend along with him ſome *Portugueſe* Soldiers to defend his Perſon and Fort, and this Prince maintain'd very friendly Correſpondence with him. His End we ſhall ſoon ſee and admire in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

The People of *Ternate* at the ſame time took another Courſe, for they hating *Sultan Tabarija*, and deſiring his Death, talk'd with the Governour in private, and gave him to underſtand that his Life was in Danger, for *Tabarija* contriv'd to kill him, as had been done by *Gonzalo Pereyra*, that ſo he might ſeize the Fort, turning out the *Portugueſes*. The Governour hearing his Life, and the Fort were both in Jeopardy, and calling to mind the yet freſh Example of his Predeceſſor, eaſily believ'd the Deſign, but cunningly diſſembled. He contriv'd that ſome *Portugueſes* on account

Portugueſes *ſerve the King.*

of real or pretended Differences should have Recourse to the King's Favour, as sometimes they us'd to do, and should prevail upon him to come to the Fort to speak for them. He was apply'd to by some, and like an innocent Man suspecting nothing, went to the Fort to intercede for them. He was immediately seiz'd and loaded with Irons, and being brought to Trial, the same Persons that contriv'd his Imprisonment, appear'd as Witnesses against him. After a tedious Examination, or show of it, the Result was, that he should be sent to *India* to justifie himself. He imbark'd with a safe Conscience, and his Cause being examin'd before the Viceroy *Antony Barreto* at *Goa*, he was clear'd, and confessing the Holy Spirit had taken that method to draw him to Salvation, was Baptiz'd in that City with great Satisfaction, by the Name of *Don Emanuel*. In his Return homewards, expecting the *Monson* at *Malaca* to put to Sea, he dy'd with extraordinary Tokens of a sincere Christian; and having no lawful Heir, appointed King *John* the Third of *Portugal* to succeed him in all his Kingdoms. The Will was afterwards carry'd to *Ternate*, where the great Ones and Commonalty accepted of it, owning King *John* for their Soveraign. This was perform'd with Acclamations in the Streets and publick Places, as also in the Courts of Judicature, taking Possession with the Royal Standard of *Portugal* display'd, and all other usual Solemnities and Ceremonies. In the Year 1549, *Jordan de Freytas* carry'd the publick Instruments of the Possession to *Lisbon*.

His Conversion and Death.

To return to the Course of the History when *Tristan de Atayde* had Imbark'd King *Tabarija* for *India*, he fought out for a Bastard Brother of his call'd *Aerio*, born of a *Javanese* Mother. The Lad was then ten years of Age, bred by his Mother in a retir'd manner, at a Pleasure-House encompass'd with perpetual Greens, the natural Disposition being improv'd by Art, which so far prevail'd that the Flower so wonderful for its Fragancy and manner of growing call'd *Triste*, or melancholy; found only in *Malabar* and *Malaca*, abounded in this Ladies Gardens. She ador'd the Sun, and brought up her Child in that Folly, that he might forget the Rudiments he learnt at *Goa*, when in the Colledge of the *Jesuits*. The Idolaters believe, or feign, that a most beautiful Daughter of *Parizataco*, a *Satrapa*, or Nobleman, fell in love with the Sun, and that he after complying with, and obliging her, setled his Affections on another, and the first not able to endure that another should be preferr'd before her, kill'd her self. From her Ashes, for in those parts they still retain the Custom of burning dead Bodies, sprung that *Melancholy Tree*, say they, whose Blossoms or Flowers still preserving the Memory of their Original, have such a Hatred for the Sun, that they cannot bear his Light. This Plant is call'd in the *Canarine* Tongue *Parizataco*, from the *Indian* Womans Father, who was Metamorphos'd like *Daphne*, tho' on another Account. The *Malayes* call it *Singadi*; the *Arabs*, *Guart*; the *Persians* and *Turks*, *Gul*; the *Decanines*, *Pul*; and the *Portuguese*, *Arvore Triste*; that is, the Melancholy Tree. It shoots out abundance of slender Branches, regularly divided by Knots, from each of which two Leaves sprout, opposite to one another, like those of the Plum-Tree, but soft like Sage, and cover'd with a white Down. From each Leaf sprouts a Nib, or Nipple, whence five Heads shoot out small at the end, each of them adorn'd with four smaller round

The Melancholy Tree, and Flower.

round Leaves; from each little Head proceed five Flowers, the fifth in the midſt of the other four; among them the white Flowers viſibly grow out, being bigger than Orange Flowers, and ſo faſt after Night fall, that the Motion of them is perceptible. This Fruitfulneſs laſts all the Night, till the Appearing of the Sun renders it barren, and cauſes all the Flowers and Leaves to drop off, the Boughs remaining wither'd. On a ſudden all that Fragrancy ceaſes, which enrich'd the Air with all the ſweet Odours of *Aſia*, included in this alone; till the Sun leaving the Horizon again, the Plant again flouriſhes in its beloved Darkneſs, as if it then retriev'd the Wrong it receiv'd from the Light. The *Aſiaticks* are exceſſively fond of Perfumes, which is an Argument of their Laſcivioufneſs. Great Taxes are laid in ſeveral Provinces, on all ſweet Scents.

Portuguſes *ſent to fetch* Aerio.

The *Portugueſes* came arm'd to that Houſe, where the aforeſaid Princeſs bred her Son, and demanded him in the Name of *Triſtan de Atayde*; ſhe would willingly have hid him, but could not, and therefore began to excuſe her ſelf, and beg they would leave him. It avail'd nothing, for the Meſſengers had Orders not to return without him, and to gain her Conſent, ſwore they would carry him to reign in the ſtead of *Tabarija*, and that as ſoon as he came to the Fort, he ſhould be received as King, both by the *Ternates* and *Portugueſes*. Some Relations tell us, that then the Mother, ſhedding Abundance of Tears, ſtreightly embracing the Prince, cry'd out, ſaying, *Were I aſſur'd that you took him away to reign peaceably, without any Oppoſition, or Apprehenſion, well belov'd and obey'd by his Subjects, and in ſettled Proſperity, undiſturb'd by any Frights; yet would I rather ſee him grow up and continue in a private Life, without burdening himſelf with any publick Concern, than that he ſhould reign to pleaſe your Humour; this was my Intention in retiring with him, and I would gladly conceal him from all humane Converſation. If ſo, what can I think of what you now promiſe me? Will it be reaſonable, that I deliver you my Son to receive the Crown, and that you at the ſame time deſign him for Impriſonment and Fetters, from which nothing ſhall, or can poſſibly deliver him but Poiſon and falſe Accuſations, which have brought his Brothers and Parents to their End? What Security have I from Fortune, that ſhe will in this Child be reconciled to that Family, which ſhe has condemned to immortal Enmity with the* Europeans, *in Requital for having friendly entertain'd them; and decreed that, inſtead of the Protection it hop'd to find in your Arms, you ſhould lay on it an intollerable Yoke? Leave us then, both Mother and Son, to employ our ſelves about the Works of Nature, ſince coſtly Experience has ſo fully undeceived us as to the Effects of Fortune. Permit us to divert the Thoughts of them, with the Quiet, and Improvements of theſe Gardens. Let us be allow'd to want that which ſo many ſeek after.* *James de Couto*, in his *Decades* relates this Fact, and the Mother's Lamentation, and Words. The *Portugueſes*, no longer able to give Ear to thoſe diſmal Reflections, which did not ſavour of a barbarous Woman, ran up to her, and forc'd away her Son, whom ſhe ſtruggled to defend. He, ſays the ſame Author, obſerving his Mother's Tears, and the Reaſons ſhe alledg'd for not parting with him, and having ſome anticipated Notion of the Sweetneſs of Reigning, which he had not yet taſted, ſtood gazing on her and them, full of Confuſion. The Rudeneſs, and Inſolence

His Mother's Speech to keep him.

of

of the Soldiers put an End to all; for tho' they had no such Orders from their Commander, being deaf to, and weary of hearing the Complaints of a Disconsolate Woman; they at the same time seiz'd the Son, and laying hold of the Mother, cast her headlong out at the Window: The new King was carry'd to the Fort, and at the same time that the Subjects swore Fidelity to him, they with general Lamentation celebrated his Mother's Obsequies, which were perform'd with greater Solemnity, than even those of the Principal Queens. This Inhumanity exceeding even the *Canibals*, and consequently unworthy the pretended *Portugueses* Bravery; being bruited Abroad in the Neighbouring Provinces, produc'd that just Hatred which was of Force to unite; and actually drew into a Confederacy all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, against the *Portugueses*. They assembled in Council, and in the Meeting concerted their Design, declaring that the Oppression they were under, was intollerable, the *Portugueses* making and deposing Kings to thier own Humour and Fancy, insulting those Crowns which had given them the Power they had abus'd, contrary to all Laws of Humanity, without allowing the Natives so much as a Vote in Elections. Having agreed upon the Enterprize, they provided all Things for the Execution, whilst the appointed Time came, which they diligently made as short as might be, and expected with Dissimulation.

The Portugueſe *murder her.*

Confederacy against them.

The *Spanish* and *Portugueſe* Fleets at this Time continu'd their Voyages to the *Archipelago*, their several known Ways; the *Spaniards* from *New Spain* to the *Phillippine* Islands; the *Portugueses* along the Coasts of *Africk*, and so to *Malaca*. Both Sides exercised their Power, and carry'd on their Trade with Ambition, and, as some say, with Cruelty; but the most bloody Theatre of continual Tragedies, was *Ternate* and all the *Molucco's*. There both Nations of *Castile* and *Portugal* decided their Quarrel by the Sword, whilst their Kings in *Europe* only contended by Dint of Cunning, and Cosmography. At this time the Matter was not so plain, as when the Cosmographers and Commissioners on both Sides, lay'd down the Meridian, whereby to assign each of them one half of the World to their King. For the Admiral *Christopher Columbus* returning from his first Discovery of the *West-Indies*, in the Year 1493. Pope *Alexander* the VIth. granted the Investiture of them, for the Crown of *Castile*, to their Catholick Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth*; and to obviate the Differences that might arise between the two Crowns, to the obstructing the Propagation of the Gospel, by the same Apostolical Authority, which in that spiritual Capacity is not limited to any part of the Globe, he divided it betwixt those two Crowns, ordering a Line to be drawn along the Heavens to cut both the Poles, distant on the Earth one hundred Leagues from the Islands of the *Azores* and *Cabo Verde*. By Vertue of this Division, the Emperor pretended that the *Molucco* Islands were within his Limits, ever since *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, his Commander in chief, *Sebastian del Cano*, and his Companions, who went with *Magellan*, took Possession of them for his Crown. Pretending at the same Time, that they were the first Christians that arriv'd at the *Molucco's*, and that then he was own'd as Sovereign by *Sultan Coralà*, King of *Ternate*, who reign'd before *Sultan Bongue*; by *Sultan Alwanzor*, King of *Tydore*, by *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, and other Princes, who all swore Fealty

Difference about the Moluccos, *between* Spain *and* Portugal.

Fealty by their Idols, and the *Alcoran*; and that *Gonzalo Gomez* admitted them, and ſwore to the Obſervance of what had been agreed on, in his King's Name, before an Image of the Bleſſed Virgin. He urg'd, that by Mathematical Demonſtration, and the Judgment of Men learned in that Faculty, it appear'd, that the *Moluccos* were within the Limits of *Caſtile*, as were all others, as far as *Malaca*, and even beyond it. That it was no eaſy Undertaking for *Portugal* to go about to diſprove the Writings of ſo many Coſmographers, and ſuch able Mariners; and particularly the Opinion of *Magellan*, who was himſelf a *Portugueſe*. And that in Caſe he might be thought partial, becauſe of his being diſoblig'd in *Portugal*, that Exception did not lie againſt *Francis Serrano*, who was alſo a *Portugueſe*, and had been favour'd and cheriſh'd. That to ſay the Sea Charts had been maliciouſly contriv'd, was a groundleſs Objection, and not probable. Beſides that, in Relation to the Article of Poſſeſſion, on which the Controverſy depended, it was only requiſite to ſtand by what was writ by, and receiv'd among Coſmographers. *Argments for* Spain.

In Anſwer to this, King *John* of *Portugal*, deny'd the Fact of the Diſcovery, as to its Precedency; for *Serrano*'s was in the Year 1511, and that of *Magellans* Companions nine Years later, in 1520. He declar'd the Globes, Aſtrolabes, and Sea Charts to be partial, and that in Caſe they were rectify'd, drawing the aforeſaid Meridian, according to Rules of Aſtrology, his Limits would not only comprehend the *Moluccos*, but reach far beyond the *Philippine* Iſlands. He offer'd King *Tabarija*'s laſt Will on his Behalf; and ſaid, that if the Line were fairly drawn, obſerving Eclipſes, as had been done ſometimes, the Truth of his Aſſertion would appear. To this they added, the Papers of the Geographer and Aſtrologer, *Andrew de S. Martin*, by which it appear'd, that he ſailing with *Magellan*, his before unattempted Voyage, had obſerved ſeveral Eclipſes, and Oppoſitions. Among the reſt, on the 17th of *December*, 1519. He in the River call'd *Rio de Janeyro*, took an Obſervation of a Conjunction of *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; on the firſt of *February* 1520, another of the *Moon* and *Venus*; ſoon after another of the *Sun* and *Moon*, after paſſing the Streights, another Oppoſition of the *Sun* and *Moon*, and others at other times; all which, tho' calculated by him to the Meridian of *Sevil*, avail'd nothing to his Deſign, which was to prove that the *Molucco* Iſlands did not belong to *Portugal*; for which Reaſon he found Fault with *John de Monteregio*'s Tables and Almanacks. All theſe Papers were preſerv'd by *Edward Reſende* Factor at the *Moluccos*, a learned and curious Man. They ſaid, that ſince there was then a Treaty about the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Iſlands; in a Caſe of that Conſequence it was not proper, to avoid alledging, and examining the Grounds of their Property, to prevent the Deciſion of the Sword, which was the Court where that Controverſy was pleaded; and when once it comes to that paſs, there was no Poſſibility of ſtanding to ſpeculative Writing, which not being made good by Experience, muſt at leaſt be look'd upon as uncertain. Portugueſe *Anſwer*.

The Poſſeſſion of the *Molucco* Iſlands was of great Conſequence to the King of *Portugal*, for carrying on the Trade of Spice, and being inform'd of the War ſtill maintain'd between his Subjects and the Emperor's, in thoſe Parts, he daily us'd freſh Endeavours to bring that Buſineſs to ſome Concluſion, that ſo the War might ceaſe. The Emperor had not ſo much

much Intelligence of what his Commanders did in *Asia*; because the *Portugueſe* ſuffer'd no Ships, but their own to paſs by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the way of *New-Spain*, that Voyage was not much frequented, and therefore not ſo well known; and beſides all this he then ſtood in need of a great Sum of Money. In the Year 1525, there was a Treaty at *Segovia*, by his Majeſties Order, for compoſing of this Difference, and in 1526 it was held at *Sevil*, where the *Portugueſe* Embaſſador; and the Licenciate *Azevedo* of that Kings Council, were met by the Biſhops of *Oſma*, Preſident of the Council of the *Indies*, Doctor *Laurence Galindez*, of the ſame Council, and *Don Garcia de Padilla*, firſt Commendary of *Calatrava*, on the Emperor's ſide, as Commiſſioners, and Plenipotentaries, beſides the Lord-High-Chancellor, and the Popes *Nuncio*, *Mercurio Gatnara*. After many Meetings, and much Strife, to which there were alſo Civilians, Geographers, and Mariners admitted; all which only puzzled the Cauſe, whence enſu'd Law Suits, Arbitrations, and other Fruitleſs Negociations in *Spain*, and Wars in *Aſia* between the Ships of both Crowns: After all this there was a Ceſſation, and Quietneſs, the Emperor Mortgaging thoſe controverted Iſlands to the King of *Portugal*, for 350000 Ducats. This was concluded at *Zaragoza*, on the 22d of *Auguſt* 1529, as his Imperial Majeſty was going over to be Crown'd in *Italy*. The Line of Diviſion was again examin'd, and what Parts of the Earth it is to run through; the Times of Payment were fix'd, with other Conditions, and Salvos of the Right on both ſides, that ſo neither Oblivion, nor the Kindred between the two Kings might confound it.

The Difference adjuſted.

By Relations Written in thoſe Days it appears, that the Emperor conſulting *Peter Ruyz de Villegas*, a grave and learned Gentleman, about this Mortgage; his Anſwer was condemning it, and declaring, That his Majeſty had better to have Mortgaged any other of his Kingdoms, than that of the *Moluccos*, *Trapobana*, or *Malaca*, or any other in the Eaſt; all which, in his Opinion, belong'd to his Majeſty; and he grounded his Opinion on Time's caſting Treaties into Oblivion, and the great uncertainty of State Affairs. Many others adviſed the Emperor to repay that great Sum to the King of *Portugal*; and what is yet more, the Repreſentatives in the *Cortes* of *Caſtile*, propos'd that the Emperor ſhould make over to them the *Molucco* Iſlands for ſix Years, by way of Farm, and they would pay King *John* the Mortgage Money, and bring the Trade of Spice to *Corunna*, and after the ſix Years his Majeſty ſhould carry on that Trade. The Emperor hearing of this Innovation, order'd a ſtop to it, and that no further Progreſs ſhould be made in fitting out the Fleet deſign'd for the *Moluccos*, under *Simon de Alcazova*, and forwarded by the Biſhop of *Ciudad Rodrigo*.

Spaniards *againſt quitting the* Moluccos.

Orders, and Letters Patents, were drawn and ſealed, for both Nations to forbear Hoſtilities, but the Emperor's Subjects never receiv'd Commands from him to withdraw their Forces for any other Enterprize, nor did they know what had been agreed on in *Spain*, any other way than by the Account they had from the *Portugueſes* who had receiv'd Orders from their King, to conclude a Peace, and to Ship off the *Spaniards* by the way of *India* for *Spain*. This Agreement put an End to all Judicial, and Military Contention. Since then the Viciſſitude of Times has inveſted all the Right, and Title in our King. So that, according to grave Civilians, he might,

War ceaſes between Spaniards *and* Portugueſes.

might, as they say, invert the Titles, or possess by them all, without confounding the Right; Heaven having design'd him to be Sovereign of such a vast Monarchy, and given him that Hereditary Zeal, which makes him offer his whole Power to oppose Hereticks and Sectaries, and to spread the Faith, and its perfect Politicks among such Multitudes of Souls as have received it, in so many barbarous Provinces. For this same Reason it will be superfluous to examine any further into the Limits assign'd by that Law, which could never be settled.

Portugueses *Possession of the* Moluccos.

This Accommodation being concluded, the *Portugueſe* Fleets, without any Opposition from those of *Castile*, peaceably possess'd themselves of the Islands of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and the others about them. From the first of these, as their Head in Spirituals, our Priests went Abroad to preach the Word of Truth, which was receiv'd by several Kings and Nations, leaving but inconsiderable Remains of Idolatry, and other Sects. Whole Cities, whose Soveraigns chose to continue in their Darkness, not regarding their Prince's Example, which uses to have the Force of a Law, threw down their Idols, and consecrated Profaneness, dedicating their Temples to the True God. The Kings of *Portugal* built Garrisons, and Factories for the Christians to inhabit; sending their Commanders and Officers, who curbed the Kings, and the *Sangiacks* their Subjects. Some Governours there were, who besides the Care they took of propagating the Gospel, and maintaining Peace in those Parts, endeavour'd by endearing Means to attract the Barbarians to love our Habits, to affect our Ways of Entertainment, and the *European* Affability and Conversation, and gently inclin'd them to our Customs and Manners, which in some Places made them look upon that as a Sort of Equality, when it was no better than Servitude. The powerful Union of Justice and Religion was however the most prevalent; but the Commanders and Governours being defective in the first of these Virtues, on which inward Felicity and Government depend; the Subjects lost the second, and return'd to their former Blindness, as appears by what has been already said, and more fully by what is to follow, since we are now come to the Election of *Sultan Aerio*, in whose Days *Ternate* was utterly lost, and could never be recovered either by Force or Art, till the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; a just Reward of his Piety and Zeal. The lawful Queen, by those People call'd *Putviz*, was as much concern'd for *Aerio*'s Mother's Death, as for any of her own Sons. She was present at her Funeral, and lamenting immoderately, curs'd the Domination of the *Portugueſes*, calling it Tyranny. All the Machinations of those who study'd Revenge were known to her, and she forwarded them with her Advice; for as they said, nothing now remain'd of the former Moderation of the Governours sent thither out of *Europe*, nor of that Regard and Respect they used to have for them.

Converſations.

The End of the First Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK II.

THE Alliance concluded betwixt the Kings of the *Archipelago*, and particularly *Vaygamano*, *Vaigeo*, *Quibibio*, and *Mincimbio*, reigning in the Islands *Papuas*, was follow'd by such an Accident, that tho' the Minds of the Confederates had not been already so well dispos'd, nor the Blood of those Innocent Kings so newly spilt, it would have consummated the Hatred they had conceived against the *Portuguese* Nation. All the Ports of the *Molucco* Islands were so well secur'd, and the Passage for Provisions so wholly stopp'd up, that *Tristan de Atayde* despairing of Relief, sent Captain *Pinto* to *Mindanao*, and the Neighbouring Islands, to furnish such things as were absolutly necessary for the Support of Life, there being nothing to be had within his Liberties. *Pinto* sailing in a good Ship, arriv'd at *Mindanao*, visited the King, by whom he was well receiv'd; and he having seen his Credentials, and consulted the *Sangiacks* of his Council, establish'd Peace and Amity with him. He sold the Commodities he carry'd at his own Rates, and buying and barterring, loaded with Provisions to his own Content; thence he went over to the Island *Seriago*, where he was no less successful with the King. In this Island, that their Friendship might last for ever, they concluded the Peace with a barbarous Ceremony, which when practis'd in those Parts, they never break the Articles. The Parties being met, certain Officers appointed for that Purpose, draw a Quantity of Blood from their Arms, and each drinks the other's, as a Gage of Affection; believing they convey it into their Souls, by that horrid Draught. This Contract so ratify'd, produc'd such Confidence, that their Ships repair'd to our Ports,

Pinto sent for Relief.

Barbarous Custome.

Ports, and ours to theirs, with all poſſible Security, without any Let or Prohibition. *Pinto* perceiving what a Multitude of the Natives reſorted to his Ship, reſolved to make a Prey of them; and the laſt Day, Forty of them coming Aboard to Trade, he perſwaded them to go down into the Hold, on Pretence of ſhowing them its Bulk and Conveniencies, and as ſoon as they were down, ſhut the Hatches upon them; this he practiſed ſeveral times, till at laſt, tho' he obſerv'd them cloſe, one of them forcing his Way out, leap'd into the Sea, and ſwam aſhore. He went directly to the King, whom he acquainted with the villanous Practice: The King juſtly enrag'd, to ſee Friendſhip ſo newly contracted, and confirm'd by the the moſt ſacred of Tyes, in his Opinion, ſo perfidiouſly violated by the *Portugueſes*, thinking Religion affronted, immediately order'd all the Ships that were afloat to be brought together, and ſuch as were finiſh'd in the Docks, to be launch'd; all which being well equipp'd, ſtor'd with Guns, and full of thoſe furious Barbarians, encompaſs'd the *Portugueſe* Ship, attacking her on all Sides. *Pinto* was beginning to weigh his Anchors, having ſeen the Ships in Motion, and the Men haſting Aboard; he defended himſelf with only 25 Soldiers, who had ſcarce time to handle their Arms; for the Natives of *Seriago* began already to Board, and thoſe who were Priſoners under Deck had prevaild, but that the Mariners loos'd their Sails. At this time there fell a dreadful Storm of Rain, with ſuch amazing Thunder and Lightning, as if the Heavens had been rent aſunder. The *Seriagos* quitted the *Portugueſe* Ship, endeavouring to recover the Shore in their own Veſſels, with their Sails rent, the Hulls ſhatter'd, and the Rigging diſabled; and to get off the better, they threw over-board their Cannon and Arms, being in danger of ſinking. This Tempeſt laſted two Days, during which Time, *Pinto*'s Ship could not eſcape, his Men and he being ſo far ſpent, that they had neither Strength nor Courage to ſtand by their Tackle; they let the Ship drive with the Sea, and threw over-board their Proviſions, Merchandize, Guns, Arms, Cloaths, and all they could come at; and being convinc'd of the Juſtice of the Judgment, for having broken their Faith, and ſolemn Engagement they had made, arriv'd at *Ternate* aſtoniſh'd, dumb, and out of Countenance, thinking they were ſtill in the Storm. Such are the Effects of a guilty Conſcience, which preſently provokes God's Wrath.

Villany of Pinto.

All the Kings of the adjacent Iſlands were ſoon acquainted with the Perfidiouſneſs of thoſe few *Portugueſes*, that they had tranſgreſs'd the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality, and always made a miſchievous Uſe of Benefits; whereupon they immediately concluded their League, to be exerciſed like deſperate Men. They preſently made Proclamation, forbidding, under moſt ſevere Penalties, the conveying of any Proviſions to the *Portugueſes*, either by Sea or Land, that ſo they might be reduc'd to quit all thoſe Provinces, and fly into *India*, and ſince they could not batter the Fort, for Want of great Guns, they ſhould ſtarve it out; enjoyning all Perſons of all Ages, and both Sexes, to be vigilant in obſerving this fatal Decree, that ſo the Trading Galeon might not afford them the Comfort of hoping for Relief. Then conſidering that the main Motive of their exerciſing ſuch Tyranny, was the Spice of Cloves, wherewith *Ternate*, and all the *Molluccos* abound, the Natives reſolv'd to ſet Fire to all the Trees, endeavouring

Leagues againſt the Portugueſes.

that the Conflagration should be so Universal, as that the *Moluccos* might ever after remain barren. They well knew that this was contriving their own Ruin; but they look'd upon it as a pleasing and advantageous Destruction, so they might but be reveng'd of their Enemies.

Reflection. The Crop of Cloves makes the Wealth of the *Moluccо* Kings, much more than the Taxes their Subjects pay; and tho' Rage, and Despair put Fire into their Hands, to burn their Country, it might happen, as sometimes Mistakes prove advantageous, that what they design'd to render their Fields Barren, might make them more Fruitful. It is well known that course Ashes mix'd, and scatter'd on the Face of the Earth often Fertilize it. Nothing is more frequent in *Europe* than to burn the Stubble, and Straw upon barren Lands; because, either the burnt Earth gathers some unknown Strength, and produces good Pasture, or else the Fire consumes its Rankness, and exhales the superfluous Moisture. Perhaps the intense Heat opens several Passages, and dilates the close Pores, and hidden Veins, thro' which the Nourishment flows, and thence the Earth receives it in all Parts, to make it capable of a new Product; or else it hardens, and closes the Vents which were open'd, that so the thin Waters, or the continual Intenseness of the Sun, or the piercing Cold of the North-East Wind, which is chilling, may do it no Harm. Besides, Nature having chosen that only Part of the World to produce this sort of Fruit, in which there has never been observ'd any Failure, or Intermission, it could not be believing that a Momentary Violence should utterly cause it to cease. However the Design of those People was not to renew those Spicy Groves, but entirely to destroy them. This shows how mischievously they were bent against themselves, and against all Nations. It will be therefore convenient in this Place to treat of the Cloves at large.

Account of Cloves. The first that made any Account of it, were the *Chineses*, who attracted by the Scent, began to load their *Junks* with it for the Gulphs of *Persia* and *Arabia*. *Pliny* was acquainted with, and defines it, saying, It is a long Pepper; and calls it *Garyophillum*. The *Persians* gave it since the Name of *Calafur*, it does not belong to us to decide which of these Words was derived from the other. The *Spaniards* formerly call'd it *Girofe*, and afterwards *Claves*, because they are like Nails, which bear the same Name. The Head of the Clove, having four small Teeth that cross it, resembles a Star. The Natives of the *Moluccos* call the Tree *Siger*, the Leaf *Varaqua*, and the Fruit *Chamque*. The Plant is not unlike our Bay-Tree, but bears a greater Head. When it begins to blossom, it spreads a most delicious Fragrancy, and on the very Top like the Myrtle, from one single Stock produces an infinite Number of Clusters, like those of *Elder*, or the *Honey-Suckle*. At first coming out they are White, as they grow up Green, and the third Season, when Ripe, makes them Red; this Variety of Colours, by inward Virtue, showing the several Terms that bring it to Perfection. Those that remain on the Clusters, which they call *Mother Cloves*, continue there a year, growing larger and stronger. They either thresh the Branches to gather them, or else shake them with Cords they have made fast above, drawing from below, after the Ground about is clean'd; but it is naturally clear from Weeds, for this Sovereign Tree suffers no sort of Herb to grow about it. It draws all the moisture so powerfully to it self, that all

Roots

Roots about are deſtroy'd, or ſtarv'd. It bears at eight Years ſtanding, and laſts an hundred. Some ſay it would hold longer, were it not ſtrip'd with ſuch Violence, which it avenges by growing Barren; but they are miſtaken, for in the Iſlands of *Bachian*, they lop the Branches, that they may produce more Cloves, and the low Branches bear leaſt. From theſe they gather the Cloves with their Hands, and they only bear when the *Monſon* blows. They yield their Fruit from *September* to *February* every two Years. Others ſay once in three; becauſe when they gather the Clove, beſides that the Plant is much impair'd, they break off thoſe Buds, which produce the Bloſſoms of the Cloves; but then they afford certain hopes of another Crop. The Truth of it is, that Nature allows them a Year's reſpit, during which they reſt like the Olive-Trees in *Europe*. They are gathered when Ripe, and their Ripeneſs appears by being Red. Being ſpread in the Sun, in three Days they dry up, and contract a blackiſh Aſh-colour. *Avicen*, by his leave, was deceiv'd, when he ſaid that the Gum of the Clove Tree is anſwerable in its Virtue to Turpentine; for Experience has prov'd the contrary. Beſides, that Trees exceſſive hot or cold, yeild no Gum, but only thoſe which are temperate between both. Sea-Water Feeds, and Freſh does them Harm. A certain Hiſtorian Writes, that they yield Fruit twice a Year; if by it he means the middle Crop, which is very ſmall, we grant it; but if he ſpeaks of the moſt Fruitful, as the Triennial, which with general Amazement produces enough to ſerve all Nations, the Belief of his Aſſertion will remain in the Author himſelf. Theſe Plants make amends for their delay in the Abundance of their Product; which is ſuch, that after enriching all Nations with it, the K. of *Spain*'s Revenue out of it, Yearly amounts to two Millions of pieces of Eight, little over or under. It is generally reckon'd that only the five *Molucco* Iſlands produce all the Clove, becauſe of the prodigious Quantity they yield. They always amount to Four Thouſand *Bars*, each Bar of *Ternate* being four hundred Weight, and three quarters, and this for that Iſland; but the third of the whole taken for the King amounts to ſix thouſand Bars, and every common Bar is better than five hundred Weight of ours. Perhaps the Word *Bar* might come from the *Greek Baros*, ſignifying a Load. The Cloves grow alſo in the ſmall Iſlands of *Ires* and *Meytavana*, about *Ternate*; thoſe of *Pulo* and *Cavali* near *Tydore*, and in *Gilolo*, *Sabugo* and *Gamoconora*, Towns of *Rachina*; as alſo in the Iſlands of *Amboyna* and *Veranula*, more in this laſt than in all the others, but they are weak, and ſmaller. The Clove Trees grow up without any Help of Art, like all Trees coming from Rocks, and they made the only Woods in theſe Iſlands, which ſucking in all the moiſture Heaven affords, it is a wonder to ſee any other Plant near. When they have a mind to Tranſplant a Clove Tree, they ſet it where many Weeds grow, that it may thrive the ſooner, by the help of the Moiſture, and Virtue it ſucks from them, and as the Tree thrives thoſe Plants periſh. For the ſame reaſon Cloves are ill Neighhours to full Veſſels. The Ring Doves, whereof there are great numbers in *Gilolo*, eat many of thoſe Cloves which grow Old upon the Tree, then flying they purge in the Air with the Motion, and from their Excrements dropping on the Ground Clove Trees grow up. Heaven has given them ſo plentfully only to theſe Iſlands, abſtractly from all the World beſide; being at firſt not valu'd, or known

Miſtake of Avicen.

known by the Natives. This is what they would have destroy'd by Fire, that it might be totally annihilated; because the Flames gather more Strength among combustible Matter, than other Violences, to which sublunary things are subject.

Moluccos *describ'd.*

Since we are now upon the Description of the *Moluccos*, and in regard that those delightful Provinces are so remote from us, we will go on with what is remarkable in them, to shew the desperate Fury of those People, who had condemn'd them to the Flames. All the five *Molucco* Islands are almost round, and of the same Shape. The compass of the biggest is not seven Leagues. They have all Crags, of a wonderful Height, cover'd with an odoriferous Fragrancy of wild Cloves; and about them several Cities, Towns and Forts. Their exact Roundness is the Reason they have no good Harbours for both the *Monsons* of Norwest and South. Only *Ternate* forms the Port they call *Talangame*, and a League from it, that of *Toloco*, where Ships ride safe, and with their Boats close to the Shore. The Forts were not erected in either of them, because they should not be remote from the King's Court. Both these Ports look to the Eastward, and have ridges of Rocks that break off the Sea, and secure the Vessels. That of *Ternate*, opposite to the Fort admits of Caravels, at high Water and spring-Tides, which being unloaded ride where they will. This Ridge of Rocks is of a sort of Stone, that turns into Coral, which when old hardens, and shooting out many Branches, knits together, and turns again into Stone, whereof excellent Lime is made. It is so contriv'd that those who come to it by Sea, think they see noble Structures erected for the Defence of the Harbour. The Mountain, which rises in the midst of *Ternate*, two Leagues in Height, and cover'd with Palm, and other rare Trees, has on the Top of it a Mouth or Cave, that seems to reach down to the very Center. A Man can hardly be seen from the one side to the other. Within it is a Square Spot, like a Threshing-Floor, made of Stones and loose Earth. Some curious Persons have view'd it, and among them one *Gabriel Rebelo* Factor, and Alcayde of the Fort; who having sounded it, tying together several long Fishing-Lines, found it was 500 Fath. deep. At the Bottom gushes out a beautiful Spring, tho' no Man has dar'd to Taste of it, or try whether it is Sweet or Sower. The loose Floor shakes with the Fire in the Bowels of the Mountain; whereof the first Account was given by *Anthony Galvam*, who Observ'd it in the Year 1538, when he was Commander in Chief over these Islands. He went up to see that Wonder in Nature, at a safe Time, for he could not have done it in *April*, or *September*, when the Sun moves from one Hemisphere to the other, and crosses the Equinoctial, which cuts half a Degree of *Ternate*, because of the Winds then kindling the Flames. Had *Pliny*, when he went out of Curiosity to see the Burning of Mount *Vesuvius*, in *Italy*, taken another opportunity, he had not been Burnt to Death, as his Nephew writ to *Cornelius Tacitus*. It stinks, and casts out Smoke, Sulphur, and Red-Stones, as it were out of the Mouth of a Canon; shewing the Mountain to be hollow at the Foundation. It causes Earthquakes, and Noise; and the Flames, and burnt Stones, have reach'd to the City, and Fort, and even to the Islands of the *Meaos* and *Cafures*, twenty Leagues from *Ternate*. The Smoke is of several Colours, because the Moisture and Corruption of the Earth exhales it thick, and diversify'd, which

Burning Mountain.

which is help'd by the ill Quality of the Air, and that, with the falling of the Excrements the Fire caſts out upon the Springs, corrupts the Waters, and deſtroys Health. Going up this Mountain two thirds of the Height, it is all Green and Fruitful; but the Top is exceſſive Cold, without any ſort of Fowl, or Birds, but abundance of Flyes. Thence is deſcry'd a ſpacious Sea, and an infinite Number of Iſlands; becauſe the Purity of the Air, free from Exhalations, as is ſaid of the Top of Mount *Olympus*, repreſents curious Objects to the Sight, and favours it without any Let, the greater part of the Year. Where the Thickneſs of the Trees Terminates, a Spring of freſh Water guſhes out, ſo very cold that there is no Drinking of it, but by Sips. At the Top, ſome diſtance from the Mouth, which caſts out the Flames, they at this time tore away a piece of the Mountain, whence for two Days abundance of Water flow'd; great pieces of Rocks roul'd down the ſide of the Hill, to the Sea; forming Concavities, and bearing down Trees, and Ruins. The ſame Mountain, on the Top, has a ſpacious ſweet Pool, encompaſs'd with Trees, wherein there are blew, and gold-Colour Alligators, above a Fadom long, who, as ſoon as they hear People ſtirring, plunge down to the Bottom.

Seaſons. These Iſlands know no Difference of Summer and Winter; nor is there any ſettled Rainy Seaſon, but it generally Rains more with the North-Eaſt, than with the South Wind.

Snakes. The *Molucco* Iſlands breed Snakes above 30 Foot long, and proportionably thick; but they are neither Quick of Motion, nor Venomous. Thoſe who have ſeen them affirm, That when they want Suſtenance, they chew a certain Herb Nature has ſhown them, and climbing the Trees by the Sea-ſide, caſt into it what they have chew'd; many Fiſhes come to Eate it, and being made Drunk, lye helpleſs upon the Water; then the Snakes launch out upon them, and ſatisfy their Hunger, till they are full of thoſe ſtupify'd Fiſhes.

Crocodils. The Crocodils on the Land are the fierceſt of Monſters; the Ancients write almoſt the contrary of thoſe of the *Nile*. These in the Sea are ſo Timorous, that they ſuffer themſelves to be bound under Water. A Crocodile has been taken that had four Eyes, and a very little Heart.

Inſect. Here are alſo found certain Inſects, which they call *Cuzos*, living on Trees, on whoſe Fruit they feed: They are like Rabbits, their Hair thick, harſh, and curl'd, of a brightiſh Brown; their Eyes round and ſprightly; their Feet ſmall; and a very long Tail, by which they hang, the better to reach the Fruit; and they ſtink like Foxes.

Parots. In the Deſert Parts there are Wild-Fowl; ſome of the Tame are the ſame we have in *Europe*. The Parots, in their Tongue call'd *Nores*, of ſeveral Colours intermixt, Cry exceſſively, but Talk well. An Iſlander affirms, That at this time, when the People were Conſpiring, a Parrot in the Air cry'd, *I Dye, I Die*; and beating his Wings, fell down Dead. A Relation tells us of another, that came from *Amboyna*, on the Maſt of a ſmall Veſſel, when they went to take him, he cry'd out, *Sebaſtian, Sebaſtian*, who was his Maſter, and came to his aſſiſtance.

Birds and Fiſhes. There are great flocks of black Geeſe, with Parrots Feet; Martins, Swallows, Feldefares, Thruſhes, and Sparrow-Hawks. The variety of Fiſh is infinite; the Sea-Cow, like that of *Brazil*; a ſort of Crab, one part whereof Eaten, kills in 24 Hours; this is on the Sea-ſhore, under certain Trees, whoſe ſhade ſuffers no Graſs or Herb to grow; thoſe who Sleep in it Sicken, and it dries and parches up the

the very Ground. There is another sort of Crabs, not unlike Lobsters, but with less Claws; they have strong white Teeth, with which they break the Shels, to eat the Almonds; they breed among Rocks, are taken at Night with Light; their Body, Claws, and all the Flesh, is like that of a Lobster. Near the Tail they have a Bag, full of a certain Substance delicious to the Taste, for which they are as much valu'd as Pullets.

Strange Sticks. All over the *Moluccos* there grows a sort of reddish Sticks, which burn in the Fire, raise a Flame, and are like a burning Cole, without wasting: They look to be of a Stony Nature, moulder away betwixt the Fingers, and are easily broken by the Teeth. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate*, is to be seen the Plant call'd *Catopa*, from which there drop Leaves less than the common sort; the Stem whereof, on a sudden, is form'd into the Head of a Worm, or Butter-Fly; the Body and Fibers coming from it, make Feet, and the Leafy Part, Wings; so that it soon becoms a perfect Butter-Fly, and at the same time a Leaf. This Tree buds out every Year, like a Chestnut-Tree, and from the Buds proceed these Worms, which run upon Threads fastened to the Leaves. Nature was profuse with those People; especially as to the Cloves, which I distinguish from the Long-Peper *Pliny* perhaps spoke of, when he nam'd the *Garyophillum*. But since the Profit of that so highly valu,d Product, was to occasion such bloody Wars, such incredible Voiages, from all Parts of the World, that the real Dangers, are even beyond human Belief; it may well be controverted, whether it were most for the publick Tranquility, that this Spice should be known, or ever conceal'd; for its Plenty and Virtue, which awaken'd the Avarice of the remotest Nations, has glutted those Seas with the Wracks of Ships, and Fleets, and call'd thither Armies of Rebels, making their passage through Streights before unknown, in the Sight of Mountains cover'd with blew Ice and Snow, as never reach'd by the Suns bright Beams; and yet they venture at all, not out of any Zeal of promoting Religion, or Civility, but only to load with that Spice, which has occasion'd Disobedience and Superstition. This is the precious Commodity, which gives Power and Wealth to those Kings, and causes their Wars. A Wonder of Nature, which plainly shows it has created nothing so harmless, but what is abus'd by human Malice. This is the true Fruit of Discord, rather than the fabulous Apple of the three Godesses, since for it there has been, and still is, more Fighting, than for the Mines of Gold. Had this happen'd in the Days of the *Greek*, or *Latin* Poets, how much more would they have spoken of our *Moluccos*, than they did of the Islands *Gorgones* in the *Ethiopick* Ocean? Let us stop a little to reflect on the Dangers Mortals expose themselves to, rather, perhaps, to please their wanton Appetites, than to confirm their Health.

Tree of Butter-Flies.

A good Remark.

The Confederates meet. The People of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and all the Neighbouring Princes, being impatient to put in Execution their desperate Design, chose the King of *Tydore* for their Head, to joyn with him of *Ternate*, that had been expell'd on account of the Death of *Gonzalo Pereyra*. Among the Relations usually collected by the Christian Curiosity of the Religious Men of the Society, we find that these Kings met in the little Island, which divides *Ternate* from *Tydore*, before they went each of them to his proper Post for performing what was stipulated in the Confederacy, and there the King of *Tydore*,

Tydore, as Chief of the League, ſpoke to them in this Manner. *I cannot mention the Occaſion of this our Union, without ſhedding Tears, for the Joy of the Succeſs, which we look upon as preſent, produces the ſame Effects it would do, were we already Victorious. Our Forces are aſſembled to deliver us from the* Spaniſh *Yoke, puniſhing thoſe Men with the Hazard of our Total Ruin, whom neither our Benefits could oblige, nor our Threats correct. They are the great Robbers of the World, who uſurp it, by ſhrowding their Avarice under ſpecious and godly Pretences. In vain have we endeavour'd to moderate their Pride by Means of our Modeſty and Submiſſion. If they meet with Wealthy Enemies, the* Portugeſes *ſhow themſelves Covetous, if with Needy, they are Ambitious; this is the only Nation that equally ſeeks after others Wealth and Miſeries. They rob, kill, and ſubdue, taking away our Dominions under falſe Titles, and think they have no ſettled Peace, till they have reduc'd the Provinces into Deſarts. We poſſeſs the moſt fruitful Iſlands in* Aſia, *only to purchaſe Servitude and baſe Subjection with their Product, converting this bleſſed Bounty of Heaven into Tribute paid to the Ambition of Intruding Tyrants. Experience has ſhow'd us, how odious our Valour has been to the Chriſtian Commanders, whom, for the ſame Reaſon, we muſt never hope to find more modeſt, or leſs our Enemies. Aſſure your ſelves then, and remember, both Kings and Subjects, both you who ſeek Glory, and you who provide for your Safety, that neither of theſe is to be had without Liberty, nor this without War; nor is the War to be maintain'd without Courage and Unanimity. The Power of the* Portugueſes *is increaſed, and on it their Reputation depends. Having then diſcover'd the Myſtery, and Cauſe of this Tyranny, who is there that will not prepare to try the utmoſt of Fortune, to purchaſe the greateſt of human Felicities, which is Liberty. Other Nations, which when they hear of our Reſolution, will call it Deſpair and Savageneſs; if they weigh it with the Occaſion, will rather Commend than go about to find Excuſes for us. Beſides, every Man knows what is fit for his Religion, his Honour and his Country, better than thoſe who judge of theſe Things at a Diſtance. In ſhort, What is Life worth without Liberty?*

King of Tydore's *Speech.*

Thoſe incenſed Kings made ſuitable Returns to theſe Words, and having taken proper Meaſures to commence and carry on the War, went away in their Veſſels, without loſing Time, or admitting of Delay; as well knowing the many Dangers a great Undertaking is expos'd to, which depends on Secrecy, and is imparted to many.

On the Day appointed, all the Natives departed the City of *Ternate*, with their Families, not in good Order, as in Tranſmigrations, but raging, in Confuſion, and loaded with their Children, and a few Neceſſaries, having before ſent away their Effects to other Iſlands. To convince the *Portugueſes* of their Deſign, and that the People of *Ternate* abandon'd the Country, they ſet Fire to the City in ſeveral Places; the Flames began to take hold and ſpread, till they met, and of many ſmall ones became one general Conflagration, with hideous Noiſe and Cries; for not only the Houſes were burnt, which had for ſo many Ages belong'd to their Forefather, and Anceſtors, but all that attracts the Affection to our Native Country, the Temples, all their worldly Treaſure, and the Bounty of Nature; for the open Country began now to feel the Deſolation, the Caves,

Ternate *City abandon'd and burnt.*

Lakes and Springs, the Rocks, and the very Sea it self shin'd, boil'd up and crack'd, and the Fire receiv'd into the subterraneous Caverns, lying in the hollow Mountains, pierc'd into the deepest Recesses, roaring and overturning Stones and Trees. In the mean while, the People travell'd towards the Deserts, looking back to view the Effects of their Revenge. *Tristan de Atayde*, amaz'd to behold that dreadful Practice, having arm'd some Soldiers, sent Messages to the Queen and Governours, to propose some Accommodation, and appease that inhumane Rage. He promis'd to make Satisfaction, and that all Things should be set right, but it avail'd nothing; for they rather grew more furious, and would not hearken to any Proposal, or admit of Treaty, that might make them slacken in their Resolution. Being come to those Places which Nature has made strong among the Rocks, they arm'd, and in Parties fell upon the Christians, lying in wait for them when they went out for Wood or Water, and killing, or wounding them by Surprize. The Edict was put in Execution throughout all the Islands at the same Time, destroying all the *Portugueses* that were in them. In the City *Momoya*, they kill'd eight that were with *F. Francis Alvarez*, but he fled to a Ship, after receiving several Wounds. In the Island of *Chion*, the Head of *Moratay*; they also slew the Priest, *Simon Vaz*; an Infidel rushing into his Chamber, broke in Pieces the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, he found there painted on a Board; but Heaven suffer'd him not to go unpunish'd, for his Hands drop'd off on the Spot, and he dy'd a few Days after. It was further observ'd, that within a Year there was not one left alive of all his Race, which was destroy'd in War, and by other Misfortunes and Calamities; as the last of them was fishing, a Needle Fish sprung out of the Water, and struck him with the Snout in the Eye, whereof he dyed. The whole Town perish'd miserably within a few Years. *Tristan de Atayde* soon receiv'd the News of this Slaughter of the *Portugueses*, and so successively of the others, throughout all the Islands. He encourag'd his Men, and labour'd to hide his Concern for being shut up among so many Enemies; he regulated the Distribution of Provisions; sent out several Spies, to get Information of the Enemies Motions and Designs; and order'd the Guard upon King *Aerio*, who was in the Fort, to be always watchful, for the more Security, leaving only the Nurses, and other Women that attended him. Then he again employ'd other Persons to propose a Peace to the Queen, and the King of *Tydore*, with ample Commission to offer advantageous Conditions, which were to be immediately perform'd; but all prov'd ineffectual, for an Accident which soon happen'd confirm'd the Enemies Obstinacy.

Resolution of the People.

Portugueses *slaughter'd.*

Catabruno, Governour of *Gilolo*, and Tutor to the Infant King, finding his Usurpation establish'd by Time, and a good Disposition in the Minds of his Accomplices, poison'd the King; and possessing himself of the Palace and Forts, ascended the Throne, making the Subjects swear Allegiance to him. Tho' no Man in all those Eastern Parts expected any other Event, yet was it look'd upon as most certain, that *Tristan de Atayde* was consenting to the Poisoning, and his Usurpation; besides other Circumstances produc'd to prove his Guilt, it was notorious, that *Atayde* sent *Catabruno* a Robe of blew Velvet, which he wore the Day he rebell'd, and was sworn King. God so order'd it, that as soon as he

King of Tydore *poison'd.*

was

was poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom, he broke his Faith with *Triſtan de Atayde*, and confederated with the other United Princes, proving the greateſt Enemy the *Portugueſes* had; for he fitted out numerous Fleets wherewith he war'd on all the Chriſtians of thoſe Iſlands, threatning and tormenting them that they might renounce their Faith.

Galvam *ſent to govern the* Moluccos.

At this time the Governour of *India*, tho' there were ſome Troubles at *Goa*, and in other Places, ſent Succours to *Ternate*, becauſe it was towards the End of Summer, and one muſt of Neceſſity go to ſucceed the Governour. *Antony Galvam* was the Man appointed, who laid out above 10000 Ducats of his own towards reſtoring the Places that had been burnt, by which it may be truly ſaid, he redeem'd the *Moluccos*. He was deſirous, not only to People, but even to enlarge *Ternate*, and to this Purpoſe he treated with ſome poor marry'd Men, and needy Families, to go over with him and their Wives and Children to thoſe Iſlands; the ſame he did with Men and Women, who were lewd Livers, that they might mend their Lives in another Country, and embrace the legal State of Matrimony; to which End, he lent them Money, and provided Neceſſaries for their Voyage. In the mean while, the Tyrant *Catabruno*, aſſembled his Forces, and mov'd againſt the City *Momoya*, where the *Sangiack* of it liv'd, who had been before an ignorant Idolater, but then a Chriſtian Prince. He finding himſelf inferiour in Power, retired into a Fort, with his Wife, Children and Family. Some *Portugueſes* ſent him by *Triſtan de Atayde*, not daring to truſt themſelves ſhut up there with him, withdrew into the Mountains, where they were ſoon kill'd, purſuant to the Edict of the League. *Catabruno* enter'd the City, without any Oppoſition, where he exercis'd his Cruelty, becauſe the wretched Inhabitants would not quit it; and many new converted Chriſtians recanted for Fear, or thro' the Violence of Torments. Being Maſter of the City, he laid Seige to the Fort, giving it ſeveral furious Aſſaults, which *Don John* withſtood, making a reſolute Defence, and in ſome Sallies return'd Victorious; yet his Example prevail'd not on his People, as it uſually does where it meets with generous Souls; ſo that this Prince ſoon diſcover'd how faint-hearted moſt of them were; he ſuſpected that ſervile Fear would degenerate to ſuch Baſeneſs, that they would deliver him up to his Enemy, and therefore like a brave Man, he preſently bent his Thoughts to ſecure the Salvation of his Soul. He knew *Catabruno* valu'd himſelf upon his Zeal for the Law of *Mahomet*, and therefore ſpar'd the Lives of all Chriſtians that Apoſtatiz'd, putting to Death ſuch as prov'd ſtanch and conſtant; he fear'd his Wife and Children, being puſilanimous, would fail in the Confeſſion of their Faith, and being fill'd with this Spirit, drew his Cimiter, ran to them, and ſhedding Tears, which were not the Effect of Cowardice, ſlew them one after another, firſt telling them his Reaſons for ſo doing, and that tho' in the Eyes of the World he might appear inhumane, yet conſidering the Salvation of their Souls, what he did was a Religious Magnanimity, and therefore they ought rather to thank him for it. This was a miſtaken Notion; and to go through ſtitch with it, he would, ſtill perſiſting in the ſame Error, have kill'd himſelf, but that he was hinder'd by his own Servants, who to purchaſe the Tyrant's Pardon, deliver'd up to him that Chriſtian Prince, who had been ſo ill adviſ'd by his Zeal. Being brought

Momoya *taken.*

Amazing Action of an Indian *Convert.*

before *Catabruno*, who was inform'd how cruelly he had slain his Wife and Children, he ask'd him, Why he had undertaken so barbarous and inhumane an Action? *Don John* answer'd him with great Courage and Undauntedness. *At that Time, and in my Thoughts, I had more regard to the Salvation of their Souls, than to the preserving of their Lives. I mistrusted the Sex, their Age, and your Torments, and would not hazard their persisting in the true Faith. Souls are Immortal, and I took nothing from my Children that they can feel the want of, or which Time, or your Sword would not have depriv'd them of; the latter we should all have been thankful to, as the Instrument of the Divine Will. But I much more dreaded your Pardon and Mercy, by which you might have perverted their Minds, with those Soothings which please frail Mortality. I being more resolute, tho' expos'd to all your Fury, am so far from fearing the Effects, either of your Torments or Intreaties, that I shall look upon you as God's Executioner, and were it his Will, that you should take away my Life, I should receive a greater Benefit from your Sword, than from your Mercy.* *Catabruno*, enrag'd at his Answer, order'd him to be kill'd; but the Tyrant's own Friends, who lov'd *Don John*, the *Sangiack*, carry'd him out of the Room, and contriv'd he should have his Liberty, and be restor'd. Their Intreaties prevail'd on *Catabruno*, and he liv'd many Years after in his own Dominions, with a Christian Constancy, confessing his indiscreet Zeal, which had caused his own Sword to deprive him of Wife and Children. A Mind truly worthy the best Part of *Europe*, and not to be the Product of the most remote barbarous Nations; and highly commendable, had it been directed by more solid Rules, to curb that Fierceness, so opposite to all natural and divine Laws, which looks upon such horrid Murders, as a Piece of Piety.

His Words.

Several Actions.

Tristan de Atayde was troubl'd at these Misfortunes, which were almost under his Eyes; tho' he wanted nor for others nearer, for the People of *Ternate* being now Masters of the Island, burnt all the new and old Towns, belonging either to themselves, or the Christians, and amongst others, those of *Trutupalate*, *Calamata*, and *Isico*, yet they met with brave Opposition in them all, and they cost much Blood. Twice our Men went out to Fight the *Tydore* Fleet, which came within sight of the Fort, and tho' they both times retir'd Shatter'd, and well Beaten, the Barbarians had not much cause to Boast of their Victory, for Abundance of them were kill'd, and scarce any went off unhurt. The Confederates fitted out other numerous Fleets, wherewith they much Streightened the Christians in the Fort, till *Antony Galvam* arriv'd, who was at this time Sailing. But Relief came before, *Don Stephen de Gama*, sending a Galeon laden with Provisions and Ammunition to *Ternate*, under the Command of *Simon Sodre*. The Galeon arriv'd safe, and with it the Support of those Disconsolate People. They took Heart, and ventur'd to go abroad, spreading themselves about the Island, and going into the Woods, met with ruin'd Buildings, the remains whereof still smoked, and when it was Dark, they observ'd the high Flames on the Mountains. However they made Incursions upon the Barbarians, and throughout all the Islands there were hourly Engagements, either with the Christian Inhabitants, or the Soldiers of the Forts; and at Sea they heard the Martial Musick, which Sounded whilst they Sail'd, or Fought Manfully, and at that time was dreadful.

In

In the mean while Captain *Alvarado*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, ſent by *Ferdinand Cortes* to *Ternate*, that the Valour he had ſhown in thoſe Parts, ſerving God and his King, might not lie idle, diſcover'd the Iſlands of the *Papuas*, and fought thoſe Barbarians with Reſolvtion, tho' the *Portugueſe* Hiſtories aſſign the Honour of this Diſcovery to *Don George de Meneſes* who arriv'd at them in the Year 1526, as we have ſeen. The great Commander *Alvarado* alſo Diſcover'd other Iſlands, call'd *Gelles*, in one Degree of North Latitude, and Eaſt from *Ternate*, 125 Leagues from *Batochina*. The Natives of thoſe Iſlands are like thoſe of the *Moluccos* in Colour, Habit, and Cuſtoms, differing only in Language, which is peculiar to themſelves. Spaniards *at the* Papuas.

Antony Galvam ſail'd from *Malaca* with the proper *Monſon*, with the Men, and all Neceſſaries to fight, and ſettle Colonies. When he was paſt the Iſland *Borneo*, and the ridges of Rocks which lie under Water, in ſight of that Coaſt, as *F. Marta*, the Jeſuit, writes to the Governor *Gomez Perez*, and appears by his Papers, in Sight of *Malaca* he Diſcover'd a great Fleet of *Carcoas*, and other *Chineſe* Ships, with Sails made of Caſes, and Palm-Tree Leaves wove together. He was ſoon ſatisfy'd, that they were the Auxiliaries which had joyn'd the *Janguas* of *Tydore* and *Catabruno*, who, with the expell'd King of *Ternate*, were Cruzing to meet the *Portugueſes*, or *Spaniards*, that ſhould come into their Seas. *Galvam* order'd his Men to be in a Readineſs, to clear his Guns, and prepare all Things, doing the Duty of a Commander, and of a Soldier. The Enemy drew up in three Lines, each of its particular Nation, as if the *Portugueſes* had many Ships. He was himſelf in the Trading Galeon, and with it a Pink, and another ſmall Veſſel, wherein, among the Marry'd Men, and Families unfit for that Service, there were ſome few that could take up Arms. The Infidels drew near, but without Artillery, the *Gilolo* Archers let fly a great number of Arrows upon our Men, and then one Line ſhearing off, the other diſcharg'd, the Air reſounding, being peirc'd by the Darts, and *Calabays*, or Staves hardned at the Fire. *Galvam* not regarding the Danger, tho' at firſt he defended himſelf with Fights and Planks; when he thought they had ſpent moſt of thoſe flying-Weapons, among which they fir'd ſome Muskets, he began to play his great Guns, tearing their Veſſels, and deſtroying the Men. He Sunk a conſiderable number, and Took ſeveral, becauſe they fought diſorderly, relying, as it were a Land-fight, on the Multitude of their Soldiers, as ours did on their Valour, and Experience. But *Galvam*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to get to *Ternate*, held on his Voyage, and arriv'd there as he deſir'd. His Men landed in that diſmal Solitude, among Smoke and Ruins. The Joy of thoſe who were in the Fort, and the extraordinary Relief, coming quite unhop'd for, were an Encouragement to them all. The Clergy came out to receive him, the Soldiers ſhouting amidſt the Divine Hymns, confounding the Proceſſion, and their Satisfaction. It was a Pleaſure to behold, and they gazed on him as a Deliverer ſent from Heaven. *Triſtan de Atayde* reſign'd his Poſt, and *Antony Galvam* took Poſſeſſion, enquir'd into the Nature of the Confederacy, and the Fame of his Arrival being ſpread Abroad, Things began to mend. To this Purpoſe he arreſted *Triſtan de Atayde*, and afterwards ſent him to *Goa*. He had before ſent Meſſengers to the Queen, to acquaint her with his Arrival, Galvam *Fights at Sea.* *Arrives at* Ternate.

rival, and the End of it, which was to serve her, and retrieve all the Mischiefs an inordinate Desire of Revenge had occasion'd. In the mean while he began to repair the City, the Colonies, Churches, Keys, and Houses, distributing those Families he had brought with him. Nor did he neglect Husbandry, but planted Vines brought from *Portugal*, which he soon saw grown up into substantial Vinyards. He deliver'd to the Clergy the new Constitutions drawn up by Cardinal *Henry*, afterwards the last K. of the House of *Portugal*. He offer'd Peace to all that would comply, sent Religious Men to inculcate to those who liv'd like Outlaws, the Love of their Country, its re-establishment, and how dishonourable it was to them to make choice of a Life like that of wild Beasts, only for a cruel Satisfaction.

Strength of the Natives.

The Queen, who not to speak of her natural Fierceness, expected to see her Son restor'd, and set at Liberty, and to drive away the *Portugueses*, would not give Ear to any Accommodation. The greatest Burden of the War lay then upon *Tydore*, where the Confederate Kings, with the deposed *Dayalo*, a most Fierce Man, gather'd above Fifty Thousand Fighting Men; but they had not yet enclosed that City with a Wall and Ditch, being satisfy'd with having built a Fort upon high Rocks, whence they spread abroad to pick up the Fishermen, and other *Portugueses* that went out from *Ternate* to get Provisions, and thence they infested that dangerous Coast. *Galvam* fearing lest the Prolonging of the War should reduce him to the former difficulties, sent other Messengers to treat of Peace, and perswade those obstinate Kings, to Publish an Oblivion of all past Wrongs, without taking Notice of the late engagement, offering them mighty Presents, to purchase Commerce at the Price of them. They being puffed up with some good Success, and their mighty Power; would not hearken to any Proposals Peace; but on the contrary, as *Maffæus* Writes, they return'd an Answer very abusive to the *Portugueses*. *Galvam* imploring the Assistance of Heaven, so managed the Affair, that it was look'd upon as amazing, even by such as view Things impartially. Nor would it be credible, unless confirm'd by other Enterprizes of his suitable to this. He had only four Tall Ships, and a few smaller Vessels in the Port; these he speedily form'd into a Squadron, putting in 400 Men, 170 of them *Portugueses*, the rest to make up the Number, Slaves, and the common sort of *Ternate*. He left *Tristan de Acayde* with some Men to defend the Fort, and secure *Sultan Aerio*, and sail'd away himself for *Tydore*, without meeting any Enemy, the reason of it not known, and lay by in a safe Place, about a Musket-shot from that Island. Being come to an Anchor, he took a full View of the Multitude that guarded the Shores, considering the Nature of the Country, and Situation of the City. Having called a Council of War, he resolv'd to Storm the Fort on the high Rock, then little regarded, the Confederates thinking themselves safe. He made a Speech to them in plain Terms, without any Rhetorical Ornaments. *These are the same People*, said he, *we have so newly Vanquish'd, to restore whom to the Liberty they desire, would be a matter of small moment, did they when possessed of it allow the Freedom of preaching the Gospel. This is the Cause we are imbark'd in. Who then can doubt of Victory, or not wish to Die for the obtaining of it? As these Enemies are the same we Defeated, so are we the same Victors; so that I need not have Recourse to Foreign Examples, to encourage you. Their Disobedience and Restlessness is of a long standing; it will be but reasonable that our Arms*

Galvam *sails over to Attack them.*

add

add one Victorious Day to so many Turbulent Years, that so we may lay the Ax to the Root of Rebellion. They call us Tyrants; that does not at all trouble me; because after the Victory, we shall have the Opportunity of dispelling that Slander by our Moderation.

They would not suffer *Galvam* to put an end to his Speech, all of them preſſing earneſtly to Fight, and he reſolving to make himſelf Maſter of the Rock, as he had contriv'd, pick'd out 120 *Portugueſes*, and made out 300 from among the Reſt, leaving the Remainder to ſecure the Ships, and keep the Enemy in Play, if they ſhould attack them; making ſhow of a greater Number, by appearing in ſeveral Places, and ſhouting, by which ſuch as fear are eaſily impoſed upon. In the mean while, *Galvam* having taken a Native of *Tydore*, and oblig'd him to ſerve for a Guide, ſet out at the fourth Watch in the Night with his Men, through by-ways remote from the City, over-grown with Brambles, and ſcarce practicable, and with the greateſt ſilence he could came to the Top of the Mountain. The *Portugueſes* had march'd the greateſt Part of the Way by the firſt Dawn of Day, and reſting them a little from the Fatigue, deſcry'd the Enemy's ſhining Helmets and their Feathers on them. *Galvam* then beginning, all the reſt raiſed the Cry, *To Arms, to Arms.* The Confederates, with Horrid Shouts, which refounded on the Rocks, and in the Woods, made ready for their Defence, notwithſtanding the ſurprize; but ſoon perceived they ſhould fall a Prey to our Men. The Fight began, and King *Dayalo*, enrag'd for that he had been depos'd, appear'd the foremoſt with ſome Troops, to ſecure the Paſſes, and advanced to meet the *Portugueſes* in a Plain. They avoided him not, and both Parties mixing, much Blood was ſpilt. *Dayalo* was viſible by his bright Helmet, adorn'd with Variety of ſtanding high Feathers, and his Body cover'd with a Steel Coat of Mail, brandiſhing with both Hands a Lance, as like a ſmall Yard of a Ship, and charging with deſperate Fury; but happ'ning to ruſh in among our Pikes and Musketiers, unadviſedly, he receiv'd ſeveral Wounds on all Sides, and fell down raging. He was wonderful ſtrong, and ſtarted up immediately; concealing his Wounds and Pain, and beginning a freſh Charge in the firſt Ranks, for fear of diſcouraging his Men. He Fought a conſiderable Time; but not being Dreſs'd, and the Action cauſing the Blood to run the faſter, his Eye ſight fail'd him, and he dropt a ſecond Time, ſaying to his Guards, *Move hence as faſt as you can, and carry me carefully that the Dogs*, ſo he call'd the *Portugueſes*, *may not have the Satisfaction of cutting my Body in Pieces.* His Soldiers did ſo, not without great Danger; and he ſoon after he had been carry'd off, gave up his haughty Soul. His Forces daunted by this Accident, turn'd their Backs, hiding themſelves among the Rocks and Brambles, throwing down their Arms, and getting off through almoſt inacceſſible Ways. Others return'd to the City, and meeting ſome Troops that march'd to their Aſſiſtance, made them return another Way. The *Portugueſes* follow'd the Chace, killing ſuch as fled, and *Galvam* came to the Fort, with the Loſs of only one Slave. This Victory, which happen'd on the Feaſt of St. *Thomas*, the Apoſtle, in the Year 1537, humbled the Pride of the Confederates; was aſcrib'd to the Interceſſion of that Apoſtle, and they obſerv'd a ſolemn Thankſgiving. The Fort was fired with good Advice, for the Citizens and Traders, ſeeing the Flames ſo near, abandon'd their

The manner of the Attack.

King of Ternate *Kill'd.*

The Indians *routed*

their Houses, and departed the City with the flying Multitude. *Galvam* was now coming down from the Hill, having drawn together his Men, and form'd them into small Bodies, with sound of Trumpets and Singing, to make his Victorious Entry into that City, now void of Defendants, and full of Wealth. Considering that the Avarice of the Victorious Soldiers spur'd them on to take Possession of that inestimable Booty, for all the Merchants had brought their Effects to *Tydore*, as the safest Place. *Galvam* order'd to set Fire to the Houses, all which were consum'd with their harmless Treasure, in Sight of those who had hop'd to be Masters of it; only the Provisions being providentially sav'd.

Tydore *burnt.*

Of the People of *Tydore* as many were taken as did not in Time save themselves by Flight; as also a Junk in the Port, and several other small Vessels. The Enemies afterwards perish'd in other smaller Actions. The daunted King, hasted Home to secure their own Lands, dissolving the Confederacy, and being sufficiently warn'd, gave Ear to, and embrac'd Proposals of Peace; taking leave of him of *Tydore*, and agreeing with *Galvam*, whose Vertue and Discretion gain'd so much upon *Cachil Rade*, that King's Brother, that he came to a Conference with him and concluded a Peace upon certain Conditions. The King of *Tydore* oblig'd himself to restore *Galvam* the Cannon; not to assist the Enemies of *Portugal*; not to permit the Clove to be dispos'd of into any other Hands than the *Portuguese* Officers; and to sell it as was usual at *Ternate*. *Galvam* went over next to subdue *Gilolo*, and the other Kings, all which he compass'd successfully. The Queen also submitted, either on Account of the King of *Tydore*'s Falshood, or that, as she said, she grew weary of the War, or else because the depos'd King was kill'd. *Catabruno* was appeas'd by *Galvam*'s good Behaviour, and accepted of Conditions, among which the chiefest was, that *Galvam* should set *Sultan Aerio* at Liberty. Thus the Confederacy was dissolv'd, and the *Maluccos* laying down Arms, submitted again. Provisions were furnish'd as before, and the Crops, and Trade of Spice were restor'd.

Peace concluded.

Sultan Aerio *King of* Ternate.

Sultan Aerio attended by the Christians and Gentiles, Dancing, and making other demonstrations of Joy, went from the Fort to his Palace, where he remain'd with his Guard, and Family. Before he Marry'd, tho' he never wanted for Concubines, he in Person took a Progress to the principal places in his Dominions of *Ternate*, *Moutil*, and *Machian*. Those in the Fort attended and assisted him, together with the *Sangiacks*, who went all about that *Archipelago*, first on that side they call *Del Moro*, that is towards *Batochina*, and is distant from the *Moluccos* 60 Leagues Northward, beginning at the Isles of *Doe*, two Leagues to the Point of *Bicoe*. All these are Inhabited by Wild People.

Batachina, *that is* Gilolo *described.*

Batochina is 250 Leagues in Compass, and Subject to two Kings, which are those of *Gylolo*, and *Lolada*. This last is Ancienter than all those of the *Moluccos*, or in those Seas, and formerly was the most Powerful; but now the Weakest. The Inhabitants of the North part of *Batochina* are Savage, without any King, Laws, or Towns, living in Deserts. Those on the East-side have populous Towns, on the Sea Shore; and tho' they speak several Languages, yet they understand one another. This Coast they call'd *Morotia*, that is, *Land Moor*. The other Islands opposite are call'd *Morotay*, that

that is, *Sea-Moor*, and all those Isles breed deceitful, brutal and dastardly Men. Only the City *Moncoya* is Warlike. It ever wanted Laws, Weights, Measures, Coin, Gold, Silver, and all other Metals, and a King; but it is overstock'd with Provisions, Arms, Idols, and Devils speaking in them. The Women Till the Land. Each of these Towns is Govern'd by a Magistrate chosen by the People; they pay him no Taxes, but have Regard to his Descent. The *Molucco* Kings conquer'd them, and every one kept what he could get; the better part belongs to him of *Ternate*, and less to the King of *Tydore*, whose Dominions were enlarg'd by the Power of Spain. They went on to establish their Possessions among the *Papuas*, or *Papous*, East from the *Moluccos*, being Islands little resorted to, because many of them are all encompass'd with Flats and Shoals. The Natives of them are Black, like the *Cafres*; they wear their Hair wound about in large curl'd Locks, their Visages lean and ugly. The Name of *Papuas* in their Language signifies Blacks, being a stern People, enur'd to Labour, and fit for any piece of Treachery. All their Islands are subject to Kings, and abound in Gold, which they do not Transport, because no Man lays up any more of it than is us'd in their Ornaments. Among these Black-men there are some as White and fair as the *Germans*; if these go out in the Sun, they are struck blind, tho they do not look at it. Those in *Spain* are call'd *Albinos*; yet some of them are strong, and can behold any Object. Among these *Papuas* there are many deaf. As to the Extent of this Country, if we may believe the Accounts of *Spanish* Pilots, who have sail'd that way, these Islands run along a vast Continent, which terminates at the Streights of *Magellan*. These Kings entertain Friendship with *Ternate*, whither they sent Embassadors, and as much as was here subject to the *Moluccos*, had no Share in the desperate Fury of the League. So did those of *Celebes* to the Westward, being many notable Islands, the great Island *Celebes* it self, as also *Mindanas*; so those of *Bisaya*, abounding in Iron; *Mascaga*, and *Masbate*, which have much Gold, as well as *Mindanas*; that of *Sologo*, and others producing Provisions, Spice, Sanders, Eaglewood, Cinnamon, Camphire, Tortoshell, Ginger, and Long Pepper. Some of these Islands are subject to the King of *Borneo*, others to those of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, but the most to him of *Ternate*. The People are generally treacherous; many of them go naked, painting their Bodies in Falcage, and other Figures; their Hair long, hanging on their Backs, or else knotted, and cut short over the Forehead, like our Peasants; their Faces large; their Teeth well shap'd and black; and their Ears bor'd. The Natives of *Celebes* are filthy, and vile in their Behaviour; the Æquinoctial passes over their Island, which is full of little Towns; a whole Race living in every House. On their Walls they hang the Hair of those they have kill'd in War; and the greatest number of them is most Honourable. There are among them several sorts of Monstrous Productions. One of these is a Tree bearing a vast Head, the shade whereof kills any Man that lyes down under it on the West-side, unless he immediately lye down on the East-side; the same shade at only a Yard distance being an Antidote against its opposite Malignity. In these Towns there are horrid Stews of Sodomy; tho there are no such at *Ternate*; but they have gone as far as *Amboyna*, which lyes South of it. Among the *Moluccos* there are many Islands sub-

Papuas, *or* Papous.

Other Islands.

Celebes.

ject to their own Chiefs, full of excellent Waters, and delightful Banks. Formerly they were free, afterwards conquer'd by the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*; against whom they also rebell'd, and submitted to the Queen of *Japara*, and many Christian Towns were subject to the *Portugueses*. They yield above 2000 Hundred Weight of Cloves Yearly; which the *Jaos* are Masters of, none being to obstruct them; they go over and Barter, and carry it away in their Junks. We speak elsewhere of their Fertility. Our Relations tell us, they produce a sort of Reeds, or Canes, above fifty fathom long, and no thicker than a mans little finger. South from *Amboyna* lye the Islands of *Banda*; and about 300 Leagues to the Eastward; some affirm, there is one which is all over an entire Mine of Gold, and the Natives not above a Yard high. If this be so, and these the true Pigmies, who will look upon the Battels mention'd in *Homer*'s 3d *Iliad*, betwixt them and the Cranes, as Fabulous. Those scatter'd Dominions were again united and submitted to *Sultan Aerio*, whose Marriage Solemnities, Building of Masques, Publick Festivals, and other Works of Peace, we must pass over in silence, as not proper for our purpose, they being only a pleasing sort of Digressions.

Mezquita *Governs at* Ternate.

The Kings of *Portugal* sent several Commanders in Chief to *Ternate*, and last in the Year 1570, *James Lopez de Mezquita*, who had commanded on the *Molucco* Seas, took Possession of the Fort. In his Time *Sultan Aerio*, a courteous and affable Man, continu'd in Subjection to *Portugal*; valuing himself upon being true to his Word in all his Actions. Nevertheless, there wanted not some ill-meaning Persons, who misliked his Government, and pretended that he did not exercise his Power legally. They said, he had given way to those Vices, into which luxurious Princes are wont to fall; those being generally the Fruits of a long Peace. They fancy'd, he retain'd the Memory of past Tragedies; and particularly his Mother's inhuman End, and therefore persecuted our Religion; tho at the same Time the Memories of those Days do not charge him with any Temporal Disobedience, or want of Fidelity; but they rather compar'd him to *Massiniſſa*, King of *Numidia*; and say the *Portugueses* ought to have respected him, as the *Romans* did the other.

Pretences to destroy King Aerio.

The Commander hearing of those Abuses, and fearing greater might ensue, some Religious Men encreasing his Jealousie, he endeavour'd to redress them by Friendly Admonitions, and other Contrivances. Those Methods had no effect on him, for he answer'd, he was in his own Dominions, where, without offence to the *Portuguese* Soveraignty, he might live as he pleas'd. *Mezquita* resolving to try harsher means, since the others did not at all move the King, nor make him uneasie, as relying on his Innocency; began to deprive him of his Revenue, and the Income of the Spice; threatning also, that he would, in all other Respects, execute the last Will made by his Brother *Tabarija*, wherein he appointed the King of *Portugal* for his Heir; or at least would treat him so like an inferior Person, that he should scarce be able to assume the Name of King; for such is the Punishment they are lyable to, who do not observe that Decorum which was inviolable in their Ancestors.

Cachil Babu, Son to *Sultan Aerio*, taking a Progress about this Time, through his Father's Islands, a Subject came to complain to him against certain *Portugueses*, who had taken away his Daughter; for which fault he

he order'd them all to be kill'd, as if they had been acceſſary to the raviſhing of the Maid. He had no Directions, nor ſo much as the conſent of King *Aerio* for this exorbitant Command, which took no effect. On the contrary he afterwards ſo generouſly reſented it, that he order'd the Prince to be ſeiz'd, and would have puniſh'd him ſeverely, had he not been hindred by thoſe the wrong was offer'd to. This plain Demonſtration was not ſufficient to divert the *Portugueſe* Commander from imputing the Sons Fault to the Father, contrary to all Reaſon and Likelihood. All diſcreet Methods us'd by well-meaning Perſons to reconcile them two, failing; *James Lopez* by his King's Authority, which generally is moſt unreaſonable, the farther it is from the Prince, from whom it is deriv'd, preſum'd to impriſon the *Sultan*; being dragg'd away from a Pleaſure-Houſe, where he was paſſing the Heat of the Day, among his Women. His Subjects lov'd him, and their Reſentment for this wrong was proportionable to their Affection; nor did the *Portugueſes* approve of the Fact. The Commander perceiving that all Men were againſt him, and that after all Enquiries and Examinations, the King's Cauſe ſtill appear'd the better, and his Fidelity was more viſibly made out, he gave him his Liberty, to the great Satisfaction of his Kingdoms, which were attentive to the Event; but upon Condition he ſhould go to *Goa* to clear himſelf, where he expected they would cut off his Head, upon the Informations he would ſend againſt him. The King ſet out, and before he came to *Malaga*, the Vice-roy writ to him, begging he would return to his Kingdom, for he was fully convinc'd of his Innocence, and promis'd to puniſh the Cauſer of thoſe Troubles; but at that Time, for ſome Conſiderations, was ſatisfy'd with reproving him. The K. returning to *Ternate*, the Commander was ſent Priſoner to *Goa*, and had been more ſeverely puniſh'd; but that Fortune preſerv'd him, to be an Inſtrument of the loſs which has laſted till our Days.

The Portugueſes *ſeize and ſend him to* Goa.

The Vice-roy acquits him.

Within a Year after his Impriſonment he was reſtor'd to his Command in *Ternate*, where he again practic'd againſt that King; for there are ſome Diſpoſitions which never part with the Jealouſies they have once conceiv'd. *Ternate* was as it were the Metropolis in Religious matters, and King *Aerio* had never offer'd any Affront to us either in Spirituals or Temporals, for which Reaſon there never wanted ſome grave Perſons in his Court. Theſe Zealouſly reconcil'd them two, and that perfectly, as to outward Appearance, and that their renew'd Amity might be laſting, the King aſſur'd the Commander upon Oath, according to his Sect, that he would never privately harbour the leaſt Jealouſie of him; but before he admitted of any, would diſcover it to him, that ſo he might either receive, or make Satisfaction; to the end no Accidents might revive any Miſtruſts. The Commander made the King the ſame ſolemn Promiſe, both of them being thus pacify'd, and in the Opinion of all thoſe who mediated betwixt them, ſo Friendly, that none could imagine ſuch perfect Amity could ever be diſſolv'd. But there being nothing leſs permanent among Men than Reconciliations, the *Portugueſe* Commander reaſſuming the Hatred which never was extinct, or perhaps ſo much as lay'd aſide, reſolv'd to deſtroy *Sultan Aerio*, when only five Days were elaps'd ſince the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Friendſhip ſworn to on both ſides. This could not be kept ſo private, as not to come to the *Sultan*'s Ears; but the Conſideration that he was a King,

Pretended Reconciliation.

Falſhood of Mezquita.

his own Sincerity, and the fresh Reconciliation, made him think he was secure. But if the Nature of Man be such as not to forgive when it has done a Wrong, what can be less secure than injur'd Innocence? The Commander feigns himself Sick, and sends to desire the King, that since he is not able to wait on him in his Palace, he will be pleas'd to honour him with a Visit in the Fort, there to confer with his Highness about some important Affairs which concern the King of *Portugal*, his Master, and are not fit to be communicated to any other. All the Answer the King return'd, was to go himself to Visit the Sick Man, tho' he had Information better grounded than on bear Surmises, that *Martin Antonio Pimentel*, the Commanders Nephew, had Orders to murder him, as soon as ever he came into the Fort.

Aerio's *Innocent Bravery.*

He could not prevail upon himself to believe a Treacherous Design; so far does Innocence prevail over a generous Soul. But when he saw that at the Gate, they stopp'd his Guards, the *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, that attended him, he then began to be convinc'd of the Villany, yet went on without being disorder'd, and showing an undaunted Countenance. And tho' he could not forbear dropping some Tears, when he took leave of his Sons, however he presently compos'd his Countenance, so that he was not at all dismay'd, tho' in the Commanders Nephew's Looks he saw visible Tokens of his Unkles Commission. He would have complain'd to the Commander of the Disrespect of those who stopp'd his Attendance, but they would not suffer him to go on. The Mask being now laid aside, and the true Design appearing, in Violence he call'd out to the *Sangiacks*, but the Gate was shut against him and them. *Pimentel* came up to him with a Naked Ponyard, and begg'd his Pardon like an Executioner. The King, without showing any Surprize, or Disorder, Bid him consider what he was going to do; for there were many left to revenge his Death, besides his Sons and Subjects, all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, as well the Sovereigns who were in Alliance, as those who ow'd Fealty to the Crown of *Portugal*. *This Instance*, said he, *will make them dread every Capricious Humour of a Commander in chief. If still that Jealousie survies, which has so often been prov'd groundless, I will deliver my self up to the King of* Portugal; *and if my Death be of such Consequence to you, yet respite the Execution but a little, for at my Age, Time will soon perform what your Swords are to do.*

He is murder'd.

They now began to fall upon him, and he seeing a Brass Cannon, on which were the Arms of *Portugal*, clasping his Arms about it, said, *Christians, at least show some Respect to these Arms; for you kill a King that has paid the greatest Deference to your Crown.* This last Testimony of his Innocence was of no Force to appease those Murderers; though formerly in *Rome*, the embracing the Statues of the Emperors was sufficient to deliver Slaves from being punish'd by their Masters. It may be a Question whether his Soul was sav'd; for there are those who affirm, he intreated the Murderer to permit him to be Baptiz'd; who answering, It was then too late, without granting his Request, or any Respite, ran furiously upon that Antient Prince, who made no Resistance, and stabb'd him in several Places. They carry'd the Body into a Vault. The King's Kindred and Servants heard the Noise, and suspecting the worst; went away in great Disorder, to the City, where there was already a confused Rumour of what had happen'd, and being Distracted, ran shrieking about the Streets, where nothing was

to

to be heard but Weeping, Threats, Complaints and Diſorder.

The Principal Queen, with the Kings other Wives, and Slaves, his Sons, and Brothers, laying a ſide all State came out of the Palace, already ſurrounded by the Multitude, in Confuſion and Diſpair, and being follow'd by moſt of the *Portugueſes*, who no leſs abhorr'd the Fact, ran to the Fort, crying out to let them ſee their King, as ſtill doubting of what they heard. The Commander appear'd in Armour on the Wall, and ſaid, *They ſhould ſee him immediatly*; and then came up a Soldier, bringing the Kings Head with the Royal Turbant on it. After him came others, with his Arms, Legs, and Body cut into ſmall pieces, all which they hung upon the Battlements in the ſight of his People. Afterwards they Salted them, as if the perpetuating of the Wrong had been requiſite. This was what moſt provok'd the injur'd People, who no longer able to behold ſo inhumane a Spectacle, and being beſide themſelves, and fearing more Miſchief, return'd with their Family. The Sons out of Reſpect to their Fathers Body, went away from *Ternate* to ſeveral Iſlands, tho' in Reality they departed to excite others by their Preſence, repreſenting the Hideouſneſs, and Horror of the Fact; and to diſpoſe their Revenge. For the preſent they were ſatisfie with ſending to complain of the Commander in Chief. *Mezquita's Inhumanity.*

Their Embaſſador arriv'd at *Goa* clad in White, which is the Mourning of the *Molucco* Iſlands, and upon the Faith of his Credentials, acquainted the Viceroy with the whole matter; proving the Innocency of the Murder'd *Sultan*; repreſenting the Wrong done to, and the Sorrow of his Family, and Kingdoms, who ſo paſſionately Lov'd him; and beſeeching him, in the name of them all, to Right them againſt the Man, who with the Power and Authority of the *Portugueſe* Arms, had Violated the publick Faith and the Laws of Nature. The Viceroy gave him a favourable hearing, tho' by that Time the matter was otherwiſe repreſented at *Goa*, at leaſt among the *Portugueſe* Nation. They ſaid, That King *Aerio* going to viſit the Commander in Chief, *Martin Antonio Pimentel* went in with him, and they contended in Words upon ſome Point, when the *Portugueſe* anſwering him angrily, they fell to their Weapons, and the King was kill'd in the Quarrel. They added, That he was Advis'd ſo to do, by ſome of our Religious Men, who were offended at the Perſecution of the Chriſtians, and the Obſtructing of the King of *Portugal*'s Service. *Pimentel* made his Defence with the Original Letters, of thoſe who perſwaded him to commit the Fact, and who afterwards ſav'd him. However the Viceroy did not Reject the Plaintifs; but promis'd to Right them; and to ſhew that he deſign'd them farther ſatisfaction than a bare Promiſe, he ſent away the neceſſary Supplies for the Security of the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Nunno Pereyra de la Cerda*, a Gentleman of Courage, and the neceſſary Sagacity to ſucceed the other in a Poſt where all things were in Confuſion. He alſo writ to King *Sebaſtian* of *Portugal*, acquainting him with the Death of King *Aerio*; how Cruelly and Unjuſtly he had been kill'd; what a Revolution there was cauſe to fear it might produce; whom he had ſent to ſucceed *Mezquita*; the Orders he had to Secure him, as alſo *Pimentel*, if he could find him. *Complain'd of at* Goa. *Falſe pretences of the* Portugueſes.

Nunno Pereyra arriv'd at *Malaco* with the *Molucco* Embaſſador, whence, at the proper Seaſon, they Sail'd to *Ternate*, where as ſoon as they Landed, order was taken for Correcting the Inſolency of thoſe in the Garriſons, who rob'd Pereyra *ſucceeds* Mezquita.

robb'd, and obstructed Trade. When he had settled these Affairs, he seiz'd the late Commander in Chief, *James Lopez*; but did not punnish him there, in the sight of those who had been wrong'd, which would have appeas'd them. The new Commander sollicited the Kings Sons to return to *Ternate*, and endeavour'd to give them, and the Kingdom Satisfaction. He easily convinc'd them, that the Publick was no way guilty of their Fathers Death, but only the Commander *Mezquita*, who should be severely punish'd. That *He fawns.* he deliver'd them the Kings Body, to be Bury'd with due Honour. That they should settle the Succession, offering it to *Cachil Guarate*, *Aerio*'s Eldest Son. He told them, the King of *Portugal* did not send his Commanders to be Enemies, but Protectors of the Royal Family and State of *Ternate*, and therefore they should make use of his Arms, as their own. They return'd apparent Thanks for what *Pereyna* did, and being indifferently satisfy'd with his Promises, took the Kings Body. A few Months after, on the Day appointed for the Barbarous Obsequies, Embassadors from the neighbouring Kings, and Kingdoms landed at the City, who all repair'd to the Palace, clad in White, with the dead Kings Sons, and Brothers, the *Sangiacks* and *Revenge vow'd.* Soldiers, and the Chiefest of them, going into the Room where the Coffin was before the Mourners, who are Officers of the Grave, began their Lamentations and Cryes, they all swore upon the dead Body, to take a Revenge suitable to the Wrong; but because this Resolution requir'd a more deliberate Preparation, they suspended it for a Year. It is reported, that Heaven anticipated them within that time, punishing *Pimentel*, striking him to the Heart with the Disease call'd *Berber*, whereof he dy'd swelling up, and raving.

Assembly of the Indians *to consent.* The Funeral Rites being perform'd, the Prince took leave of *Nunno Pereyra*, to go over to the Island *Ires*, where they have a most stately Country-House, and the principal Mosque. There they all met on pretence of Diverting themselves after their Sorrow, tho it was now almost two Years since the occasion of it happened. The *Cachilas* and *Sangiacks* repair'd thither under the same Colour, and without loosing any Time, they propos'd the Uniting the Forces of their Kingdoms, and shaking off the *Portuguese* Yoke. *What shall we*, said they, *value the* Portugueses, *if once we come to be sensible of our own Strength? What can we Fear, or not Dare to attempt? The* Portugueses *value him who Robs most, and is guilty of the greatest Crimes and Enormities. The forcing away of our Product, their one lewd Pleasures, and our Wrongs, are Occasion for them to make War; ours are our Country, and the Defence of our Parents, our Wives, our Children, and our Liberty. It is necessary to expedite the Execution, because a Secret is not lasting among many, and in Affairs of this Nature, there is more Danger in Consulting, than even in Execution. We have been already too long in Confusion, without a Head.* No Man contradicted; but neither *Cachil Guarate*, the Eldest of the Brothers, nor the Second, durst take upon them so difficult an Enterprize. *Cachile Babre*, the Third, undertok it, with the usual Ingagement, either to Conquer, or to Dye. They presently lifted him up, with general Applause, and his Election being made publick, the Kingdom easily submitted to him, through the desire of Revenge; tho' according to the Custom of the *Molucco* Islands, as soon as the King has any Son born, they swear him his Successor, in his turn, and there was then no need

of

of any other Oath, yet they again ſwore to *Cochil Babu*. This done, they went out to their Moſque, in Proceſſion, to offer Sacrifice. A Boy went foremoſt with a naked Sword on his Shoulder, and with the other Hand leading a Kid, which was to be the Victim, with the little Horns Gilt. The *Alcoran* forbids Sacrificing; but theſe Iſlanders receive the Rites of *Mahometaniſm* ſo confus'dly, that with them they alſo retain thoſe of their ancient Idolatry, and intermix the Ceremonies. He that conducts the Sacrifize, is, according to their Cuſtom, follow'd by part of the Kings Soldiers, with their Pikes advanc'd, and after them goes one holding up on high a ſmall Gold Veſſel, or Pan, with burning Coals in it, the Frankincenſe they throw in Smoking. Next to him was the new King, over whoſe Head they always carry an Umbrello, made of Feathers of ſeveral Colours, in ſhape of a large Semicircle. The King was encompaſs'd by thoſe Soldiers, that are given him by his Subjects by way of Acknowledgement, like the *Turkiſh Janizaries*. In this Order they came to the Moſque, at whoſe Gates, whenſoever they are to enter, they find Kettles and Pots full of Water, to waſh their Hands and Feet before they go in. As ſoon as the King was upon the Threſhold the Muſick play'd, and they ſpread Milk-white Carpets, as is the Cuſtome: Kneeling on them, they mutter out their vain Prayers, bowing their Heads down to the Ground. In the midſt of the Moſque ſtands a Pulpit, cover'd with white Cloth. Inſtead of a Bell, there hangs up the holy great flat Drum, which they beat with Sticks; tho each Moſque has a great Bell, without a Clapper, which they ſtrike with a Stone, or piece of Iron, when requiſite. All that hear it, of what Condition ſoever, repair to the Temple, with Pikes, Shields, Cymitars, and Muskets. The profane Sacrifice being ended, they conducted the new King to the Harbour; he went into his *Carcoa*, with his Family, and the other *Sangiacks*, and great Men, into many others. The King's is ſo contriv'd, that there is a Gang-way all round it, made of Canes. There are two Slaves to each Oar; others do the Service of the Veſſel, and near every one lies a Number of Arrows. Inſtead of Oars they uſe a ſort of great Paddles, like Spoons, with which they alſo lade out the Water the Veſſel takes in. On the upper part they make Muſick with their Tabors, and Sounding-Baſons of Metal, according to which they Row faſter or ſlower, as we Dance to our Muſick. In the ſame Place there are ſeven Braſs Guns; a conſiderable number of Pikes advanc'd, longer than ours, and a Bed adorn'd with Quilts interwoven with Gold, and by it hung the King's Helmet, Breaſt, and Back Plates. He ſat, or lay on that rich Bed, the Servants of his Bed-Chamber Fanning him with a large Wing, made of various colour'd Feathers of the Birds that fly about his Iſlands; thus he Coaſted about, the Sea and Shore reſounding with Guns, Shouts, and Barbarous Inſtruments.

Sacrifice.

The King's Carcoa.

At the ſame time that they ſeem'd to be wholly taken up with Sports and Diverſions, in the Iſland *Ires*, they Vow'd an irreconciliable Enmity to the *Portugueſe* Nation, with the ſame Solemnity as they had ſworn Allegiance to their King; and this Secret having been inviolably obſerv'd, when the new K. thought convenient he cauſed it to be Publiſh'd throughout all his Dominions, which conſiſts of ſeventy two Iſlands in that *Archipelago*, betwixt thoſe of *Mindanao*, on the North; *Bima* and *Corca* on the Coaſt

War Proclaim'd.

Dominions of Ternate.

South; and the Continent of the *Papuas*, or *Papous*, otherwise call'd *New Guinea* on the East: The Inhabitants whereof pay him their Tribute in Gold, Amber, and Birds of Paradise; all which Provinces have been Usurped from other Kings, on whose Ruins his Pride is swollen so high, that he stiles himself in his own Language, Emperor of the *Archipelago*. In most of them there were at that Time some Christian Towns, Churches, and Preachers, and the Gospel was receiv'd in the eight principal Nations. Idolater and Mahometan Embassadours came from them all to acknowledge, and swear Fealty to *Cachil Rabu*. In this great Assembly the Desire of Revenge was made the Cause of Religion, and in it began the longest Persecution the true Faith has undergone in our Days. It will be therefore requisite, distinctly to describe the remote, and neighbouring Countries and Nations that carry'd it on; and the Strength, and standing Forces, they have ready at all times upon any Occasion.

Forces of the Kings of Ternate and Provinces.

The sixteen greater Towns of *Ternate* furnish their K. with 3000 Arm'd Men; the Island of *Montil*, distant from it six Leagues South, 200; that of *Machian*, eight Leagues distant, 1500; that of *Caioa* four Leagues from *Mechian*, the same way, 300; those of *Gazea*, twelve Leagues from *Caioa*, 300; those of *Xula*, fifty Leagues from *Ternate*, 4000; those of *Burro*, seventy Leagues distant, 4000; those of *Veramula* eighty Leagues from *Amboina*, and are the same Number of Leagues in compass 50000; those of *Ruaro*, and *Manipa*, lying betwixt those of *Veranula* and *Burro*, 3000; those of *Na*, *Nolo*, and *New Guinea*, which are many, and very populous, fifty Leagues East from *Ternate*, send no certain, but numerous Forces; that of *Ires*, where the King then was, 400; and pays Tribute in Amber, and Birds of Paradise. Those of *Meaos* and *Tafure*, on the North, 400. Those of *Doe*, distant thirty Leagues some way, 900. Those of *Rao* and *Saquita*, seventy Leagues North, 1000. The great *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, four Leagues from *Ternate*, 10000. The large Island *Matheo*, contains several Kingdoms, thirty Leagues to the Westward, each of them subject to its own King, and all of them to him of *Ternate*; send him Arm'd Troops. *Totole* and *Bool* 6000 Men; *Guayduda* 7000; *Gorontano* and *Iliboto*, 10000; *Tomine*, 12000; *Manado*, 2000; *Dondo*, 700; *Labague*, 1000; *Pulo*, and *Jaqua*, 10000; *Gape*, *Tobuquo*, and *Butu* are all subject to him, and the number of their supplies is uncertain; but *Sanguien* and its King, 40 Leagues from *Ternate*, serve him with 3000 Men. This was the standing Force, which without adding to it the uncertain number, nor the multitude of slaves, amounts to 120300 Men. This particular *F. Martin* sent to the Governor *Gamez Parez*, and the original was deliver'd to me. Since then, that Kings Power is increased, and because more Formidable, by reason of his Alliances with several Princes, entering Amity with some, and Oppressing others, and practising the Rules of Tyranny among them all, as Artfully as was formerly done by *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*. Of their Game, Fish, Rice, Sagu, and other Stores of Fruit and Spice, and the Royal Mines, we shall speak when the Subject in Hand requires it; and so of their Weapons, of which last it is to be observ'd once for all, that those they Dart, are all poison'd, and the Fire-Arms differ not from ours.

For

For managing of this great Design, the King privately sent about his Brothers, and *Sangiacks*; but so great an Army could not be contracted from such distant Parts, without being heard of by the Christians, and particularly *Nunno Pereyra*. He suspecting that the Desire of Revenge still prevail'd in the injur'd Parties, and that the first Effects of it would fall upon his Fort, tho' the *Sultan's* Murderer was not then in it, strengthned it proportionably to the Siege he expected. Prudence supplies the Place of Prophesy. The Fort was not then erected, which is since to be seen in *Ternate*, on a high Ground of difficult Ascent, next the Sea, and the Back of it defended by a Lake, next the Mountain; being three Miles distant from the first Fort: It was afterwards built to defend themselves against great Fleets; not satisfy'd with that they had before on the Plain, next the Sea, made of dry Stones, without Mortar; which being since improv'd in all Respects, is now built with Lime, the Walls a Yard and half thick, and Fifteen in Height; Forty in Length next the Sea, with a round Tower at each Angle, like the ancient *Spanish* Fortresses. *Nunno Pereyra* endeavour'd with all possible Diligence, to shut up in it the greatest Number he could of all the Christian Families, and to be in a Readiness to stand the Siege, which soon ensu'd. He sent Advice to *India* and *Portugal* of the Intelligence he had receiv'd, demanding Succours, as in a certain Danger; but it could never have come in Time; for some Part of those Forces being assembled in the Island *Ires*, the Rest staying on *Botochina*, in that Part which is properly call'd *Gilolo*, and is remote from the *Portugueses*, they there began to persecute Christianity by publick Decree.

Pereyra *prepares his Defence.*

The Portuguese *Fort*

The Apprehension of these Mischiefs, had much perplex'd all the Governours of those Provinces, because it was daily confirm'd by visible Proofs of an open Insurrection. *James Lopez de Marquita* was already kept Prisoner in the Fort of *Benastarim* at *Goa*, those confin'd, and the Viceroy expected Orders from *Spain* to dispose of him, and the Forces; because it was fear'd the King of *Ternate* might make use of the great Supplies which could be sent him from *China*; especially if that were certain which was then discourse'd in *Spain*. It was reported, That the Council of State, observing that the *Philippine* Islands were rather an Expence, than an Advantage to the Crown, being many, and hard to be maintain'd, had propos'd to King *Philip*, to quit them, and withdraw the Court of Justice, and the Garrisons that defend them. They added the Example of the *Chineses*, who abandon'd them, tho' they are such near Neighbours, and can relieve them with as much Ease, as if they were joyning to their Continent. That as *Spain* governs them, the Loss they occasion is considerable, without any Hopes that it can ever be alter'd for the better; a vast Quantity of Silver being sent thither from *New Spain*, both for the usual Expences, and to buy Commodities; that so all that Treasure is convey'd by the Hands of the *Chineses* into the Heart of those Dominions, render'd intractable by the Severity of their Laws, by which they are trench'd in, as it were with Fortification, against all Commerce with Strangers. They alledg'd that a Monarchy dispers'd, and divided by so many Seas, and different Climates, could scarce be united; nor could humane Wisdom, by settled Correspondence, tye together Provinces so remov'd from one another by Nature. That these Arguments are not the Offspring of Wit, but of Experience, and Truths obvious to the Senses. That all such as might be urg'd against them, were only grounded upon Honour, and full of a generous Sound, but difficult in the Execution; and therefore the best Expedient, was for the King to strengthen himself in *Europe*, where his Forces can be ready to meet all Dangers, without being expos'd to the Hazards of the Sea, and the Dominions of others. Each of these Arguments was so fully represented by the Officers of the Revenue, that the Proposal was thought worthy to be debated and consider'd; and had God permitted the King to exclude the *Philippine* Islands his Monarchy, leaving them expos'd to the first that would take Possession, the *Moluccos* had so far been strengthen'd, as to become unconquerable.

Project of abandoning the Philippine *Islands.*

Reasons for it.

The same Thing has been propos'd at other Times, and in the Days of King *Philip* the IIId. who sticking to his Father's Answer, has always rejected that

King Philip *rejects it.*

mischievous Advice. That most prudent Monarch answer'd, That the *Philippines* should be maintain'd, in the same Manner they were, and the Court should be invested with more Authority, that Justice might prevail, for he laid the Stress of Government, on its being upright, and impartially administer'd. That in the same manner the Troops should be kept up there, and maintain'd out of the Revenues of *New-Spain*, or any other of his Kingdoms, since all the Treasures discover'd, or still hid in the Bowels of the Mines, ought to be apply'd to the Propagation of the Gospel. For what would the Enemies of *Christ* say, if they perceived that the *Philippine* Islands were left distitute of the true Light, and its Ministers to propagate it, because they did not produce rich Metals, and other Wealth, like the Rest of the fruitful Islands in *Asia* and *America*? That all the Power of Kings, ought to be subservient to this Sovereign End, as becomes Sons of the Church, and Promoters of the Apostolical preaching, which is continu'd by Succession. That since he had refused to mitigate the least Point of his Severity towards his Northern Subjects, or to grant them Liberty of Conscience; why should he remit any thing among Heathens, and *Mahometans*, which were the Harvest God had assign'd him, to enrich the Church with those Children, so remote? Thus the Project was put down, and this has always been the glorious Resolution, when mistaken Zeal, or worldly Interests have propos'd the quitting of those Dominions. This seems to have been a peculiar Providence of Heaven, which knew how soon they were all like to belong to the same Master, and that the Right and Conquests should be all United in his Person, the one being the Means to recover the other, as has been seen in our Days.

His Reasons

Product of Asia.

Arguments against quitting the Philippines.

King *Philip* was govern'd by this Religious Motive; but there were others urg'd by such as were acquainted with the Riches of *Asia*, which are chiefly Diamonds, Rubies, large and Seed Pearl, Amber-Greece, Musk, Civet, Camphir of *Borneo* and *China*, Vermillion, Coral, Quick-Silver, Copper, fine Muslins, and Calicoes of *Cambaya* and *Bengala*, Carpets, Coverlets, and fine Quilts. *Persian* Silks, Brocard, Ivory, Rheubarb, Cardamome, *Cassia Fistula*, Frankincense, Benjamin, Wax, China-Ware, Lake for dying, and Phisyck, Cloves, Mace, Gold, Silver, Medicinal Plants, Aloes, Eagle Wood, Calamba, Ebony, and very many more rare Trees, Drugs, Spices, and Ornaments. All this they said, *Venice* lost, when the Trade was remov'd to *Portugal*; and this same stir'd up the Sultan of *Egypt*, as well knowing therein consisted all substantial Wealth, to enter into a Confederacy with all the Kings of *India*; who were already alarm'd by the *Portuguese* Fleets; so that they at the common charge fitted out a Navy of Galleys, and other Vessels, in the Port of *Suez*, furnish'd it with Cannon, and put aboard 3000 *Mamelucks*, besides a great Number of *Venetian* and *Genoese* Renegadoes. With this Power the Sultan enter'd *India*, in the Year 1508, and tho' the King of *Cambaya* assisted him, he was vanquish'd by the *Portugueses* in the Port of *Chaul*. They urg'd, That at present these Riches are still more valuable, and that if the Trade of them were once brought into the Way of the *Philippine* Islands, it would save all the Dangers met with, by the way of *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Borneo*, and the many Shoals about them, as also the many Storms those narrow Seas are subject to. For the Clove particularly was brought by the *Portugueses*, in their Trading Galeon, which goes from *Goa* to the *Moluccos*, to pay their Garrisons. In this Ship they every year carry'd away to *Malaca* and *Goa*, 24000 *Quintals*, or Hundred Weight of Cloves, little more or less. At those Ports it was dealt to *Persians*, *Turks*, *Chineses*, and *Africans*, so that scarce the third Part came to *Europe*. The King of *Achem*, in *Sumatra*, secur'd another Part, whence it was sent to *Alexandria*. All these Commodities, when they come to *Malaca*, pay eight *per Cent.* The Spice that comes into *Spain* is distributed into all the Kingdoms of *Europe*; and it might be easily contriv'd, say these People, to bring the greatest Part to *Spain* from the *Philippine* Islands; which would be one of the noblest Projects, that will be thought of for the improving of the Revenue, considering what a great Price Clove bears in *Spain*, and how cheap it is in the *Molucco*. This was the Opinion when those Islands belong'd to another Master, and it was no easie Matter to divert the Trade of Spice, and other Goods, from the usual *India* Voyage. Besides the Religious Men of the Orders of St.

Augustin

Auguſtin and St. *Dominick*, had already propagated the Faith in thoſe and other Iſlands, whence that which flouriſh'd, and advanc'd in *Ternate* and *Tydore* was Fed.

Cachil Baba ſail'd with his Brothers, and a great Number of Veſſels from *Ires* for *Ternate*, with much Joy, and forebodings of Victory; greater Forces continually joyning him, through the earneſt Deſire they had all of delivering thoſe Parts from the *Portugueſe* Domination. As ſoon as ever they arriv'd at *Ternate*, they landed, and immediately inveſted the Fort, which they call'd the *Seat of Servitude*. They aſſaulted the Houſes of the *Portugueſes*, and that ſo ſuddenly, that though they had Notice before, and lived in Fear, they ſcarce ſtood upon their Defence. Rage and Succeſs made a more than Barbarous Havock. They ſet Fire to the Houſes with Fury, and popular Tumult; ſo that whatſoever was not within a Wall and Ditch, periſh'd that Day. Thoſe in the Fort attempted to ſuccour their People; but greater Numbers of *Ternates* coming on, kill'd ſome of thoſe, who had ſally'd out, not only with Darts of ſolid Canes, which they caſt moſt dexterioufly, with Arrows, Cymiters and Shields, which they us'd when Idolaters; but with Muskets and other Fire Arms. The reſt of the *Portugueſes* routed, fled to their Fort; for thoſe who had gain'd Reputation by ſo many brave Exploits, were that Day depriv'd of their Courage, by the Injuſtice of the Action they had been concern'd in. They ſent again to *Goa* to deſire Relief, and to repreſent the Diſtreſs, not only of the Fort of *Ternate*, but of all the others the King of *Portugal* held in thoſe Eaſtern Parts; for they had caſt off Subjection to him in moſt of them. They forgot not to mention the perſecution of the Religion, and the ſcarcity of Arms and Proviſions, of both which the *Ternates* had deprived them. Theſe News were flown into *India* and *Spain* by other Ways; and all the while the Siege laſted *Goa* ſent Succours to the *Moluccos*, in their trading Galeons; but the vaſt Diſtance, the many Shoals, and the violent Storms thoſe Seas are ſubject to, occaſion'd the Loſs of thoſe Ships, or put them by their intended Voyage.

Portugueſe *Fort beſieg'd.*

Deſolation.

The Commanders in thoſe Eaſtern Ports, who follow'd the Example of thoſe of *Ternate* were not Idle; for the *Portugueſes*, tho' the reducing of thoſe Rebels ſucceeded not at that Time, did not miſs of obtaining other Victories, which ſhould we relate them here, would make this look more like a Hiſtory of all *India* than of one ſmall part of it; beſides that the *Portugueſes* Nation has not wanted Learned Authors, who have tranſmitted them to us, where they may be ſeen at large. The *Spaniards* have alſo done the like, in a much more loftier Stile than mine. We muſt therefore circumſcribe our ſelves, and return to the *Moluccos*, where the Beſieged, as it were forſaken, and abandon'd by all the Earth, endure the Hardſhips and Perils of Places ſo ſtreightned.

Tydore *and* Ternate *mortal Enemies.*

Thus all their Hopes, under Heaven, depended on their own Valour, and the inviolable Friendſhip of the King of *Tydore*, ſo implacable an Enemy to him of *Ternate*, that neither the Neighbourhood of the Kingdoms, divided only by an Arm of the Sea, a League and half over, in the midſt whereof is a ſmall Deſart Iſland, which almoſt joyns them, nor the ancient and reiterated Alliances, do in the leaſt abate of their Hatred, which ſeems to be fatal, and conſequently unavoidable betwixt thoſe two Kings and Nations.

However, the *Ternates* being always intent upon War, and thinking no Practice unlawful, that may ſecure their Succeſs, they ply'd their Weapons on one Hand, and on the Other, carry'd on their Intrigues, for a Pacification with the King of *Tydore*: not ſo much out of any Deſire of coming to a Concluſion with him, as to the End that being amaz'd with the Hopes of Peace, he might grow ſlack in Relieving and Aſſiſting the Beſieged. They offer'd to reſtore him ſome Places, taken from him during the late Wars; and to give him thoſe and others, as a Portion with a Daughter to the King of *Ternate*; beſides other Advantages, of which Accommodation the King of *Bachian* was the chief Manager. To theſe fair Offers, they added Threats; and both the Kings and their Nations agreeing in Religion, and it being eaſy to cover any Occaſion of War under fair Pretences; it happen'd that the *Tydores*, at leaſt while this Politick Game was playing, did not afford their Succours with the ſame Zeal as they had done at firſt; and that

Practices of Baba *with* Tydore.

King,

Policy of the K. of Tydore.

King, who till then had been a constant Friend, upon another Consideration, deferr'd his coming to a Resolution. He waited, as well as the Besieged, the Arrival of the *Portugueſe* Succours, and several of his *Carcoas* often touch'd at the Islands of *Borneo*, to enquire what Ships pass'd that Way from *India*. They examin'd every Vessel they met, and every slight Intelligence puff'd them up, or quite cast them down. In short, both Parties protracted the Time, with so little Regard to any other Principles, that all their Courage and Fidelity, depended on it alone.

This is so certain, that the King of *Tydore* being just at the Point of accepting the Wife, and Lands offer'd him by the Enemy, fell off upon the News brought him, that a Galleon was seen sailing for the *Molucco* Islands, and he rejected all the Proposals. It was afterwards known to be bound for the *Philippine* Islands, and belong'd neither to the *Portugueſe* nor *Spaniards*; but to *Venetian* Merchants, who traded between *Manila* and *China*, with several Commodities of their own Country, and other Parts of the *Levant*; so that the King of *Tydore*, and the Besieged themselves began to make fresh Reparations, like Men that sharpen their Weapons, and fit their Armour.

Sallies, and the Length of the Siege.

These Succours encourag'd them to several bold Attempts. The Besieged made a Salley, to nail up the Enemies Cannon, and tho' few in Number, several Times assaulted their Camp, still returning Victorious, without any considerable Loss. They dismounted all their Cannon from the Walls, their Works nothing availing them, because they were not made according to Art. The Siege lasted five Years, the *Portugueſes* sustaining it with notable Resolution, and the *Indians* pressing with no less Obstinacy; nor would the Hunger, Thurst, Nakedness, and the Hardships of the Seasons have been tollerable, had not they been common to both Parties. Extream Want, was the Occasion of several signal Exploits of that Valour, wherewith they defended their Lives, and the Fort. This produc'd Rage and Admiration in the Enemy; and an affectionate Compassion in the Women of the Island; among whom they found Advice, Secrecy, Intelligence and known Favour. So great is the Power of Persecuted Virtue, that it prevails, even upon those Enemies, who harbour the Memory of a Wrong, to convert it, first into a Desire of forgetting it, and without long Interposition of Time, produces a Zeal to support that Valour they first hated.

The End of the Second Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK III.

BOTH Sides now took the Breathing of a short Cessation; advantagious to *Ternate* for the Liberty of Trade, and to the *Portugueses*, because it gain'd Time to their Hope of Relief, which they concluded must be near at Hand, by Reason it had been long expected. They were not discouraged by Events, those having prov'd alternatively Successful and Unfortunate, and Victory was toss'd to and fro; besides that the Interruption of Commerce had knit some the closer together in Friendship. I could mention several Instances of this Sort, contain'd in Letters, and other *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Relations, sent by Religious Men from the *Moluccos*, to the Governours of the *Philippine* Islands, whose Papers have, upon this Occasion, been lay'd before me, for my better Information, for which Reason we may make Use of some of them, without departing from the main Subject. The gravest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians sometimes intermix private Adventures, as it were short Episodes to divert the Reader. The Example of great Masters is a sufficient Authority for Learners, for which Reason I may well be allow'd this Freedom. *Cessation of Arms.*

One *Duarte*, a brave Ensign, had contracted strict Friendship with *Cachil Tudura*, which was no way obstructed by the Difficulties of the Seige, nor so much as interrupted. *Duarte* was wont in the dead of the Night, to go safely into the City in the Habit of the Country, and by the Help of the Language, being Master of it, where he was privately admitted into his Friend's House, and well receiv'd there on another Account by *Tudurisa*, *A Love Story.*

his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nuno Pereyra* going the Rounds miss'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Perswasions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his Ensign, said to him, *I am inform'd, that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife*, and then she appear'd, *brought hither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her to you lovingly, and do not suffer the Honour of* Portugal, *depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer. Duarte* was amaz'd, generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by *Nunno Pereyra*.

Hopes and Despair of the Besieged.

It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Sangiacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternate*'s Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternate* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Meaos*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Seige; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Seige, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tydore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Bachian* had joyn'd

Propofals of Accommodation, and Reasons for it.

joyn'd him for the same Purpose; to the End, that since they were all convinc'd that was their common Cause, they might with their joynt Power make their utmost Efforts. That the Cessation which had lasted till then, tho' advantages to the King, as encouraging the Trade with the *Javaneses*, and *Rumes*, who came to Load Clove, must of Necessity cease. He ask'd how long they would expose their Lives to the utmost Dangers, only to gain an empty Name of *Loyal Subjects*, which, perhaps, would never be known to him that was to reward it. He bid them consider the Villany of his Father, King *Aerio*'s Death, and that by their Obstinate holding out they made the Murderers Cause more Criminal. That they thus show'd they approv'd of anothers Treachery, whose Punishment they would compass by other Means. That they ought to be very thankfull, that the King would not involve them in the Guilt of that Wretch, who contrary to his solemn Oath, to the Laws of Friendship, and the Honour of the *Portugueſe* Nation, or rather to Nature it self, had Murder'd that King, who most inviolably observ'd the Faith he had engag'd to him. Besides, that they were sensible how little Comfort uncertain Hopes could afford amidst real Wants; and how impracticable it was for Relief to come from so great a distance, through such boisterous Seas, causing so many Shipwrecks, and which seem'd to have conspir'd against those who had oppress'd and injur'd *Ternate*.

He concluded his Discourse requiring the Commander in Chief, to deliver up the Fort, or expect the utmost Rigour; for if he once refus'd the Terms offer'd, and provok'd them, they would spare neither Sex, nor Age. The Besieg'd were not free from Jealousie, that there was Fraud in these Offers; yet, perceiving that the Succours never came from *India*, either because retarded by the *African* War, in which King *Sebastian* had engag'd himself, or by the Difficulties of that dangerous Voyage; and believing that the two Kings of *Tydore* and *Ternate* were reconcil'd, as *Tulo* told them, thinking he of *Tydore*, without whose support they could not subsist, had forsaken their Friendship, the Proposals were accepted by unanimous Consent, after *Nuno Pereyra* had return'd a resolute Answer, suitable to that Part of *Cachil Tulo*'s Words, which contain'd any Threats, signifying to him, how little they mov'd himself, or his Men; and that he would hearken to no Conditions to the differvice of his God, or his King, or to disparage the Bravery of his Soldiers, which had been so often try'd to the cost of the Natives of *Ternate*; nevertheless upon some other Considerations, he would surrender the Fort, provided that all the *Portugueses* might march out in a Body, Colours Flying, with their Wives, Children, Slaves, and all their Goods, having first Hostages given them to their content, that no Harm, or Injury should be done them. That the King should secure them their Passage to *Amboyna*, and find them Vessels; and that such as should happen to be left in his Dominions for want of them, should have no Ransome demanded of them, either then, or at the time of their departure. That the Fort and Guns should be deliver'd to King *Babu*, upon express Condition, That he should hold it for the King of *Portugal*, and in his Name, to whom he should restore it, whensoever he effectually punish'd the Murder of King *Aerio*. The King easily Granted, and Swore to perform all those Conditions, being eager to possess himself of the Fort, before the Succours arriv'd, which were now near at hand. On the Day appointed, which was Saint

The Besieged Surrender.

The Capitulation.

The Fort Deliver'd.

Stephen's, the *Ternates* took up all the advantageous Posts to view the *Portugueses*, who march'd out as if they had been Conquerors; and no sooner were they out of the Fort, than the Natives running in, possess'd themselves of the Guns, with loud Laughter and Shouts, Scoffing at those that left it; for the third Day after the Galeon arriv'd, well Mann'd, and furnish'd with Guns, and all Necessaries, and *James de Azambuja* in it, as Commander in Chief. They had thoughts of Recovering the Fort, but it was too late, because the Enemy was possess'd of all Things, without any Opposition. *Pereyra* then perceiv'd how great an Obstacle Precipitation is to the chusing of the safest Advice, and how infallibly it is follow'd by fruitless Repentance; since had he delay'd but never so little longer, tho' it were only to weigh the Enemies Proposals, who ought never to be suppos'd Sincere, he might have sav'd himself and Destroy'd them. For this Reason, tho' he wanted not an honourable Excuse, he resolv'd not to return to *Goa*, having private Intelligence that the Viceroy would not fail to secure him, in Order to cut off his Head. *Azambuja* protected him in his Galeon, and he went over with many others to *Amboyna*. The rest spread themselves throughout the Neighbouring Islands, in Vessels they begg'd. Some return'd to *Malaca*, and only sixteen *Portuguese* Families remain'd in *Ternate* for want of Shipping; who at first submitted to the change of their Fortune; but could not afterwards comply with the Difference there is betwixt Domination and Servitude. The King of *Tydore* a most trusty Friend to the *Spaniards* in their greatest Affliction, offer'd them his Islands, Houses, and Trade of Spice. He sent them a good Number of *Carcoas*, which carry'd them over to his Dominions, and soon after assign'd them a convenient Place to build their Houses and Churches. This Colony was increased, and the Number of its Inhabitants augmented by *Sancho de Vasconselos*, who sent others from *Malaca*, being Commander in Chief of *Goa*, and afterwards of *Amboyna*, in the Year 1578. At last he came thither himself, and erected a Fort, a quarter of a League from the City of *Tydore*, which gives its Name to the Island.

Portugueses *settle at* Tydore.

Tydore *described.*

Tydore, in the Language of those Parts, which was formerly spoken, signifies, Fertility and Beauty. *Europeans* generally give it this Name; but its King, as appears by his *Arabick* and *Persian* Subscriptions, Writes *Tudura*, and not *Tydore*. It is not inferior to *Ternate* for Fruitfulness, and Delight, but far exceeds it in Magnitude and Populousness; and yields the same Aromatick Product. Curious Persons have there try'd to improve the Clove, watering and pruning the Tree at proper Seasons, and it appears to embrace the Helps of Art, by growing bigger, more active in its Vertue, and the Scent stronger. The white Sanders here come to more Perfection, than in any other of the Eastern Parts. In this, as well as the other *Molucco* Islands are found those Birds, they, in their Language, call *Manucodiatas*, signifying Birds of Paradise, from a Fable, credited by those superstitious People, that they came down from Heaven. The Fort here was afterwards enlarg'd by *Nuno Pereyra*, not far from the Port, and then by *James de Azambuja*. The latter did not only contribute with his Industry, but with his Labour, carrying the Materials himself, when it was requisite to set the Soldiers an Example, and forward the Work; which the King often view'd, and was well pleas'd to see the Fortifications. He discours'd

Birds of Paradise.

Fort of Tydore.

discours'd familiarly with the Officers, advis'd with them in his Wars, and comforted the Christians, and they far'd best, for from that Time forward, there being none in *Ternate*, and that Fort in the Hands of the Natives, the Heathens and *Mahometans* seem'd to be Superior and Conquerors throughout all those Provinces. They strengthen'd themselves with Works and other Preparations, erected Forts on high Places, and bending their Minds against the Christians, put many to cruel Martyrdoms; that so the Foundation of our Faith may be in all Parts cemented with the Blood of the Faithful. They dismember'd the Bodies, and burnt the Legs and Arms in the sight of the still Living Trunks. They impal'd the Women, tore out their Bowels, and they surving themselves, beheld their still moving Flesh in the Hands of their Executioners. Children were pull'd Piecemeal before their Mothers Eyes, and Infants still in Embrio were rent from their Wombs. It has been made out, that above 60000 Christians fell by the Sword in only the King of *Ternate*'s Dominions. This is asserted in the Annual Relations of the Fathers of the Society, who preach'd in those Parts. They give an Account of this dismal Persecution, with all the Circumstances of the Cruelties; as how the persecuted Persons fled to the Mountains, seeking for Compassion among the wild Beasts, others cast themselves into the Sea, where they perish'd, either devour'd by its Monsters, or swallow'd by the Waves themselves, not being able to reach the other Islands. A considerable Number of these religious Fugitives, as they swam met a *Portuguese* Ship, coming to the Relief of those at *Amboyna*, and with dismal Voices cry'd out, *Help, Relieve us, for we are Christans.* They carefully took them up in their Boats, and having view'd them at Leasure, found that none of them were above 12 Years of Age. Yet at this same Time, when cruelty advanc'd God's Glory, Providence seem'd to act Counter in the very Cities, and Deserts. Idolaters and *Mahometans* were converted, and our Religious Men preach'd and catechis'd, without any Fear of Punishment, which they rather coveted, and thought themselves unworthy of it; encouraging one another with the Examples the Tyrant made, for several Purposes. But all those People looking upon it as their Duty to seek Revenge, their Cruelty gaining Applause under that Name, and *Europe* being involv'd in Dismal Troubles, they met with no Opposition in the Execution of their Vengeance, and the Calamity ran so high, that in the space of thirty Years, they either quite obliterated, or much obscured the Name of Christianity in those Eastern Parts, destroy'd our Churches, and, like those who prepare to hunt wild Beasts, arm'd themselves against the Faithful who liv'd in more security among those savage Creatures, or in Deserts never penetrated by Men, feeding on Herbs, and gaining Time, by that lawful Retreat for the sake of the Gospel, for the Wrath of Heav'n, whose Executioners those Men were, to pass over. Above 36 Towns, of each 800 Inhabitants in *Gilolo* and *Celebes*, a spacious and populous Country, and in those of the two Kings of *Sian* and *Sanguil*, who pro'ess'd Christianity, with most of their Subjects, in the Kingdom of *Cauripana*; in that of *Bachian*, whose King and his People were Sons of the Church; in the Islands of *Amboyna*, where Forty Towns worshipped CHRIST, in the Bosom of his Faith, and in those of *Tydore*, which were

Persecution.

Many Apostatize.

not

not without this Light; in all those Places they fell off from Christianity, and were utterly lost; first through the Insolency of the *Portugueſe* Commanders, and lastly on Account of the Death of *Sultan Aerio*; who, as was prov'd, had given no real, nor so much as a likely Token of Falshood, for which they might be provok'd to destroy him. However the Christians dy'd with such Resolution, that the Persecuters took not away any Life but what became a fresh Example of Magnanimity, and perhaps Providence might permit that Accident of *Aerio*, with a Design to advance the Churches Glory.

Augustin Nunez *sent to Command at* Amboyna.

Sultan Babu making his present Victory an Instrument to obtain others, Ship'd his Men, in Order to besiege *Tydore* and *Bachian*; and tho' he met with a vigorous Defence in both Places, and the *Portugueſe* Auxiliaries made some Amends for his Superiority of Power, yet they submitted to the Tyrant. This Revenge made him stick at no Cruelty. In *November*, this same Year, a Galeon came to *Malaca* from *India*, to carry Succours for the *Moluccos*, commanded by Captain *Augustin Nunez*, the Eldest and Bravest Commander in those Days, as he made it appear in the Expedition of *Chaul*, when it was besieged by *Niza Moluco*, when *Don Luys de Atayde* was Viceroy of *India*, in the year 1578. The Galeon was stor'd with all Necessaries, and in it *James Lopez de Mezquita*, the Murderer of *Aerio*, design'd for Punishment, in Satisfaction for the Wrong done. He was so strong, and fierce, that to secure him, he was fetter'd with a great Chain, the End whereof was made fast to a heavy Piece of Brass Cannon. *Augustin Nunez* had Orders to convey him to the new King of *Ternate*, to be deliver'd to him bolted, like a Criminal, that he might pass such a sentence of Death on him as he thought fit, which should be executed in his Presence, pursuant to the Orders sent by the King of *Portugal*. They put him on double Fetters, Manacles, and Chains, and kept him in the Steeridge. *Augustin Nunez* went to succeed *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, in the Fort of *Amboyna*; but a storm rising, he was forc'd into the Port of *Japara*, of *Sunda*, in the greater *Java*. The Galeon wanting water, and Refreshment, he there sent for it; which the Native *Javaneſes* brought him in 40 Vessels. Among them came 150 Soldiers in the Habit of Peasants, and Fishermen; who making many words as is usual among Buyers and Sellers, drew the Ponyards they brought conceal'd, and surprizing the *Portugueſes*, fell on with such Fury and Cruelty, that they kill'd them all. Among them dy'd *James Lopez de Mezquita*, but fighting with extraordinary Bravery, tho' held by his Chain, hinder'd by his Fetters, and other heavy Encumbrances, and restrain'd by the Cannon, to which his Chain was made fast. However he got a Sword and a Buckler wherewith he cut down ten *Javaneſes*, revenging on them the Death of the *Portugueſes*, and they on him, that of King *Aerio* of *Ternate*, which had occasion'd so much Slaughter. Seventy three Christians were kill'd and above the same Number of *Javaneſes*, and their Vessels had been taken, but that others came to their Assistance from the Shore in the Heat of the Action, in which there were Men with Fire-Locks and Lances, six Yards and a Quarter long, the Points of them poison'd. The Galeon was taken without any Succour, nor was the Cannon of any Use.

James Lopez de Mezquita *sent Prisoner to* Ternate.

The Murderer kill'd

It is but reasonable that so manly and honourable a Death should, as is usual,

uſual, render all this Gentlemans Life honourable; and that his Fetters, and Sufferings joyn'd to it, excite Compaſſion and Affection in the minds of the Readers, ſo to blot out the Hatred they have conceiv'd againſt him on Account of *Sultan Aerio's* Death. It is to be obſerv'd, for his juſtification that it does not appear, nor is it reported, he was incens'd to perform that Act through Intereſt, Ambition, or any other private Motives; but was mov'd to it by Informations which perſwaded him it was convenient, for the Eſtabliſhing and Advancement of Religion, and the publick Peace. Very brave men muſt alſo be allow'd ſome Exceſſes of Fierceneſs, which proceed from an extraordinary Force in the iraſcible Part of the mind, and wherein Valour is ſubdu'd. When theſe Perſons find themſelves encompaſs'd by great Numbers, and ſtreightned by wrongful Violence; if they are not to be daunted and overcome, it comes to paſs that Patience often provok'd turns that Courage into Fury and Rage, which cauſes them to make mighty Slaughters, and Examples of Cruelty; led to it not only by Paſſion, but alſo by Judgment and Thought, which directs them to cauſe themſelves to be dreaded even to Aſtoniſhment, to ſave themſelves and their People from other great Cruelties which uſually mean Souls attempt and practice upon thoſe they ſtand much in Fear of. Let this Reflection ſerve for a general Excuſe to other Offences of this ſort mention'd, or blam'd in our Hiſtory. *His Vindication.*

This Accident, in as much as related to the Death of *James Lopez de Mezquita*, was forgot, or at leaſt not known for many Years, for in 1603 the King of *Ternate* demanded Juſtice of our King, againſt that Man not knowing that God had ſummon'd him before a more upright Tribunal. The News being brought to *Malaca*, the Commander *Arias de Saldana* immediately ſent away another Galeon, he call'd *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, for the *Moluccos* under command of *Peter Lopez de Souſa*, and a Galley with 150 Soldiers to relieve *Sancho de Vaſconceles* at *Amboyna*, where he wanted Proviſions, and was ſtreightned. They ſaild in May 1579, to touch at *Borneo*, there to take in all Neceſſaries for the Deſign. He arriv'd on that Iſland in *June*, and found it in an Uproar, occaſion'd by the *Spaniards* who came thither with Doctor *Sandi*, Governour of the *Philippine* Iſlands in 30 rowing Veſſels. He took the City, and put the King to flight, who was a Lover of the *Portugueſes*, and from that time *Manila* began to be look'd upon as a place of Arms, for the recovering of the *Molucco Iſlands*; and if *Sandi* had then employ'd thoſe, he carry'd to this other Expedition againſt them, he would have found the Tyrant leſs ſettled, and conſequently his Revenge more eaſy. *Vaſconcelos* died at *Amboyna*, and *James de Azambuja* ſucceeded him, ſo that nothing came now from *India* but fair Promiſes. In the *Philippine* Iſlands they had no Orders at that Time to intermeddle in thoſe Wars, becauſe they then belong'd to another Sovereign, and therefore they were only Lookers on to thoſe Martyrdoms, and Revolutions and employ'd themſelves as they us'd in *Camboxa*, *Mindanao*, *Japan* and *China*, and then particularly in *Borneo*, without regarding thoſe other Succeſſes. Peter Lopez de Souſa *ſent to* Moluccos. Spaniards *at* Borneo.

Borneo lies between *Malaca* and the *Moluccos*, and according to the Opinion of *Gerard Mercator*, is that which *Ptolomy* calls, the Iſland of Good Fortune. A Point of it lies under the Equinoctial, and the greater Part ſtretches out to 6 Degrees of North Latitude, taking up the two firſt Parallels. Thus it appears to be above 400 Leagues in Compaſs. It abounds in Borneo *deſcrib'd.*

in Provisions, and all other Necessaries for the Support of humane Life. And produces abundance of Camphire, Agarick Diamonds, vast Numbers of Horses, smaller than the *Spanish*; but it has not such plenty of Sheep, or Kine: There is a general Resort of Trade in all its Populous Cities and Ports. The Capital is *Borneo*, which gives Name to the Island, built on a Spacious Lake the Sea Forms, like *Venice*, and said to contain 23000 Houses: The King is a *Mahometan*; no man speaks to him but by the Interposition of an Interpreter. The Natives worship Idols. They are White, good Natur'd and sharp Witted. They have no certain Fashion of Cloaths. Many of them wear Cotton Shirts, and others of white common single Tabby, with red Lists.

King of Borneo's Brothers at Manila.

Sirelela, Brother to this King, came to *Manila*, where Doctor *Sandi* being then Governour, he laid before him his Pretensions, and some Means he had for bringing his Designs to bear; but he put the main Stress upon his having a greater Party there, than the King his Brother. He promised which would be no difficult Matter, in Regard of the Hatred the People bore the King, that he would make the Kingdom Tributary to the Kings of *Spain*. The Governour having taken sufficient Precautions, condescended to his Request, and arming as many *Spaniards*, and *Philippines* as he thought convenient, with all Necessaries for a great Enterprize, ship'd them, and arriv'd happily at *Borneo*. He attack'd it in several Places; the best of the People immediately declar'd for the Brother. The King thinking himself weakest at Sea, reserv'd his Forces for the Land, and being deceiv'd in his Expectation, was forc'd to fly, his Army being routed, without any Remains to attend him in the Deserts, and Retreats of the Mountains, where he liv'd miserably. *Sirelela* ascended the Throne; the Victorious *Spaniards* return'd to the *Philippine* Islands loaded with Booty; and among other Things, if we may believe Relations, brought 600 Pieces of Artillery. However the depos'd King, a few Months after, got to a Head again. No Man ought to Despair in Adversity, for Fortune is nothing but the Will of God. Thus the King, with the Assistance of the *Portuguses*, recover'd his Throne, casting down his Brother, and defeating him, till he was utterly destroy'd. Hatred is frequently no less intense than Love among those whom Nature has most closly link'd. In the *Molucco* Islands the War did not cease, nor the general Malice against Christians.

Spaniards *overthrow that King.*

He is restored.

A Prodigy.

The News of what had happened there was not known in *Europe*, where, and in *Africk* greater Dangers were apprehended; of the Event whereof Providence thought fit to inform our free Wills, by stupendious Prodigies. On the 15th of *June* 1580, about the declining of the Day, there appear'd to certain Sailers a Large Crucifix in the Body of the Sun the Foot of the Cross standing on Mount *Calvary*, as we see in common Pictures; on the Right Side of it a Figure clad in White, and another on the left in a deep Red. The Crucifix ascended upwards, and was still seen to mount till the Sun Setting, the Day shut in. This was seen by all those who came in a Caravel, from the Island of St. *Michael* ten Leagues before they came to that of St. *George*, the Bishop whereof residing in that of *Angla*, sent the Affidavit of it to King *Philip* the Second, which was receiv'd and much talked of by the Judge *Freytas*, a grave Person. All the Men of the Caravel sign'd it, as Eye-Witnesses, who affirm, That being touch'd with it, they

they confeſs'd their Sins at the Sight of the Prodigy, begging Mercy with Sighs and Tears. Our Underſtandings ought to ſtand amaz'd, and praiſe, him that produces both what is Natural, and Miraculous, and who by ſo many Warnings ſhows us, that he has reſerv'd Times, and Moments in his own Hand.

King Sebaſtian prepares for the War in Africk.

King *Sebaſtian*, at that Time had other Conqueſts in View. The Loſs or the Recovery of *Ternate* and the neighbouring *Moluccos* concern'd him alone; but he referr'd that to the Governour of *India*; whilſt he himſelf, ſolicited by the *Xerif Muley Mahomet*, whom he deſign'd to ſet upon the Throne of *Morocco*, tho' with a good Deſign, joyn'd the *African* Army, with another of Catholicks, conſiſting of the *Portugueſe* Gentry, of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans*. And, if we may believe thoſe who committed that Expedition to writing, he went over into *Africk*, contrary to all the known Rules and Maxims of Martial Prudence, which Proportions the the Strength to the Undertaking, to aſcertain the Succeſs and forecaſts, in Caſe Things proſper, to ſecure and preſerve them. This he did upon the Aſſurances the *Xerif* gave him, that as ſoon as ever the *Portugueſe* Forces appear'd, the People would ſubmit to him. But God permitted that moſt Chriſtian Prince to be kill'd, the *Xerif* periſhing with him; and their Armies to be routed, *Muley Moluc* the third Perſon remaining Victorious, tho' he alſo dy'd in the ſame Battel, and was bury'd in triumphant Manner. The Prodigies, and Fears of the wiſer ſort were verify'd in the King of *Portugal*, and particularly that which happen'd before his Birth. It is certainly reported, that the Princeſs *Joanna* his Mother, one Night ſaw a great Number of *Moors* come into her Chamber, in the Palace at *Lisbon*, clad in ſeveral Colours; ſhe believ'd or fancy'd they might be thoſe they call *Monetros*, who are ſuch as do the Duty of Guards in the Royal Apartment. Some went out to enquire, and found them all ſtill, as huſht as at other Times. The Princeſs ſeeing the imaginary *Moors* come in again, ſwoon'd away in her Ladies Arms. Afterwards at the proper Time, ſhe was deliver'd of King *Sebaſtian*, whoſe ſingular Virtues, ſupported by the Loyalty of his Subjects, might have ſhin'd as bright as his natural Magnanimity, had not that haſten'd his End. That was mourn'd for and lamented by all Chriſtendom, and brought Trouble to all its Princes, who began ſeriouſly to diſcourſe about the Succeſſor to the Crown of *Portugal*. There they preſently ſwore *Henry*, the Prince Cardinal, Unkle to the late King, then Eighty Years of Age, and the laſt Lawful Male of that Royal Houſe, which began in another of his Name. *Antony*, Prior of *Crato*, Son to Prince *Lewis*, pretended to ſucceed him, and tho' declar'd illegitimate, there was a Party that follow'd him. This Revolution, and the Hurry in ſuch difficult Exigences, were the Occaſion, that Care was not taken to ſupply other Places, much nearer than *Ternate*. Beſides that diſmal Accounts brought 5000 Leagues, tho' they were repreſented by *Demoſthenes*, would come cold from his Mouth and ſcarce move the beſt diſpos'd Prince, when never ſo much at Leaſure; and King *Henry*, had no Power, but only his Zeal for Religion, to oppoſe the Tyranny practis'd in the *Archipelago* of the *Moluccos*. The Cardinal King thought all his Forces little enough, and neceſſary conſidering the extraordinary Jealouſie he had conceiv'd, upon our King *Philip*'s declaring himſelf a Pretender to thoſe Kingdoms, and having order'd a conſiderable

Is Kill'd there.

Prodigy.

Henry *the Cardinal King.*

Army to make up to the Frontiers, which he had drawn together during the said Cardinal's Life. The Generals were the Duke of *Alva*, and the Marques *de Santa Cruz*, the first at Land, the other at Sea; and in the mean while the ablest Divines and Civilians of *Europe*, in all the Schools, and Parliaments writ concerning his Right.

First English *Voyage to the* Moluccos.

The Year before, being 1579, about the Beginning of it, Q. *Elizabeth* of *England*, seeing the Princes of *Europe*, particularly those in the Western Parts, make Warlike Preparations, as being divided in Opinions; form Leagues, and direct all their Designs towards the Kingdom of *Portugal*, she to make some Diversion with Security, had on a sudden fitted out four Ships, of eighteen Brass Guns each, and in them two hundred Men, and ten young Gentlemen, who besides employing their Valour, on such Occasions as it should offer, were to be very intent upon the Business of Navigation for greater Ends. She appointed *Francis Drake* of the County of *Devon* their Commander in Chief; who at his own, or at the Charge of *John Hawkins*, from whom he stole a great Quantity of Gold and Silver at *S. John de Ulva*, in the Year 1566, added some more Ships. He set sail from the Port of *Plymouth*, for the South Sea, and to find out that Streight of *Magellan*, scarce believed by the Vulgar, and declar'd by several Cosmographers. He promis'd to sail as much as might be to the Northward, and to take rich Prizes, infesting all those remote Seas, and to return Victorious into *England*, through the same Streight. This presumptuous Hope he grounded on his own Valour, on the Negligence of the *Spaniards*, who are intrusted with the Places of Strength; on our want of Ships; and above all on that Opportunity, or Season so full of sundry and extraordinary Commotions. He touch'd on the Coast of *Africk*, and refitted all his Ships at Cape *Bojador*. The *Moors* took two of his Men, and a *Portuguese* Ship pay'd for it, he robbing her at *Cabo Blanco* of an hundred Quintals, or hundred Weight of Bisket, besides much Fish, and many Arms. He touch'd at the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, where he took another small *Portuguese* Vessel, richly Laden with Wine, Cloth, Holland, and several other Commodities, with *Sylva*, the Pilot in it, who was well acquainted with those Seas, and better on the Coast of *Brazil*. But six or seven Days after the Vessel sunk, and not a Man was sav'd except only the said Pilot. *Drake* went on to the River of *Plate*, and Winter'd for some Months in *S. Julians* Bay, which is not well shelter'd, but expos'd to excessive cold Winds, in 50 Degrees of South Latitude, where he lost some Men.

Sir Francis Drake *his Voyage.*

Giants.

One *Thomas Haughton* rais'd a Mutiny there, in order to Debauch the Squadron, *Drake* laid hold of him, and struck off his Head. Here they saw eight *Indian* Giants to whom the tallest *Englishman* look'd like a Dwarf. They shew'd their Bows and Arrows, and an *Englishman*, who valu'd himself upon his Dexterity at those Weapons, breaking the Peace establish'd with those People, let fly an Arrow at one of them, which pierced him through, and he dropt; the others in Revenge discharged theirs, and kill'd two of the *English*. The rest then assail'd the *Indians*, but they fled so swiftly that they seem'd not, to those *English* who saw and writ this, to set their Feet on the Ground. They departed thence, as soon as the North Winds they had expected began to blow, and holding on their Course to the Southward, in fifteen Days came to the Mouth of the Streight.

From

From thence to the second Narrowing they spent five Days, by reason of the Currents and Shoals; at a small distance from them they found no Bottom. They met with some Calms and Storms, and being come into the South-Sea had one which lasted forty Days, and in it lost some Ships. The Vice-Admiral return'd through the same Streight into *England*, where the Queen order'd him to be Hang'd for having forsaken his Admiral; but he was reprieved till *Drakes* Return, and then Pardon'd, at his Request. He went on with only his own and some other Ships, but wanted not Men, Provisions, nor Ammunition, he took some belonging to private Persons, and the Kings, loaded with the Plate they were bringing for *Spain*, a Robbery of great Consequence, not so much for the Quantity of the Treasure, as for the Use it is apply'd to in our Monarchy, which is the Advancement of the Catholick Church, and which thereby ceas'd, and deplorable for the unjust Abuses it was to be apply'd to in Scismatical Kingdoms. Having wander'd, Steering various Courses, in which his Pilots made their Observations by Sounding and their Charts, he touch'd at six Islands, to some whereof he gave Names, in Imitation of the fabulous Heroes, and even of true Catholicks, who assign such Names according to their particular Devotion. One he call'd *S. Bartholomew*, another *S. James*, and a third, which he thought larger and more fruitful, *New Albion*, from the Ancient Name of *England*, *this is California*. There he stay'd a Month and a half, refitting his Ships, and sailing thence to those call'd *de los Ladrones*, or of Thieves, in nine Degrees of North Latitude, kill'd 20 *Indians*, because they attack'd him with 100 *Canoas*. Twenty Days after, he came to an Anchor at the *Molucco* Islands, having before touch'd at others, without any Action worth remembering. His Cruelties, and Robberies might well gain him the Title of the greatest of Pyrates, in those remotest Parts, as he had it in *Europe*. He came to *Ternate*, but succeeded not at first, that People being War-like, and at that time Arm'd by their own Malice, and an implacable King. He attempted to barter for Clove, without his Leave, was inform'd how severely he handled such as Transgress'd, and slighting the Advice, the King came to hear of it, and order'd him to be Kill'd. It came very near the Execution; but *Drake*, whose Genious well experienced in Frauds was no Stranger to Dissimulation, retir'd to his Ships, to make his Escape by Flight. Thence he contriv'd to appease the King, which was no difficult Matter, by means of some Presents he sent him. With them he purchas'd the good Will, and an Audience of that cunning Tyrant, and going ashore several Times to visit him, agreed he should enter into Amity with the Queen, and Nation of *England*, and that Factories should be settled out of Hand. The King consented, and *Drake* promis'd him the Protection and Arms of *England*; and taking with him, among other Gifts, a rich Ring the King gave him for the Queen, he sail'd homewards, with a great quantity of Clove. He met a *Portugueſe* Ship crossing the small Channel of *Tydore*, but either durst not, or thought not fit to attack her, whether it was for being Inferior in Strength, or out of a Desire of securing the new acquir'd Wealth. Scarce was he got clear of *Ternate*, before the Winds began to tose him, in that Sea full of Flats, whence they forc'd him, in order to deliver him quite up to Tempests. He was oblig'd to lighten his Ships, and among other Things of Value, threw over-Board a Cannon, of an extraordinary

Drake takes the Kings Plate.

He gives Names to Islands.

Arrives at the Moluccos.

Is in a Storm.

traordinary Bigness, which the King of *Ternate*, hearing afterwards of the Storm, caused to be taken out of the deep Sea. Then he built a House before his Palace, on the Roof whereof he planted it openly, and pointing over, either on Account of its Magnitude, or by way of Ostentation, and in Memory of the first *Englishman*, that came into his Kingdoms, from whom and the Sea he had taken that new offensive Booty. *Drake* went on to the greater *Java*, where he laid in Provisions of *Cazabi*, *Plantans*, and *Floul*, in exchange for Cloth. Next he put into another Island, in four Degrees of North Latitude, where he stay'd six Weeks. There he left a Woman, and two Men, all Blacks, that belong'd to him, giving them Fire, Rice, and some Grain, that they might People the Place. An Heroick Foundation of a Colony. Then he continu'd his Voyage, turning in and out to several Places, with unexpected Dammage to all those he touch'd at.

Reflection of the Spanish *Author.*

It is to be observ'd, that it being positively believed in *Spain* and the *Indies*, that none had ever pass'd the Streights of *Magellan*, since the first Discoverer, except *F. Garcia de Loaysa*, and one of the Ships sent by *Don Gutierre de Vargas*, Bishop of *Palencia*, to the Spice-Islands, it was look'd upon as incredible, that any Pyrates were come into the South-Sea, especially through the Streight, and to the Islands of *Ternate*, and that *Archipelago*. This Man was the first that open'd the Passage to the Sectaries *Hugonots*, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, who afterwards pierc'd into those Seas, with Ship Loads of perverted Texts, Heretical Bibles, and other Books of unsound Doctrine; but the Divine Providence has given Proofs, that it is so much Offended at this Hellish Innovation, tho' it permits Idolatry, and *Mahometanism*, that it has not suffer'd those Souls which through its profound Judgments, lie involv'd in the Shades and Darkness of Ignorance, to imbibe that Poyson, till it sent them the Gospel in its Purity. It has Oppos'd those new Apostacies making use of, as Instruments of *Spanish* Religious Men, giving Strength to our King, who protects them, his main Design being the Support of Religion. This Truth plainly appears in the many Victories the Church has obtain'd through his Officers, and the Armies maintain'd in the remotest Parts of the Monarchy, for the Propagation of the Faith preach'd to the most distant *Indians*.

Reason for this Digression.

But the better to demonstrate this true Forecast and Care, I think it a necessary Digression, so far from being superfluous, to relate the Preparations made by the Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo*, directing his Actions to this End, as became a Minister who follow'd his Princes Designs, in Order to secure himself against *Drake*'s surprizing Celerity and Boldness; for as much of this as concerns the *Molucco* Islands, obliges us to write it, and we will slightly run over all the particular Passages.

Preparations of the Viceroy.

The Viceroy of *Peru* was of Opinion, That in Order to secure the *Indies*, their Peace and Religion, and for the removing, at first, of all Obstacles to its Exaltation, and making Examples for a Warning, it was of the greatest Consequence to erect Forts, as divine and humane politick Precautions, and to Arm against that Pyrate, so to give a Check to the Northern Parts by his Punishment. To this Purpose, and in Order to his Destruction, a more exact Observation was to be taken of the Passes into the South-Sea, and more particularly of the Way he was to take, to return into his own Country. He was egg'd on by Fear, or the Loss of Repu-

tation

tation, becauſe ſome Engliſh Ships, Part of *Drake*'s Squadron, ran along the Coaſts of *Chile* and *Arica*, obliging the People to Arm; it being apprehended that *Drake* had erected Forts to ſecure the Paſſage, for carrying on the Trade of Spice and Jewels, and the bringing in of perverting Miniſters with their poiſonous Doctrines. For this Effect, he pitch'd upon *Peter Sarmiento de Gamboa*, a Gentleman of *Galicia*, who had twice already engag'd with that Pyrate. The firſt in the Port of *Callao* near *Lima*, where he took from him a *Spaniſh* Ship, laden with Commodities of *Spain*; the ſecond a few Days after, purſuing him as far as *Panama*. The Viceroy reſolv'd he ſhould go to diſcover the Streights of *Magellan*, an Enterprize look'd upon as impractable by the South Sea, by Reaſon of the many Mouths and Channels which obſtruct the Acceſs to it, where many Diſcoverers ſent by the Governours of *Peru* and *Chile* have been loſt. Others have attempted it, entering from the North Sea, and miſs'd of the Streight; ſome were caſt away, or beaten back by Storm, and all generally deſpair'd of finding it. But now that Terror being remov'd, they can take a fix'd Latitude, ſettle a Rumb, and ſteer a ſafe Courſe to the Streight, ſo to ſecure the Paſſage before an Enemy poſſeſſes himſelf of it. The Viceroy made Choice of two Ships, which he took Care to ſee well rigg'd, arm'd and provided. *Sarmiento* call'd the Bigger, *Our Lady of Hope*, which was Commodore; the other being ſubordinate, had the Name of *S. Francis*. Two Hundred Seamen and Soldiers were put into them, with virtuous and learned Religious Men, fit for that Employ. Captain *John de Villalobos* was appointed Vice-Admiral. *Ferdinand Lamero* Head Pilot, and under him *Ferdinand Alonſo* and *Antony Pablo*, all of them very able Pilots in both Seas. Theſe took an Oath of Fidelity, and the Viceroy gave the Admiral particular Inſtructions, the Purport whereof was, That they ſhould purſue the Pyrate, fight him till taken or kill'd, and recover the great Booty he had taken upon the King's Lands and Ships, whatſoever the Hazard might be, ſince they had ſufficient Men, Arms and Ammunition to overcome the Enemy. That they ſhould ſail into 50 or 54 Degrees of South Latitude, as might be moſt Advantageous, about the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan*. That both Ships ſhould have Lights out at Night, that ſo they might not loſe Sight of one another in the Dark, but always keep together. He charg'd them to be unanimous in their Conſultations, particularly the two Commanders; which Direction was not ſo well obſerv'd, as it ought to have been, thro' the Vice-Admiral's Fault. They were commanded to lay down the Ports, and Seas in exact Draughts. To take Poſſeſſion of any Country they landed on for his Majeſty. When they met with any Towns of *Indians*, to mollify and endear them by diſcreet Courteſy, and gain their Affections with ſuch Gifts, as ſhould for that Purpoſe be deliver'd to the Commodore, being Siſſars, Combs, Knives, Fiſhing-Hooks, Buttons of ſeveral Colours, Looking-Glaſſes, Hawks-Bells, Glaſs-Beads, *&c.* To carry with them ſome *Indians* to ſerve for Interpreters; and ſo provided diſcreetly for all other material Points. Then to encourage them he made a Speech, intermixing it with Hopes and Exhortations. The Commodore having conferr'd with his Vice-Admiral and Pilots, concerning the Deſign of their Voyage; they agreed, That if any Streſs of Weather ſhould happen to part the one

Difficultie of the Streight of Magellan.

Sarmiento *ſent after* Drake *with two Ships.*

His Inſtructions.

one Ship from the other, they should carefully seek one another out, or make the Mouth of the Streight in the South-Sea to the Westward, there to wait for one another. The next Day being *Sunday*, the 11th of *October*, 1579. when they had all confess'd and receiv'd the Holy Eucharist, they embark'd in order to introduce the Faith into those Nations void of all Worship. On Board the *Capitana*, or greater Ship, the General, or Commodore *Sarmiento*, *F. Antony de Guadramiro*, of the Order of *S. Francis*, and Vicar-General of this Expedition; the Ensign *John Gutierrez de Guevara*, *Antony Pablos*, and *Ferdinand Alonso*, Pilots, with 54 Soldiers. In the other Ship, with *John de Villalobos*, *F. Christopher de Merida*, of the said Order of *S. Francis*, *Ferdinand Lamero*, chief Pilot of that Ship, with whom, and the Seamen and Soldiers, they made 54; and the whole Number in both Vessels as was said above.

His Strength.

They sail'd from the Port of *Callao*, belonging to the City of *Lima*, and that Night came to an Anchor at the Island, two Leagues from *Callao*, in 12 Degrees and a half of South Latitude. On the first of *November* they pass'd in Sight of those they call Unfortunate, in 25 Degrees, 20 Minutes, which were accidentally discover'd by the Pilot *John Fernandez*, being bound for *Chile* the second Time, immediately after *Magellan*'s Discovery, since the Year 1520. They are now call'd, the Islands of *S. Felix*, and *S. Ambor*. Here *Sarmiento* observ'd the Difference, betwixt this Course, which he calls the True one, and the Imaginary. This he noted down with extraordinary Curiosity, employing all the Care and Art of his Pilots, and his own, which was not inferior to theirs, nor to others in any Martial Knowledge, as will appear by his Treatises, if publish'd, of Navigation, casting great Guns and Bullets, Fortification, and Knowledge in Astronomy, for sailing in all Seas. They never quitted the Lead, the Astrolabe, and the Charts, either in the Deep, in Ports, Bays, or among Mountains, and Currents, which produc'd a very ample Relation he sent to King *Philip*, whence we took this Abridgement. There he sets down the Points in the Heaven answering to the Earth, the Dangers, Islands, Promontories and Gulphs, Geographically and Corographically. He lays down the Rumbs that are to be follow'd, and those to be avoided; and thus distinctly leads us into and thro' the Streight, giving visible Signs, and also invisible of the Winds for all Ports. At the first unknown Land where he anchor'd, they found the Latitude to be 49 Degrees and a half South. They saw no People, but Tokens of them, as the Prints of Mens Feet, Darts, Oars, and little Nets. They climb'd up vast high Mountains, above two Leagues in the Ascent, over Stones, some of them so sharp, that they cut their Shoes. Others, to avoid them, made their Way on the Boughs of Trees. From the Top they discover'd great Channels, Inlets, Rivers and Harbours, and all the Land as far as their Sight could reach, seem'd to them cut and rent asunder. They judg'd it to be an *Archipelago*. It is to be observ'd, that our Discoverers give the Name of *Archipelagos*, to Seas in the New Word, which are strew'd thick with Islands, as it were great Stones, like the *Archipelago* of *Greece*, so well known to all Nations in the *Egean* Sea, which contains the *Cyclades*, tho' the Name is not ancient. They perceiv'd the Channel to run on, Wide, Spacious, Open and Clean; and were satisfi'd that *Drake* came out that Way

His Voyage

His Care and Capacity.

Land at the Mouth of the Streights.

Way into the South Sea. They found the Latitude by three *Aſtrolabes* to be 50 Degrees. The Harbour they call'd of, *Our Lady of the Roſary*, and the Iſland of the moſt Holy Trinity.

The next *Sunday*, *Sarmiento* order'd all the Men to land, in order to take Poſſeſſion, and perform'd all that is contain'd in the Authentick Inſtrument of what happen'd that Day, the expreſs Words whereof are thus,

Sarmiento *takes Poſſeſſion of the Land.*

The Form of it.

'In the Name of the moſt Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, and one only God, who is the Beginning, Maker and Creator of all Things; without whom nothing that is Good can be done, began, or preſerv'd. And in regard that a good Beginning muſt be in God, and through God, and in him it is requiſite to begin, to his Honour and Glory, and in his moſt Holy Name, Be it known to all thoſe who ſhall ſee this Inſtrument, that this Day, being *Sunday* the 22d of *November*, 1579. this Royal Navy of the Mighty Renowned Lord, King *Philip* of *Spain*, and its other Dominions, my Sovereign, being arriv'd in this Country by Order of the moſt Excellent Lord, *Don Franciſco de Toledo*, Viceroy, Governour, and Captain General of *Peru*, to diſcover the Streight of *Magellan*, under the Command of the General *Peter Sarmiento*, the Land by him nam'd, *Our Lady of the Roſary*, and the Bay of, *The moſt Holy Trinity*. The ſaid Lord General having landed with moſt of the Sea and Landmen belonging to his Navy, and the Religious Men, he brought aſhore a Croſs, which he devoutly worſhipp'd, with all his Men. The Religious Men ſang the Hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and he with a loud Voice, ſaid, That in the Name of his Majeſty *Philip* the Second, our Lord, King of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, and their Dependencies, whom our Lord God long preſerve, with the Addition of greater Kingdoms and Dominions, for the Glory of God, and Good and Proſperity of his Subjects; and in the Name of the moſt Potent Kings his Heirs and Succeſſors for the Time being; he, as his Commander in chief, and Admiral of this ſame Navy, and by Virtue of the Order and Inſtructions given him in his Majeſty's Royal Name, by the ſaid Lord Viceroy of *Peru*, took, did take, ſeiz'd, and did ſeize the Poſſeſſion of this Land on which he is now aſhore, and which he has diſcover'd for evermore, in the ſaid Royal Name, and of the ſaid Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, as has been ſaid, as being his own, and really belonging to him, by Virtue of the Donation and Gift the Holy Father *Alexander* the Sixth, Pope of *Rome*, paſs'd *Motu proprio*, in Favour of their Catholick Majeſties *Ferdinand* the Fifth, and *Iſabel* his Wife, King and Queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon* of glorious Memory, and to their Heirs and Succeſſors, of the one half of the World, being 180 Degrees of Longitude, as is more fully contain'd in the ſaid Bull, dated at *Rome*, on the 4th of *May*, 1493. By Virtue whereof, theſe ſaid Lands fall, lye, and are included within the Limits and Meridian of the ſaid Partition of 180 Degrees of Longitude, belonging to the ſaid Royal Crown of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. And as ſuch he takes, and did take Poſſeſſion of theſe ſaid Lands, and their Territories, Seas, Rivers, Creeks, Ports, Bays, Gulphs, *Archipelagos*, and of this ſaid Harbour of the *Roſary*, where at preſent this Navy is at Anchor. And he ſub-

' jects,

'jects, and did subject them to the Power, Possession and Dominion of the 'said Royal Crown, as has been said, as being their own Property. And 'in Token of Possession, or as it were, drawing the Sword he had by his 'Side, with it he cut Trees, Branches, and Grass, and remov'd Stones, 'and walk'd over the Fields and Shores, without any Opposition; requi-'ring such as were present to be Witnesses thereof, and me the under-'written Notary, to give him a Testimonial thereof in publick Form. 'And immediately, taking up a great Cross, and the Men belonging to 'the Navy being drawn up in martial Manner, with Muskets and other 'Arms, they carry'd the Cross in Procession, the Religious Men, *F. An-'tony de Guadramiro*, the Vicar and his Companion, singing the Litany, 'and all the others answering. And the said Procession being ended, the 'said Lord General planted the Cross on a hard Rock, and rais'd a heap of 'Stones at the Foot of the Cross, in Token, and as a Memorial of Pos-'session of all the Lands and Seas, discover'd, adjacent, and contiguous. 'And he gave the Name of *Our Lady of the Rosary* to this Port, as has 'been said. And as soon as the Cross was set up, they worshipp'd it a 'second Time; and they all pray'd, beseeching and intreating our Lord '*JESUS CHRIST*, would be pleas'd that what they did might be for 'his Glory, and to the End that our Holy Catholick Faith might be ex-'alted and dilated, and the Holy Gospel preach'd and spread abroad 'among these barbarous Nations, which have hitherto been remote from 'the true Knowledge and Doctrine; that it may defend and deliver them 'from the Frauds and Dangers of the Devil, and from the Blindness they 'are in, that their Souls may be sav'd. And then the Religious Men 'sung in Honour of the Cross, the Hymn *Vexilla Regis*. Next the Father 'Vicar said Mass on an Altar there erected, being the first that was 'ever said in that Country, to the Honour and Glory of our Almighty 'Lord God, and for the Extirpation of the Devil and all Idolatry. And 'he preach'd to that Purpose, and some confess'd and communicated. And 'as soon as the Mass was said, the General, for a more absolute Token 'and Memorial of Possession, caus'd a large Tree to be trimm'd, and on 'it caus'd a very high Cross to be made, and on it plac'd the most Holy 'Name of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST. J. N. R. I.* And under 'it, *Philippus Secundus Rex Hispaniarum.* Of all which, I *John de Es-'quivel*, Royal Secretary to this Navy and Admiral Ship, do give Affida-'vit and true Testimony, that it was so done as is said. Then follows '*Esquivel*'s Subscription.

Sarmiento *gives Names to Places.*

Four Days after, *Sarmiento*, in the Vice-Admiral's Boat, with the Pi-lots, *Pablos* and *Lamero*, and ten Sailors and Soldiers, with Muskets, Bucklers and Swords, and four Days Provision, set out of this Port to discover the Channels they saw, that they might not endanger the Ships. Going out by the Ridges of Rocks, he run along the Gulph, close to the Shore, all which he observ'd, and founded the Harbours, giving Names to them and the Mountains, according to their Shapes, such as *Sugar-Loaves*, *Pitchers*, *Guinea Peppers*, and the like. He observ'd the Trees, the Plants and the Birds. At one Place on the Shore he found several Tracts of People, and two Poniards or such Weapons made of Bone, with a Cross on the Handles, near a small Stream of fresh Water, whose

Sands

Sands are Red, and therefore he call'd it the *Red-River*, which falls into a Harbour, and that alſo took the ſame Name. They ſaw abundance of Fiſh, and among the Shells thrown up by the Sea, vaſt Quantities of Oyſters and Muſſels, and in thoſe that were left upon the Rocks above the Water, great and ſmall Pearls, ſome Grey, others White. This Sort of Fiſh, at certain Times, the Shells being firſt open, gape with their Mouths, and receive the pure and ſubſtantial Dew, which, as it were, impregnates them with Pearls, which are in Colour anſwerable to the Nature of the Dew. If they receive it pure, they produce them white; if diſturb'd, they are of a Dark, or other Muddy Colours. *Sarmiento* deſcribes the Vexation that tormented him and his Men; for being eager to ſatisfy their Hunger with Oyſters and Muſſels, and they being unfit to Eat, becauſe of the Hardneſs of thoſe Pearls they found in them, they threw them away, curſing the Inventors of putting a Value on thoſe Productions, or Hornyneſſes of Fiſhes, which Nature had trebly hid in the Waters of the Sea, in Shells, and in the Fiſh it ſelf. They ſaid, that true Wealth conſiſted in tame Cattle, Fruit, and Corn brought up by Tillage, as they had in *Spain*; for that precious Obſtacle to feeding, then not valu'd, depriving them of the Suſtenance of the Shell-Fiſh, and being forc'd to live ten Days on the Proviſion they brought for four, the Faſt made them all Philoſophers. From this Red Harbour, he was obliged to return to the Ships left in that of the *Roſary*, no Day paſſing without violent Storms; when they had run backward, and forward, above 70 Leagues, landing on Iſlands, and taking Poſſeſſion of them. They were Fruitful and Habitable, but till then Untill'd and Defart. From a very high Hill, he diſcover'd the main Chanel, which runs out into the great Ocean, and ſo many other Channels and ſmall Iſlands, that they could not be reckon'd up in a long Time. Whilſt he ſtaid, he founded Harbours, Deeps, Channels, Creeks, Inlets, Flats, Roads and Bays, making Draughts of, and giving them Names. He ſettled the Latitude, and certain Courſe to be ſteer'd, in the Preſence, and with the Opinion of the Pilots, Seamen, and Soldiers, in order to reconcile thoſe diſagreeing Perſons by examining all that were preſent.

Pearls deſpis'd for Hunger.

Here the Vice-Admiral began to caivl, ſaying, They were imbay'd, and that it was impoſſible to hold on their Voyage that Way; and would have quitted his Admiral, as he did afterwards. From *Red-Port* they held on their Courſe, trying thoſe in other Iſlands. *Sarmiento* came to a Bay, which he call'd *S. Francis*'s, where, as they were taking their Station, a Soldier fired a Piece at ſome Birds, and in Anſwer to the Gun, certain *Indians*, near a Mountain, on the other Side of the Bay, gave horrid Shouts. By the firſt Noiſe, the *Spaniards* thought it had been made by Sea-Wolves, till they diſcover'd the naked Red Bodies. They afterwards found the Reaſon of that Colour, for they daub'd themſelves from the Head to the Feet with a glutinous Red-Earth. *Sarmiento* took ſome of his Company into a Boat, and coming to a Thicket, found them in the cloſeſt of the Trees, without any other Cloathing but that Clay as Red as Blood. Only one old Man, who talk'd to, and commanded, and was obey'd by them, appear'd cover'd with a Cloak of the Skins of Sea Wolves. Fifteen Youths came out upon the open Shore, near the Sea-and drawing near, with peaceable Demonſtrations, very earneſtly pointed,

Vice-Admiral diſagrees with Sarmiento.

Painted Indians.

lifting up their Hands towards the Place where the Ships remain'd. The *Spaniards* did the same. The *Indians* came close, and *Sarmiento* giving them two Towels and a Night-cap, for he had nothing else then, and the Pilots some other Trifles, they were well pleas'd. They gave them Wine, which they tasted and then threw away. They eat of the Bisket, but all this did not satisfy them; for which Reason, and because they were on an open Shore, in Danger of losing the Boat, they return'd to their Station, making Signs to the *Indians* to go to the Boat. They did so, and *Sarmiento* posted two Sentinels for the more Security, then forcibly seiz'd one of the *Indians* for an Interpreter, put him into his Boat, embrac'd him lovingly, cloath'd and fed him. This Place he call'd, *The Point of People*, as being the first where he found any. Thence he proceeded to Three small Islands, lying in a Triangle, and lay there. They went on, taking Draughts of the Lands, and being before a very craggy Country, the *Indian* who had never ceas'd shedding Tears, throwing off a Shirt they had put him on, leap'd over-board, and swam away. They held on their Way, quite weary of seeing so many Islands, containing strange Productions of Nature, but without any Inhabitants. Only in one of them, which they call'd, *The Cleft Rock*, near a deep Cave, they found much Tract of Men's Feet, and the whole Skeleton of a Man or Woman. They went on thence with Storms through incredible Solitudes, which it would be too much to describe, tho' our Design were to treat only of this Voyage. At another Land, where they arriv'd full of Uncertainty, as it were by Accident, in the Bay they call'd, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, thinking to discover whether one Channel ran to the East, and another to the North; they saw a *Piragua*, being a Vessel made of Planks put together, without any Sides, and sometimes of Rushes, and of *Calabashes*, and properly a Float, coming along on the Water, and in it five *Indians*, who getting to the Shore, left the *Piragua*, and ran up a Mountain in a Consternation. The Pilot went into the *Piragua*, with four Soldiers, and the Boat proceeded further.

A Piragua.

Coming to another Point, where they thought there were more People, they only found a low round Cottage, made of Poles, and cover'd with broad Barks of Trees, and the Skins of Sea-Wolves. In it were little Baskets, Shell-Fish, small Nets, and Bones for Sticking of Fish, like Harping Irons, and Scrips full of that Red Earth wherewith they dye their Bodies, instead of Cloaths. This is all the Gayity and Habit they use, instead of the Gold and Silks worn in the Courts of Princes. *Sarmiento* left the *Piragua*, and return'd to the Ships with only the Boat, because his Provisions were spent. In this small Vessel, and a Brigantine, he found newly built by his Company, whilst they were viewing those most desart Islands, with the Advice of the Vice-Admiral, he went from the *Red Harbour*, and finding no other safe for the Ships, return'd to the same. Then in the Boat call'd *Nuestra Senora de Guia*, or *Our Lady of the Guide*, he went away to make Tryal of the Mouth which appear'd to the Eastward under a mighty long Ridge of Snowy Mountains, so various, that they saw some Tops cover'd with white, others with blew, and others with black Snow. *Sarmiento* calls that the Continent. There is no Number of the Islands he took Possession of, and those he discover'd, being inaccessible in other *Archipelagos*, from the Top of a Mountain rising above

A Cottage and what in it.

Snow of several Colours.

those

those about it, and cover'd with blew Snow, which he compares to the Colour of the *Turky* Stones. This Height he call'd *Anno Nuevo*, that is, *New Year*, because he found it on the first Day of the Year, 1580. He left no Saints Name, or the Resemblance of any natural Thing, but what he apply'd to distinguish those Islands he touch'd at, erecting Crosses on them all, and writing as he did in the first. He saw Men, only in these here mention'd.

He ran again in his Boat through those Seas, where Nature seem'd to set up new Islands every Day; and Anchor'd in a Harbour, where, among other Precautions for Navigation, he drew a Meridian Line on the Earth, and mark'd the Magnetick Needles, refreshing them by touching again, because they had receiv'd some Damage by the Storms and Damps. How weak a Guide have Men for mighty Enterprizes! He prosecuted his Discovery of little Islands, and taking Possession; and observ'd an Eclipse for the Benefit of Navigation, in the Port of *Misericordia*, or *Mercy*, as he nam'd it. The Vice-Admiral not coming to him, he suppos'd he was return'd to *Lima*, however he waited for him ten Days, and five more in another newly discover'd, and call'd, *Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria*, or *Our Lady of Candlemas*, three Leagues from the other. This Time having been agreed upon between them to expect one another, which when expir'd, each was to make the best of his Way into *Spain*; *Sarmiento* being positive, contrary to the Opinion of the Pilots, that there was the Streight of *Magellan*.

Sarmiento's Industry.

On St. *Agnes*'s Day he Anchor'd at the Island which forms that Harbour, for which Reason he gave it that Saint's Name. From the Ridge of a Hill, which hangs bending like a Bow over a River, he perceiv'd five Native *Indians*, who with Cries and Signs desired him to come to them; the *Spaniards* answering them in the same Manner, the *Indians* held up a white Scarf, and our Men another. When they were come down to the Shore, they seem'd to request they would draw near. *Sarmiento* sent them his Ensign, and the Pilot *Ferdinand Alonso*, with only four Men, that they might not fear; however they durst not come near the Boat. One of our Men went ashore, and yet they would not trust him, yet drawing nearer because he was alone, he gave them *Chaquiras*, that is, Glass-Beads, Hawks-Bells, Combs, Ear-Rings, and Hempen-Cloth. Observe what mighty Designs were couch'd under those Childish Gifts. Then the Ensign and Pilot came ashore, cherishing and giving them other Toys, and shew'd them what every Thing was for, by applying it to the Use before them. This pleas'd them extreamly, as did some little Linnen Flags, or Bannors, our Men carry'd, made of narrow Slips of *French* Linnen, Canvas, and *Silesia* Cloth. This made *Sarmiento* judge that they had before seen *Europeans*, and they, without being ask'd, signify'd by intelligible Tokens, that two Ships like ours had pass'd that Way, or were still thereabouts, pointing to the South East, and in them bearded Men, clad and arm'd after the same Manner. This was the first Intelligence they found of the *English* Ships under *Drake*. The *Indians* with smiling Countenances promis'd to come again. They went up the Land, and our Men aboard the Ship, which not being far off, *Sarmiento* came ashore to take Possession, with the usual Religious and Civil Ceremony.

Indians *by Signs shew that* Drake *past that Way.*

The next Day the Ensign and *Ferdinand Alonso* were with six Soldiers by break of Day in the Harbour, carrying a considerable Quantity of Toys, to

Spaniards *catch three* Indians.

gain the Affections of the Natives, who came also; but would not draw near our Men. They made the same Signs they had the Day before. The *Spaniards* to be better inform'd of what Course the *English* Steer'd, ran at the *Indians*, and took three of them, every two Soldiers holding one of them, and tho' they gave our Men many Blows and Bangs, struggling to get loose, they could not prevail, and yet were very strong. The *Spaniards* put up all that they might get them to the Ship, where *Sarmiento* receiv'd, and treated them Courteously. They Eat and Drank, and Kindness so far prevail'd, that they laid aside all Fear, and Laugh'd. Being shew'd the narrow Slips of Linnen, they pointed with their Hands to a Bay, where the Ships had Anchor'd, with the bearded People, who had Arrows, and Partesans. One of them shew'd two, and another one Wound they had receiv'd fighting against the Men of that Fleet.

Vice-Admiral returns to Chile.

The Vice-Admiral was now gone back to *Chile*, and among other Accidents which happen'd in his Return, he was wont to tell, that being come to the Island *Mocha*, he sent his Boat thither to ask some supply of Provisions, and understanding how Friendly they behav'd themselves towards *Drake*, and that the Hatred those People bear the *Spaniards* might be an Obstacle to him, his Messengers, by Order, conceal'd their being such, pretending they were *Lutherans*. The Islanders gave Credit to the Fiction, being desirous

He deceives the Indians.

to gain Friends, for preserving of their Liberty. Accordingly they sent them Flesh, Bread, and Fruit, with a Letter, in answer to theirs, the Superscription thereof in *English* run thus, *To the very Magnificent Lords, the* Lutherans, *in the South Sea*. Our Men answer'd, That since they had supplied them with such plenty of Provisions, they desir'd they would come and partake. About 30 of the Prime *Caciques* accepted of the Invitation, and came very Joyfully, in a *Canoe*, to our Ship. No sooner were they Aboard, than the Vice-Admiral, not regarding their Complaints, gave order to loose the Sails, which were ready, and carry'd them away Prisoners to *Chile*. Some things that befell him, might justify his deserting his Superior, but they must be left to those who write a particular History of those Actions.

Sormiento *press'd to go back.*

To return to *Sarmiento*. In the aforesaid Port of *Candelaria*, or *Candlemass*, the Pilots press'd him hard, with Intreaties and Protestations, to do as his Vice-Admiral had done, representing how much his Men were harrass'd, and his Ship disabled, and that he had done more than all the Discoverers before him. That they wanted Anchors, Cables, and Rigging; that the Winds oppos'd him, without which it was impossible to proceed. This was a Dangerous Tryal, because amidst the Complaints, and almost Threats of the Pilots, there was a mixture of Flattery, commending him, for that no other Discoverer had ventur'd so far; so that *Sarmiento* was no

He is resolute, and goes on.

less mov'd by their Praises than by their Anger. However he bore up against both, and severely check'd the Pilots: Who knows but he might conceal the same Fears they urg'd? And in short, he appear'd so Resolute against all they could say, that he brought them to his Beck. He sail'd thence, keeping the Channel, and about a League to the South-East, the *Indians* shew'd him the way the Bearded Men took, of whom, after killing many, they, as was afterwards known, sav'd one *Catherine*, and a Boy, both *English*, who

Account of Drake's *Passage.*

still liv'd among those wild Beasts, which they were more like than Rational Creatures. Somewhat farther in another Island, which the *Indians* said was call'd *Puchachailgua*, full of extraordinary high grey Rocks, the

bearded

bearded Men again fought the Natives without Succeſs. They went on to another Iſland Nam'd *Capitloilgua*, on the Coaſt call'd *Cayrayxaxiilgua*. *Sarmiento* did not change the Ancient Names of Countries, when he could learn them. They were ſufficiently diſmay'd in the next they came at, thinking they were Imbay'd; but preſently after they took Heart again, at the Sight of the Channel, which begins at the Mouth call'd *Xaultegua*, and it widen'd, bringing them out to a moſt ſpacious Sea, full of thouſands of Iſlands. Paſſing by, in Sight of one of them, they perceiv'd high Smokes; and the Captive *Indians* began to Weep, and they ſaw it was for Fear of the Natives, expreſſing that they were Giants, and fought deſperately. Our Men encourag'd them, giving them to underſtand that they ſhould be able to deal with thoſe People. They went aſhore on that Country, which is call'd *Tinquichiſgua*. *Sarmiento* alter'd it, in Honour of the Croſs he erected there, calling it, the Iſland of the Croſs. There he ſaw Abundance of Whales, Wolves, and other Sea-Monſters, and great Clods of Snow, on the Waves. He made ready his Cannon, and ſmall Arms, providing againſt both Pirates and Natives, for he expected to find the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed of the Land. From that Time he ſtood upon his Guard, and no Man quitted his Arms. They went on to a third Iſland, which is the biggeſt, heard Humane Voices, and ſaw ſome *Piraguas*, with the People that cry'd out, who were croſſing from one Iſland to another. Our Men drew near in the Boat to take a View, and all of them put into a clean Harbour, whence they diſcover'd a Town, not Barbarous, but Decent and Lofty, like ours in *Europe*, and abundance of People, who having ſunk the *Piraguas*, and ſtanding on the Mountains, with their Arms in their Hands, call'd to our Men from a Wood, to Land, as ours did them to draw near the Sea. Among the Trees appear'd many more of thoſe Iſlanders, with Bows and Arrows, as if they intended to fall on. This made our Men diſcharge ſome Muskets at them, the Noiſe whereof ſo terrify'd the *Indian* Women, that they ſet up hideous Shrieks, and therefore the *Spaniards* forbore Firing, for fear of loſing all hopes of gaining their Affections. By this time the Ship which had been Cruizing up and down, came into the Harbour. *Sarmiento* made a Gun ready, and the Boat came Aboard, Towing a *Piragua* after it. Having writ the Inſtrument of Poſſeſſion, tho' he had not inquir'd into the Government of the Inhabitants of that great Town, he Landed on the Shore, whence is diſcover'd a vaſt high Mountain, all white with aged Snow, and encompaſs'd with Rocks. Ancient Relations call'd it *Orlanro*'s Bell, he being one of *Magellan*'s Companions. He Sail'd on to 54 Degrees Latitude, at the Point he call'd of S. *Iſidorus*. Near to it the Natives call'd out to him, and coming up to our Men, Embrac'd them familiarly. *Sarmiento*, beſides Hawks-Bels, and other Toys, ſent them Biſket and Fleſh from the Ships. They ſat down to Converſe, by Signs, with the Enſign, the Pilot, and Eight other Chriſtians, ſignifying, that they were pleas'd with their Friendſhip, and thoſe rich Gifts; and gave ſuch confuſe Tokens of the *Engliſh* having paſs'd that way, as the others had done. Then they return'd to their Huts, and the Admiral having taken Poſſeſſion, and found the Latitude to be 53 Degrees, and 40 Minutes, advanc'd in ſight of the Coaſt, which eight Leagues from thence lies flat with the Sea, and forms a Shore of white Sand. Before he came to it he Diſcover'd a prodigious high burning Mountain, cover'd with Snow; where the Fire and the

Several Iſlands.

Populous Iſlands.

Tractable Indians.

the Snow seem, out of natural Courtesy, to Respect one another, and to confine within themselves their Force, and Effects; for neither is the one Quench'd, nor the other Melted by their near Neighbourhood. The Channel carry'd him to the Point he call'd of *S. Anne*, in 53 Degrees and a half of Latitude. He took possession, and rais'd a heap of Stones, at the Foot of a Cross, and left a Letter written with Charcole-Dust, which he thought incorruptible, in the Shards of an Earthen Vessel, well Pitch'd, among those Stones. In it he declared to all Nations, That those Lands and Seas belong'd to the King of *Spain*, and by what Title he held them. In the same Letter, he left Orders for his Vice-Admiral, to return to *Peru*, and give the Viceroy an Account of all that happen'd, till they discover'd the Streight.

Indian *Presents.*

The Ship steer'd off with the Ebb, and the *Indians* when it was gone came down with their Wives and Children, and a Present of great pieces of Sea Wolves, stinking Meat, Sea Foul, call'd *Minnos*, which are White and Yellowish, *Murtina*, a sort of Fruit like Cherries, and bits of Flint, bor'd through and Painted, in a small Box of Gold and Silver. Being ask'd, what that was for, and they answering, *To strike Fire*, one of them took some Feathers he brought, and with them lighted it, as if it were Tinder. A little before, when our Men made a Fire to melt the Pitch, for securing the Vessel the Letter was in, which was left stopp'd at the Foot of the Cross, the Flame spread upon the Mountain, and rais'd a Smoke. The *Indians* believing they were Fires made by those so much dreaded Enemies of theirs, went away and could not be stopp'd by any means; nor was their Fear groundless, for they answer'd immediatly in the opposite Island, with great Smokes. The River which falls into the Sea at the Point *Sarmiento* call'd *S. John*'s; and the Streight dividing these Islands, which is the very Old one of *Magellan*, look'd and fought after with so much Danger, he nam'd of *The Mother of God*, changing its first Appellation, that through this Devotion she may obtain of her Son the Salvation of those numberless Provinces, extending the Voice of his Gospel to them, that it might reach the Ears of so many Souls, most of which are Ignorant of their own Immortality, without knowing any more than common Nature has taught them.

Possession taken.

Sarmiento was so well pleas'd with having thus express'd his Devotion, that when he return'd to *Spain*, he intreated the King, to direct that Streight to be generally so call'd, and his Majesties Orders. The Possession of this so remarkable Place was taken with extraordinary Joy, inserting in the Instrument the Clause of Pope *Alexander* the 6th's Bull, the Title that gives the Kings of *Castile*, and the Limits assigned by the Line he drew through both the Poles of the World, as Gods Vicar. *F. Guadramiro* said Mass, and they all heard it devoutly, considering it was the first offer'd up in that Place by Man to his Creator. It was intended as a Thanksgiving, and they all took Courage to undertake any difficult Enterprize. They saw the Track of Tigers, and Lions, and also White and Grey Parrots, with Red Heads; and they heard the sweet Notes of Goldfinches, and other Birds. Holding on their Course along the Channel, with excessive hot Weather, they came into a Bay, that was cover'd with white Weeds, and Anchor'd at the Point, on which a Company of Giants immediatly appear'd, who call'd out to them, lifting up their Hands Unarm'd; our Men imitated their Actions, which denoted Peace on both sides. They being come to the *Boat*, which was Guarded by ten Musketeers, the Ensign leap'd Ashore, with

with four others. The Giants made Signs to him to lay down his Leading-Staff, and then they withdrew, to the place where they had hid their Bows and Arrows. The Enſign did as they directed, and then ſhew'd them the Toys and Gifts he deſign'd for them. This withheld them, but ſtill they were jealous, wherefore our Men ſuppoſing their jealouſy proceeded from what they had ſuffer'd before, and gueſſing they had receiv'd ſome dammage from the *Engliſh* Pyrate, to be the better enform'd of it, ten of our Men fell upon one of the Giants, whom they took; but had enough to do to ſecure him. The others running to their Arms, return'd ſo quick upon the *Spaniards*, that they had ſcarce time to get into their Boat. They ſhot their Arrows, which flying thick, and our Men taking care to avoid them, they dropt two Muskets. The Steward of the Ship was ſhot in the Eye with an Arrow. The *Indian* they took was a Giant even among the other Giants, and the Relation ſays, he look'd to them like one of the *Cyclops*. Other Relations aſſure us, each of theſe Giants is above three Yards high, and they are proportionably ſpread and brawny. Being brought into the Ship, he was extraordinary melancholy, and tho' they offer'd him the beſt they had to Eat, he would take nothing all that Day. They ſet Sail, croſſing Channels, and paſſing by Iſlands, in moſt of which they ſaluted them with Smokes. In the narroweſt Part, which they call'd *Our Lady of Grace*, through which they muſt paſs of Neceſſity, and is in 53 Degrees and a half Latitude, *Sarmiento* was of Opinion, Forts might be erected on the two Capes to ſecure the Paſſage. They made haſte thro' it, and again ſaw the Natives on another Point of Land, calling out, and ſhaking their Cloaks, or Woolly Blankets. *Sarmiento* went to them with eighteen Soldiers, Only four *Indians* appear'd with Bows and Arrows, and making Signs of Peace with their Hands, ſaid, *Xiitote*, which, as was afterwards known, ſignifies Brothers. They poſted themſelves on a riſing Ground, and when the *Spaniards* were landed, made Signs to them for one of our Men to come to them. One went unarm'd, with ſome Gifts, as Glaſs-Beads, Hawks-Bels and Combs, which they receiv'd pointing to him to go down again. He did ſo, and the Enſign went up in his ſtead, obliging them with other Preſents. They accepted of them, and yet neither they, nor any Courteſie could diſpel their Jealouſie. *Sarmiento* left them, to avoid provoking them, and going up the Mountain another way, to view the Ridge, Plains, and Channels, the four Archers appear'd before him, and without any Provocation receiv'd, but on the contrary after receiving the aforeſaid Gifts, they furiouſly aſſaulted our Men, wounding the General with two Arrows in the Side; and betwixt his Eyes; and another Soldier had an Eye put out. The reſt of the *Spaniards* covering themſelves with their Bucklers ran at them, but the Giants fled up the Country ſo ſwiftly, that a Muſket Ball would ſcare over-take them. This Action ſeems to verifie the Cowardice the Authors of Fabulous Books, commonly call'd *Romances*, aſcribe to their Giants. *Sarmiento* view'd the Land, call'd it *Nueſtra Senora del Valle*, or *Our Lady of the Vale*, diſcovering betwixt two ſpacious Ridges, ſome delightful Plains, numerous Towns, lofty Buildings, Towers and Pinacles, and to his Thought ſumptuous Temples of ſo Majeſtick an Appearance, that he ſcarce believ'd his own Eyes, and judg'd it an imaginary City.

A Giant Taken.

Other Indians.

The End of the Third Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK IV.

Reasons for Digressions.

THESE Endeavours us'd by *Spain* to shut out the Monsters of Heresy, dispell'd the Dread spread abroad by *Drake*, and his Example in the North and South Seas. And since his coming to *Ternate*, oblig'd us to write all these Particulars, we could not, once they began to have any Place in this Relation, forbear making it perfect by delivering the Success of them. A compleat History is the Witness of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, and in fine the Mistress of Life. Therefore, to perform the Duty incumbent on it from such important Employments, it is not to spare any notable Digressions; especially when they deviate but little from the main Subject, and have some Connexion with it. This here is due to a most prudent Action of King *Philip* IId. and his Ministers; and shows his Catholick Indignation against Sectaries, and his Zeal for preserving the Faithful of his *Indies* untainted, and improving the Disposition in the Souls of Idolaters, towards drawing them to the Faith. It demonstrates how he compass'd the whole World by Means of his Commanders, that he might introduce the said Faith in all Corners thereof; to the Reputation of his Watchfulness in the Service of this Mistical Empire, which is now Militant, in order to its being Triumphant. For this Reason it is absolutely Necessary, not to conceal *Sarmiento*'s Resolution, nor to leave him in these remote Seas, till we have brought him back to *Spain*, and then we will return to the *Molucco* Islands, which were in the mean while busy about their own Destruction.

Sarmiento

Sarmiento did not go up to the great City he discover'd at a Distance, because he would not depart from his Ship, to which he return'd, leaving us still desirous to be throughly satisfi'd of so strange a Thing. By the Way he found two extraordinary long Cloaks, or Barbarian Blankets, made of Sheep-Skins with the Wooll on, and a pair of Shoes made of raw Hides to bind about the Feet, which the *Indians* could not carry off, thro' the fearful Precipitation of their Flight. They continu'd their Discovery, and the Wind oblig'd them to strike over to the Southern Coast, five Leagues distant from *Our Lady of the Vale*; and tho' the cold Winds blew, they found this Country more Temperate than the others. It is inhabited by proper People, has wild and tame Cattel, and Game, as was declar'd by *Philip*, so they call'd an *Indian* they brought over, in Honour to King *Philip*. It produces Cotton, a certain Sign of its being Temperate; and Cinnamon, by them call'd *Cabea*. The Air is very serene, and the Stars appear bright, so that they are plainly to be observ'd, lay'd down, and describ'd. *Sarmiento* says it is useful in those Parts to observe the *Crozier*, which is 30 Degrees above the *Antartick* Pole, and that he made use of it, for taking of Latitudes, as we do in our Hemisphere of the *North Star*, tho' with another Sort of Computation. And in Regard that the *Crozier* does not serve all the Year, he sought out another *Polar Star*, nearer to the *Pole*, of a shorter Computation, but general and perpetual; and he us'd such Industry, that he discover'd, and ascertain'd it by Observations, and Experiments of several clear Nights. He settled the Stars in the *Crozier*, and two other *Croziers*, and two other *Polar Stars*, which take a very small Compass; this he did for the common Benefit of curious Sailors. Notwithstanding all these Tokens, and the Incouragement of humane Curiosity, no Man has ever gone to those Towns, which had such promising Signs of Civility; tho' those rude Giants did not seem to confirm those Appearances of a well-settled Country. *Sarmiento* ran along the Streight, never ceasing to sound, and lay it down till he came to a Cape, he call'd, *Of the Holy Ghost*, from which to that of the Virgin *Mary*, there are 110 Leagues from the South to the North Sea. Here they began to order their Course with due Difference. They saw Whales, and on the Shores, Thickets of several unknown Plants. They ran thro' Storms and Dangers, surprizing even to such experienced Sailors as they were. They all vow'd Offerings to Churches, Alms, and Pilgrimages to Places of Devotion in *Spain*, with other solemn Engagements, on which fearful Mortals in Danger, devoutly ground and encourage their Hopes. The Tempest ceas'd, and on the 25th of *March*, about Midnight, *Sarmiento* saw a low white Rainbow, opposite to the Moon, which was moving against it; and it was occasion'd by Repercussion of her Rays, which fell by Refraction on the opposite Clouds. He says, That neither he nor any other Person, ever saw, heard, or read of the like; but by his good Leave, in *Albericus Vespusius*'s Epitome of Voyages, we read that the same happen'd in the Year 1501, in that same Place, where both of them taking the Sun's Altitude, they found him in 23 Degrees large, which is as good as 15 Leagues. This Day they were within the Tropick of *Capricorn*. Proceeding forward, they lost their Reckoning, and the Hopes of recovering it, for Want of Mathematical Instruments; but on the first of *April*,

South Coast.

Observations for Sailors.

Sarmiento *comes into the North Sea.*

1580, at Night, they discover'd, and observ'd the *Polar-Star* of the Triangle in 21 Degrees; and on the 10th of the same Month, they saw the Island of the *Ascention*, at eight Leagues Distance. They anchor'd there, found Water, and saw several Crosses, erected by some *Portugueses*, who in their Way to *India*, were cast away there by a Storm, and the Living, out of Devotion, set them up on the Graves of those that dy'd. On one of them they found a Board nail'd, with this Inscription, Don John de Castel Rodrigro, *Commodore*, *arriv'd here with five India Ships*, *on the 13th of May*, 1576. Near to it, *Sarmiento* set up another, as a Memorial, that the first Ship coming from *Peru*, touch'd there, having pass'd thro' the Streight from the South to the North-Sea, on the King's Account, with the Occasion of his Voyage. This Island abounds in Sharks, which are Sea-Monsters, Fish, and a Sort of such greedy and troublesome Fowl, that they make at whatsoever they see. They took the Ensigns Hat off his Head, to snatch away a Letter he had stuck in it. He sav'd his Hat, by clapping up his Hand immediately, but lost the Letter, which they pull'd away by Force; and afterwards they saw a Fray in the Air, the others endeavouring to take it from that Harpy, which first snatch'd it away. This Island lies in 7 Degrees and a half of South Latitude, and it is very observeable, that tho' the *Spaniards* were very attentive to their Compass, and took so many Precautions for their Security, yet such was the Force of the several Currents, that when they thought they were 60 Leagues from *Pernambuco* East and West, at the River of *Virtues*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, they found themselves 400 Leagues to the Eastward; so that the Currents deceiv'd, and drove them 340 Leagues from the Point they had settled by the Degree of Latitude. *Sarmiento* discourses largely upon this Effect, charging the Sea-Charts with Falshood, and being ignorantly laid down. Dreadful Tempests ensu'd, till on the 28th of *April*, on the Coast of *Guinea* he discover'd *Sierra Liona*, abounding in Gold, and Blacks. Then the Islands they call of *Idols*, and beyond them those of *Vixagaos*, inhabited by stout Black Archers, who shoot poison'd Arrows, wherewith, such as are wounded, presently dye raving. On the 8th of *May* they all fell sick on the Coast of *Guinea*, of Fevers, Lameness, Swellings, and Imposthumations in their Gums, which in that Country prove Mortal, by Reason of the Excessive Heat, and then for Want of Water; but Heaven reliev'd them with seasonable Rain. When they labour'd to make the Islands of *Cabo Verde* for some Refreshment, the Winds drove them off. They bore up without finding Land, or any Ship, till on the 22d of *May*, being in 15 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, they descry'd two Sail. *Sarmiento* believ'd they had been *Portugueses*, and was desirous to make up to hale them; but upon better Observation perceiv'd, the one was a Tall Ship, the other a Sloop, both of them *French*, who pursu'd and endeavour'd to get to Windward of him. The Sloop came foremost to view our Ship, which made good its Advantage. When they were come in Sight of the Island of *Santiago*, the *French* held up a Naked Sword, and then fir'd some Shot. The *Spaniards* answer'd with their Muskets, which was then done by both Sides, and several *French* Men fell, tho' on our Side never a Man was kill'd, but some wounded, and then they fled more swiftly than they had pursu'd. Those on the Island beheld the

Anchors at the Island Ascention.

Ravenous Birds.

Fight with the French

the Ingagement, and thinking it had been Counterfeit, and both the Ships *French*, they ſtirr'd not out to Succour either. When the Pirate was quite fled, a *Caravel* of *Algarve* arriv'd coming from *Portugal*, which diſcover'd the Pirate's Name, and Strength; declaring he had 85 Men in the Ship, and 25 in the Sloop, and among them a *Portugueſe* Pilot. That he had plunder'd four other Ships, and the ſaid *Caravel*, at Cape *Blanco*, on the Coaſt of *Africk*; and at the Iſland of *May*, not far from *Santiago*, had ſunk another *Caravel*, belonging to the Royal Navy, which was ſailing for *Brazil*, in order to People *Paraguay*; where the *Engliſh* had of late Years built Towns, intermarrying with, and being attracted by the Love, and Children they had by the *Tapuyer Indian* Women.

Sarmiento at Cabo Verde.

Sarmiento Landed at *Cabo Verde*, the Cuſtom-Houſe of which City yearly is worth to the King 100000 Ducats. There are always in it 20000 Blacks, becauſe of the ſettled Trade for them. Before he Anchor'd, there came Boats from the Shore, to view his Ship, and he telling them, he came from *Peru*, through the Streights of *Magellan*, they were amaz'd. They return'd to give an Account to their Governor *Caſpar de Andrade*, and told him, That thoſe that came in the Ship, were Men of ſeveral Shapes, Deform'd, and Ill-look'd, and others with long tangled Hair and Locks. Theſe were ſome *Indians* of *Peru* and *Chile*. As for the Reſt *Sarmiento* has theſe Words, *As to our being Ill-look'd, they did not wrong us; for beſides that we had no effeminate Countenances, the Powder and Sweat of our Volleys of ſmall Shot, a little before, had not ſet us off to any Advantage; and, in ſhort, we had more mind to ſome Water than to look like Beaus.* However, neither he nor his Men went Aſhore, till they had ſatisfy'd a Pratick Maſter that none of them were infected with the Plague. The next Day they Landed bare-Foot, in Proceſſion, with Croſſes, and Images, repairing to the Church of our Lady of the Roſary, where they gave Thanks, Alms, and other effects of their Vows, with extraordinary Joy; for every Storm is ſo much Honour, when recounted in ſafe Harbour. They Confeſs'd, and receiv'd the Bleſſed Sacrament at a Maſs they had Vow'd to cauſe to be ſaid. The Governor, Don *Bartholomew Leytao*, Entertain'd, and made much of them, tho' at firſt he would not believe they had paſs'd the Streight. The Sick were Cured, and the Ship and Boat which were much ſhatter'd, re-fitted. The main Deſign of this Voyage, which was to Fight *Drake*, and provide the proper Defence againſt the Deſigns of the Enemy, had not been compaſs'd; and therefore *Sarmiento*, having Fought the *French* Ship, and Sloop, which appear'd again, alarming that Coaſt, and both of them flying back with all ſpeed, after being Shatter'd and Beaten, to the Iſland *Mayo*, or of *May*, the common Shelter of Robbers; He redoubled his Watchfulneſs, and went on to get Intelligence of the *Engliſh*, as well thoſe that paſs'd the Streight with *Drake*, as of thoſe new Planters in *Brazil*, or *Paraguay*; as alſo of the Inclination of the Subjects of the Crown of *Portugal*, to ſubmit to King *Philip*, or Don *Antony*. A Pilot of *Algarve* inform'd him, That the Year before, betwixt *Ayamonte* and *Tavira*, two *Engliſh* Merchants, ſpeaking of the *Indies*, aſſured him, that *Drake* was gone thro' into the *South Sea*; and by the Time, the News agreed with what the *Indians* of the Streight had ſignify'd to him by Signs; and that he arriv'd ſafe in *England*, with two Ships fraught with Gold and Silver of that notable Robbery,

Intelligence he receives.

which he presented to the Queen. She fitted out five other Ships, with three Years Provision, to return to the Streights of *Magellan*, to seek out those that had been lost there; and *Drake* eight more. That the first five were already gone in *Decemb.* last. That the Merchants had entrusted him with that Secret, taking him for a *Portugueſe*, and who, as such, would not discover it to the *Spaniards*. By the *French* he was informed, That as soon as they had brought off some Ships with Blacks from *Caſtro Vedre*, they would go over to the Island *Margarita*, and thence to the North-ward, from the Island of *Santo Domingo* to *Yaguana*, whence they came not above four Months since, Loaded with Hides, and Sugar. That they had kill'd Captain *Barbudo*, in the Island *Margarita*, in Revenge for the *Engliſh* he had slain. That having taken the Governor of *Brazil*, they again set him at Liberty. That all their Pilots are *Portugueſes*. He was also told by others who came from thence, and by Captains of Reputation, who were returning thither, that in the Bay of *Paraguay*, near *Rio de Janeyro*, which is in 21 Degrees, 12 Minutes South Latitude, there had been for eight Years last past, Colonies of *Engliſh* among the *Tapuiers*; with whom for the three last Years, the *Portugueſe* were at War, and had kill'd most of them.

Engliſh *in* Paraguay.

That it is suppos'd the Natives, who are Man-Eaters, had devour'd most of those that fled up the Country. He pick'd up other Intelligence from *England*, concerning their Navies, their Colonies in those Parts, and Design of Usurping the *Molucco* Islands with all their Strength, and to render themselves Invincible Masters of the Spice. They dispatch'd a Boat, with these Advices to the Viceroy of *Peru*; for *Sarmiento* could not return himself by the way of *Brazil* and *Paraguay*, because the force of the Currents had drove him away into the Main Sea, East-ward. Before his Departure, he caus'd his Ensign to be Strangled, as a Traytor to his King, to the Dishonour of his Post, and an Obstructor of the Discovery. Two other Soldiers he Banish'd, one of them from the *Indies*, and shew'd Severity to some of the Company, on Account of the same Crime, which, it was believ'd, had not been so fully prov'd upon them, as is requisite for inflicting the usual Punishment.

Sarmiento *Strangles his Ensign, and Punishes others.*

Advice-Boat sent the Viceroy of Peru

From this Port he sail'd to the Westward, till he came to the Channel between the Island *Fuego* and that of *Santiago*, where one of the Ships that came out with him stay'd. Steering Norwest, one Point over or under, for that is the Course to the Island *S. Anton*, he thence dispatch'd the Advice Boat for the Viceroy of *Peru*, with eight Men, commanded by *Ferdinand Alonſo*. In thirteen Days more he pass'd betwixt the Island *Gracioſa*, one of the *Azores*, small, but fruitful, and populous, and that of *S. George*, in which he saw prodigious high Fires. Those he afterwards found verified by the Bishop, at *Angra*, where he resides. That on the first of *June* that same Year, there were dreadful Earthquakes in the Island of *S. George*, Voices of Devils were heard, and among other wonderful Effects, the Earth open'd in three Places, whence Streams of Fire ran as far as the Sea. Those continu'd, and seven more broke out, casting forth as many Rivulets of Liquid Fire; one of which ran round an Hermitage, and nine Men running to save some Bee-Hives from being burnt, another Mouth open'd, which swallow'd seven of them, and sing'd the other two. So much Ashes fell like Rain upon the Earth, that it was cover'd a Span deep, and in short, all

Conflagration in the Island of S. George.

the

the Iſland was on Fire *Sarmiento* held on his Courſe, and on the 18th of *June*, arriv'd at the City *Angra*, on the Iſland *Tercera*, the Chief of the *Azores*, where alſo came in a Ship from the Town of *Bernambuco*, and another from *Baya de todos of Santos*, in *Brazil*. Theſe being aſk'd, What they knew of the *Engliſh*, aſſur'd him, That in *November* laſt paſt there came five White Men, with fifteen *Indians*, who were going to *Iſleos*, and the *Portugueſe* Towns by Land; and going along the Shore, they on a ſudden, at *Rio de las Cuentas*, lighted upon an *Engliſh* Sloop. Seven of the Men were aſhore drying their Sails, and as ſoon as they ſaw the Travellers they fled. The *Portugueſe* perſiſted purſuing them; but the *Engliſh* letting fly ſome Arrows, held on their Flight, two of them up the Mountain, and the other five along the Coaſt, till they got into the Sloop. They cut their Cables, and left behind them two large Carriages for Guns. *Some* Engliſh *in* Brazil.

The Travellers deſir'd them to come aſhore, and offer'd them Meat, and all other Neceſſaries, aſſuring them they meant no Harm. They anſwer'd, they would not come, and ſhow'd Muſkets, Croſs-bows and Pikes, pointing a ſmall Gun, to fire at them. It was then Ebb, and they departed ſix Leagues from thence, to ſail near the River *de las Cuentas*. That at the Iſland *Cape*, over-againſt *Camamu*, another *Portugueſe* Ship, that knew nothing of this Sloop, lighted on it, when there were only three *Engliſh* Men left in her, the reſt being kill'd aſhore, with Arrows by the Natives. In ſhort, the Sloop was caſt away, five Men of it being taken, who declar'd, that it came with a Squadron of ten Ships, in which a certain great *Engliſhman* paſs'd the Streights of *Magellan*. That they return'd thence Coaſting along, to plant a Colony in the moſt convenient Place for their Purpoſe, the Admiral having 500 Men aboard for that End. Four Hundred of them were Soldiers, the reſt Seamen, and other Mechanicks. That all this Squadron Anchor'd in an Iſland of *Cainbals*, or Man-Eaters, and a Storm riſing, nine of them ſail'd away, but the Admiral not being able to get from her Anchors time enough, was Caſt away, none being ſav'd but thoſe that came in the Sloop, and they eſcap'd by being then gone to Water. One of theſe five was 35 Years of Age, and an able Mathematitian. He affirm'd, That thoſe who eſcap'd the Storm, would ſoon return to the Coaſt of *Brazil*, with a numerous Fleet. Among other Particulars, he told them, that they found an Inſcription with the King of *Spain*'s Arms, in that part of the Iſland *Cananca*, where they were, which their Commander in chief took away, and ſet up in the Place of it another, with thoſe of *England*. Beſides all this, three of thoſe Ships that eſcap'd the Storm, coming before the *Portugueſe* Town of *Rio de Janeiro*, to make the Cape, and find out the other ſix, the Governor of that Place, ſent out four *Canoes* to take Cogniſance of them, which on a ſudden fell in with another Long-Boat belonging to the *Engliſh*, who, as ſoon as they ſpy'd the *Canoes*, made away, but could not do it ſo faſt as to ſave all. They took Three, and the Governor ſent them to *Babia*; but the Ships made away with all their Sails. The Priſoners own'd, That in caſe they met with their Ships at the Cape, they were reſolv'd to go to *Parayba*, or *Pernambuco*. In other Reſpects they agreed with the Account given by thoſe in the Sloop. The *Engliſh* arriv'd at *Brazil* about *November*, 1579, at the ſame Time that *Sarmiento* was ſeeking *An* Engliſh *Squadron.* *The Admiral caſt-away.* Engliſh *at* Brazil.

king for the Streight; and this agrees with the confuse Signs the Britiſh *Indians* of thoſe Parts made to him, as he Touch'd on their Coaſts. His chief Care being to enquire into theſe Matters, he was inform'd by the *Corregidor*, that is the Governor in Civil Affairs of *Angra*, that on the ſecond of *November*, that ſame Year, another *Engliſh* Ship was Caſt-away at *Gualva*, a Town two Leagues diſtant from that City, with ſix Men in it, two whereof, and a Black were ſav'd. It appear'd there had been 300 Men in the Ship, and much Wealth, which was thrown into the Sea, during the Storm. That they were going to plant Colonies in *India*, and moſt of the Men dy'd on the Coaſt of *Guinea*; and perhaps this might be one of the nine Ships aforeſaid. The People of *Gualva* drew out of the Sea fifteen heavy pieces of caſt Iron Cannon, but could not get out ſeveral others. The fifteen are of an extraordiary Magnitude, as it were for ſome ſettled Fort. To conclude, he was inform'd, and Time has ſince verified it, that they were preparing in thoſe Northern Parts to rob us of the Treaſure of Metals, and Spice there is in thoſe Countries, and in exchange to Introduce their Sects. The final Succeſs of both the *Spaniſh* and the *Engliſh* Admirals, was that they arriv'd ſafe in their reſpective Countries, forſaken by the Vice-Admirals. *Drake* return'd to *London*, with an immenſe Treaſure, which the Queen ſeiz'd, alledging, That *Don Barnardino de Menoza*, then the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at that Court, demanded Reſtitution, as belonging to his K. and the reſt of it taken from his Subjects; but ſhe adjudg'd it to her own Cofers, in Recompence for the Dammage ſuſtain'd, when the *Spaniards* ſupported her Rebels in *Ireland*. *Drake* was not enrich'd by his Robberies, nor did he gain any Reputation by his Actions; but on the contrary he was ſlighted in *England*, either becauſe they knew what he did was not Honourable, or that generally a Man's own Country is ungrateful to him. *Sarmiento* departing from *Angra* with a fair Wind, diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Spain* on the 7*th* of *Auguſt*, and arriv'd at Cape *S. Vincent*, full of Intelligence and News from ſo great a Part of the World, and of the Deſigns of ſeveral Nations, and the Crown of *Portugal*. His Arrival, and Account produc'd the fitting out of other Fleets, and freſh Preparations in *Spain*, and in the *Indies*, which extended to the Relief of the remoteſt Parts. One of them was the Reducing of *Ternate*, and the ſending over one hundred *Spaniſh* Families, arm'd, provided and examin'd, as to Quality and Virtue, to be the firſt Inhabitant of thoſe Deſarts upon the Streight. They carry'd Tools, Arms, Inſtructions, and all Neceſſaries to fortifie the narrow Parts of it. *Sarmiento* went as Chief, and Governour of thoſe Dominions. This Project prov'd unſucceſsful, and in the general Opinion of all Men, it was through the Fault of the General *Sancho Flores*. Afterwards *Sarmiento* was taken, and ſet at Liberty in *England* where he had Conferences with the Queen and *Drake* upon this Subject, whence he drew Information for the Execution of greater Deſigns.

Ship of their's caſt-away.

Drake's *Treaſure ſeiz'd.*

Sarmiento *in* Spain.

King Henry *of* Portugal *dyes.*

This Year King *Henry* Dy'd in *Portugal*, when he had Reign'd but thirteen Months. Five Governours had the Adminiſtration during the *Interregnum*, and were diſturb'd by the Arming of *Don Antonio*, within the Kingdom, and by King *Philip*'s Forces already advancing into the Frontiers. So that neither Government could do any more than conſult about the preſent Exigencies; which at that Time were neither perfect Peace nor open War, there being Hopes that they would lay down their Arms, and joyn with

with their true Prince, whom the *Portugueſe* is wont to Love, as a Father, rather than as a King. However there were ſome Troubles, and Commotions. Private Diſcord is an inſeparable incident to all Governments, and that draws the Thoughts of Men after it, and is often the Original of general Calamities, tho' it be moderated, or juſtify'd by a ſincere Zeal.

King Philip enter'd *Lisbon* ſupporting his Right by his Power, and whilſt the other Provinces, which compoſe that Monarchy in *Spain*, *Africk*, *Aſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies* ſubmitted to him, he beſtow'd Favours, gave Laws, confirm'd the Old, ratified Priviledges, and gain'd Affections by his Preſence, and a General Pardon, which he extended to thoſe who had offended him. On the 15th of *November* 1582, he ſwore to obſerve thoſe Laws eſtabliſh'd by his Predeceſſors, and particularly by King *Emanuel*, as then next Heir to the Crowns of *Spain*, for himſelf and his Son, Prince *Michael*, whom God took to a better Kingdom in his Infancy. Thoſe Laws were afterwards ſworn to by King *Sebaſtian*, and all of them imported, that all Honours, Employments, Benefices, and the Management of the Revenue of the Crown, with all other Commands by Sea and Land, in *Portugal*, *Africk*, *India*, the Iſlands and all other Parts already conquered, or to be conquer'd by that Crown, ſhall be in the Hands of Natural born *Portugueſes*. And by the 24th Chapter of theſe Laws, it was eſtabliſh'd, that in fitting out Fleets for *India*, or otherwiſe for Defence of the Kingdom, or ſuppreſſing of Pyrates, the King ſhould take the neceſſary Meaſures with the Kingdom of *Portugal*, though he ſhould uſe the Aſſiſtance of his Majeſties other Dominions. They were ſenſible that this favourable Law, without infringing the Antient Laws, made way for employing the Forces of the Crown of *Caſtile*, in the Recovery, or Preſervation of the Kingdoms of the Eaſtern *Archipelago*, where at that Time the Chriſtians ſuffer'd Martyrdom, without any Oppoſition. And the King for the Recovery of *Ternate*, eſpecially conſider'd the Conveniency of the *Philippine* Iſlands, which lie more opportune than *India*; the Juſtneſs of which Reflection has been confirm'd by the Event.

King Philip the II. at Liſbon.

He Swears to maintain the Laws.

India at this Time was govern'd by the Viceroy *Fernan Tellez*, to whom King *Philip* the ſecond Writ, repreſenting how favourable an Opportunity he had to do God good Service, to ſecure the Tranquility of Chriſtendom, and ſettle Peace, which inеſtimable Advantages would be owing to his Fidelity and Care, if through them thoſe Provinces ſhould be united to the Monarchy, without any Trouble, by continuing Loyal, and providing that the Tributary Kings ſhould do the ſame. He put him in Mind that Services become the more valuable by the ſurmounting of the greateſt Difficulties, and gave him good Hopes of a Reward, which would have been fulfill'd, had he come home to ſee the Effects of them and his Services. But *Fernan Tellez* had no need of any ſuch Promiſes, or of the Perſwaſions which are as good as Commands, contain'd in Letters from Miniſters of State, and ſent with the King's Letter. Theſe being ſent over Land, came to his Hands in ſix Months, and he either preſerving, or gaining their Affections had ſo much Forecaſt as to confirm the King, Princes, and *Sangiacks*, who, in thoſe remote Parts, pay ſubjection to the Crown of *Portugal*; before he knew any thing of the Orders ſent him, or of the additional Eſtate the King was pleas'd to confer on him. By his Authority he diſappointed

India *ſubmits to him.*

Tellez *the Viceroy Loyal.*

disappointed some Projects of Confederacies, set a foot for the recovering of their Former Liberty, hoping by the Example of the King of *Ternate*, that the Revolutions in *Europe* might turn to their Advantage. But in despight of these Contradictions and Changes, *Fernan Tellez* so far prevailed, as that the Religious Mendicants, and the *Jesuits*, continu'd the preaching of the Gospel, with such Fervour, that they defy'd even Tyranny it self. The Conversions of Idolater Princes are truly and elegantly related in the Writings and Books of the Missions of the Society, and other Ecclesiastical Histories; so that they excite, and inflame Devotion in the Breasts of such as read them. There may be seen, how the Truth was embrac'd, with all possible Affection; how hastily, and eagerly they learn'd the Catechism; what Rejoycings the Catechumens made on the Day they were baptiz'd; Queens, and Princesses worshipping the Images of Saints; and sweeping the new Churches, and Chappels with their own Hands; with what Attention, and Exactness they honour'd the Ceremonies of the Church, and lastly, how they frequented the Sacraments, and improv'd in Christianity.

All this was Persecuted, and Extirpated by the King of *Ternate*; who was now so far from enduring any neighbouring Empire, that he struck a Dread into the remotest; insomuch, that tho' they were all sensible they ought in all good Policy to support the Kingdoms of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, yet they became lookers on, as it were on a Stage, to behold the Assaults given, and the Cruelties acted at the Sieges. And in the latter of them, whilst throughout *India* the Standards were display'd in submission to *Spain*, the King of *Ternate* enter'd *Bachian*, and press'd on so vigorously, that he took the Forts by main Force, and made the principal *Sangiacks* Prisoners. At the Taking of the City of *Bachian*, the King of the Island was slain in Fight, with all the *Portugueses* that assisted him; and the Prince, his Son, taken, who was then a Christian, but soon after, having taken an Oath of Fealty to the Conquerer, and Apostatiz'd from the True Religion, he was miserably Restor'd to his Kingdom, exchanging the Hopes of his Souls Salvation, for the Pernicious Fables of the *Alcoran*, to which he has adhear'd till this time; tho' in Temporals he now owns the soveraign Dominion of our King. The War with the *Tydores* lasted longer, the two Navies fighting with indifferent Success, and Victory changing sides, according to various Accidents. These Princes method of making War depends on Ambushes, and Stratagems, where Subtilty supplies the place of Strength. It is rare that either side is much weakned; because as soon as sensible of the others Advantage, the Weaker flyes, and reserves himself for better Fortune; nor do they look upon it as Dishonourable to fly, for in those Parts they have but rude Notions of the Laws of Honour. The last Action, after they had sustain'd the Siege with extraordinary Magnanimity, was a Sally made by the *Portugueſe* and *Tydores* from the Fort, with much Order and Conduct, Attacking the Enemies Camp with such Bravery, that tho' they were much superior in number, they could not stand the Fury of the King of *Tydore*. The *Ternates* being put to Flight, imbark'd after a great Slaughter of their Men, and never stopp'd till they came to *Talangame*, so they call the Harbour of *Ternate* on that side. The *Tydores* pursu'd, and being flush'd with Victory despis'd the Succours the *Ternates* had ready

King of Bachian *kill'd.*

Molucco *way of Fighting.*

Battle of Tydores *and* Ternates.

ready in that Place, which Addition made them renew the Fight with freſh Vigour, and wreſt the Victory which then inclin'd to the *Tydores*. Theſe without breaking their Order, retir'd and imbark'd; and haſting back in their *Carcoas* came to *Tydore*, where they fortify'd themſelves againſt what might happen. The King of *Ternate* return'd to this City in Triumphant Manner, making a Show of ſome Priſoners.

The News of the Union of *Portugal* to *Caſtile*, was now known throughout all thoſe Eaſtern Parts, and ſo well receiv'd, that inſtead of offering at any Oppoſition, they all joyfully ſubmitted, hoping they ſhould be protected by a more powerful Arm, than they had been before. Nor were they deceiv'd in their Expectation, for, purſuant to what the King had ſworn at *Lisbon*, concerning the Fleets, for ſuppreſſing of Pyrates, and Garriſoning the Coaſts of *Africk*, he granted his Royal Order, for all the Governours of the *Philippine* Iſlands to take Care to relieve the *Moluccos*, and all other the Dominions in *India*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, making uſe of *New Spain*, and all other Kingdoms ſubject to the Crown of *Caſtile*, there being more conveniency for ſupplying them from thence, than even from *India*.

Nayque *Embaſſador for* Spain.

The King of *Ternate*, being ſenſible of the Change of Times, and how much greater Forces threatned him than before; and that he ſhould not be ſuffer'd to reign, without ſubmitting to a Superior, he grew better adviſ'd, and ſent an Ambaſſador to *Lisbon*. The Ambaſſador was *Cachil Nayque*, well known for the Antiquity of his Family, and brave Actions. *Nayque* ſignifies a *Tribune*, or Commander. He embark'd with much Wealth of thoſe Parts, as Porcelane, *Chineſe* Silks, Calico's and Muſlins, Spice, Fruit, Aromatick Woods and Barks, and Preſerves of the ſame; and paſſing between the Iſlands of *Pangicaz* and *Manado*, near to that of *Celebes*, keeping off from the Equinoctial, coaſted it and croſs'd the Line again, till he came to *Borneo*. There he viſited the King, who was at *Tayaopura*, and deliver'd him Letters from his Maſter, attempting by Word of Mouth, to unite him to the *Molucco* Nation againſt the Crown of *Spain*. Contenting himſelf with the firſt Hopes, he paſs'd on betwixt *Cremato* and *Surato*, and croſs'd the Iſlands *Pulo* and *Linga*, in ſight of the greater *Java*, thence thro' the Streight of *Malaca*, by the great Ones of *Banca* and *Bintam*, in the Port whereof were then the 20 Ships, which are ſent from *Sumatra* every Year, loaded with Pepper. He barter'd away much of what he had in his own Ship, and propos'd a general Revolt to all Nations. There are two Streights there; the one of *Sincapura*, ſo call'd from that City built on the Coaſt of *Malaca*; and the other of *Sabao*, from an Iſland of that Name, and this leads to *Sumatra*. *Nayque* ſteer'd this Courſe, and ſoon put into the Harbour which lies going out of the Channel.

His Voyage.

Streights of Sincapura *and* Sabao.

This great Iſland, oppoſite to *Malaca*, and divided from it by a Bay full of Ridges, of Rocks and Shoals, and above a thouſand ſmaller *Iſlands*, was formerly a *Peninſula*, and contiguous to *Malaca*, as *Sicily* is ſaid to have been to *Italy*. Ancient Geographers call'd it *Trapobana*, the Modern *Sumatra*. The Ancients alſo call'd it, the *Golden Cherſoneſus*, and the moſt curious Searchers into Antiquity, *Ophir*, whence *Solomon* gather'd that vaſt Maſs of Treaſure. According to the *Portugueſes* it is 80

Sumatra *deſcrib'd.*

Leagues in Length, and 30 in Breadth. (Here seems to be some Mistake in the Author, for the Island is well known to be above 80 Leagues in Length.) *Italian* Writers say it is 2100 in Circumference. The *Dutch*, who have traded and made War there, do not contradict it, and all agree it is the largest in all the East, and the most fruitful we know of. It lies thwarting from North to South, in the *Torrid Zone*, and the Equinoctial Line cuts it in the Middle; so that one Part falls to the Northern Hemisphere, and takes up five Degrees, and the other to the Southern, extending seven Degrees. This Island is, according to some, divided into four Kingdoms; others say ten, and some 29; but we know of eight, which are, *Pedir*, *Pacem*, *Achem*, *Campar*, *Menancabo*, wealthy in Gold Mines, and *Zaude*; and up the Inland the other two of *Andragide*, and *Auru*, the Natives whereof are Idolaters and Man-Eaters. They devour, not only Strangers, but their own Brothers, and Fathers. In short, among these barbarous People, Hunger produces the same Effects as Passion. The King of *Achem* is the most Powerful of them, and they all pay Homage to the Crown of *Portugal*. *Nayque* enter'd the Court of *Achem*, attended by his own Men, and follow'd by the Multitude of *Chinese*, *Japonese*, *Malay*, *Persian*, and *Turkish* Merchants; all of them flattering themselves with the Expectation of new Commotions. He first worshipp'd the King in a Temple, where there were monstrous Idols, notwithstanding that the People are *Mahometans*. He had afterwards private Conferences with him at Court, and in a few Days brought him over to his Party, with his Wealth, as if he had been a poor Man. After delivering his Master's Letters, he told him, that before he went over into *Europe*, whether he was sent to discover the Power of *Spain* in its Origin, or Source, at a Time when it was distracted by such Revolutions, it was convenient that most wealthy Part of *Asia* should be restor'd to its former Condition, a Matter of no Difficulty, if they were firmly united among themselves. That none were so able to overthrow the Neighbouring Monarchy, which from *Malaca* had, as it were, fetter'd so many Provinces, as the Kings of *Sumatra*, if they, considering of what Moment it was to them, would stand by one another. That since he had successfully besieg'd that hateful City, assaulted its Walls, and Forts, and valu'd himself on being an Enemy to the *Portugueses*, he ought not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity, which offer'd him compleat Victory. That he should remember the several Expeditions of the Viceroys against *Sumatra*, and that they always breed up *Adelantados*, or Lords-Lieutenants, with their Soldiers in Pay against those Kingdoms. And that since, till then they had not been able to make him uneasy, it was too much Forbearance to suffer a perpetual Threat of Thraldom to subsist so near him. The King of *Achem*, listen'd to him with Satisfaction, as one, who, with all his Nation, hates the Haughtiness of the *Portuguese* Behaviour; yet he neither promis'd, nor perform'd any more than obstructing the Trade of *Malaca*, till he had reduc'd it to Want. Nor did he keep the Secret, for they had soon an Account at *Malaca* and *Goa* of these Contrivances. He farther promis'd, That whensoever the King of *Ternate* should make a greater Invasion, or go about to extend, or enlarge himself, as far as he pretended he had a Right, he would continue to give the Diversion, as far as stood with his Conve-

Nayque stirs up Princes to revolt.

The King of Achem *complies.*

Conveniency, and that he ſhould have the Liberty of his Ports, and all Supplies for his Ships in his Kingdom. *Nayque* return'd Thanks, and extended his Negociation, endeavouring to bring in the other Tyrants of *Sumatra*, as for the Publick Good. Then ſailing away through the Streight of *Sunda*, ſo call'd from the Name of a City in the furtheſt Part of the Province, beyond the Line; he proceeded to the greater *Java*, no leſs Fertile than the other in the ſame Medicinal, and Odoriferous Growth, at the Time when *Thomas Candiſh*, an *Engliſh* Commander was arriv'd there, coming from the North-Sea, by the Way of *New Spain*.

Nayque went up the Country to viſit, and found him in a populous City, where he was loading Pepper, which is excellent in *Java*, with that King's Leave, he being a Friend to the *Engliſh*, who had already ſettled a Factory. He found him on the Banks of a River of ſuch a Nature, that it preſently converts any Wood whatſoever caſt into it into Stone, as ſolid and hard as our Pebbles. He bore the *Engliſhman* Company to the Port of *Sunda Calapa*, view'd his Ship, and made as much of him as he could. Among other Things he preſented him a Pavillion, artificially wove all with ſweet ſcented Cloves, and not black, which was not only fit to keep out the exceſſive Cold of *England*, but even to dry up over moiſt Bodies that ſlept under it. There is daily Experience of its atractive Virtue at *Ternate*, by placing great Veſſels full of Water in the middle of the Rooms where the Cloves are kept, and in the Morning they find the Heaps of Cloves damp, and the Veſſels empty and dry. The ſame Eſſential Heat is in the Skeins of *China* Silk, which therefore thoſe who deal in it keep at a ſmall Diſtance from the Water, yet they ſuck it, without touching, and by this Fraud they weigh the heavier. Captain *John Lopez de Ribera* carry'd ſuch a Pavillion of Cloves, as is above mention'd, and preſented it to the Earl of *Coruna*, who was then Viceroy. *Nayque*, like a Flaſh of Lightning which burns all that ſtands in its way, endeavour'd to ſtir up thoſe who before were kept peaceable by the Valour of *Fernan Tellez*, and to encourage the Turbulent, but without ſtaying to ſee the effect of his Negociation, he made directly towards the Cape of *Good-Hope*, yet it is more likely, and even poſitive, that he went firſt to *Malaca*, and thence in the *India* Ships to *Spain*.

Candiſh *in* Java *preſented by* Nayque.

Clove attracts Water, as does China *Silk*

Whilſt *Nayque* was at Sea, the Marques *de Santa Cruz* had in the Ocean fought the Fleet Commanded by *Philip Strozzi*, in which was *Antony* the Baſtard, Pretender to the Crown of *Portugal*, and deſtroy'd it, Chaſtizing the *French*, who with real, or counterfeit Commiſſions from their King, had oppos'd King *Philip*'s juſt Poſſeſſion. He arrived victorious at the Iſland of *S. Michael*, cut off the Heads of the *French* Gentlemen, and condemn'd the Reſt to the Galleys. *Strozzi* dy'd of his Wounds, and *Don Antonio* eſcap'd in a Boat, and return'd to *Zealand*, to ſolicite freſh Succours in *England* and *France*. In the mean while, the King of *Achem* perform'd his Promiſe. His Kingdom lies next the firſt Promontory of the Iſland, in four Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and conſequently his Ships eaſily made themſelves Maſters of all the Streight between *Sumatra* and *Achem*, which they ſo entirely poſſeſs'd, that they ſuffer'd none of the Ships to paſs to *Malaca*, which brought Merchandize and Proviſions from *China*, *Japan*, *Camboxa*, nor even from the *Moluccos*, obliging them to

Antony *the Baſtard Defeated.*

Kingdom of Achem.

Coast about several Islands, to the great Loss of the Merchants. But the *Portuguese* Dealers in the City of *Pedir*, eight Leagues from *Achem*, sustain'd much greater Dammage. Most of them fled to *Malaca*, and tho' *Fernan Tellez* was then upon his Departure, he gave the necessary Orders at *Goa* for their Relief. He sunk some of the Enemies Ships, and took one loaded with Daggers, they call *Crizes*, made at *Menancabo*, and a numerous Artillery, a Thing well known, and cast in *Sumatra*, many Years before the *Europeans* brought them into those Parts. This appears by the Victory the *Portuguese* obtain'd over that Nation, during the Blockade of *Malaca*.

Monstrous Piece of Cannon.

The King of *Achem* sending a Daughter to be Married to the King of *Zor*, not far from *Malaca*, in the Country of *Siam*, among other rich Gifts, by way of Portion, presented him a Brass Cannon of such a bigness, that the like had never been seen in *Europe*. This prodigious Gun, and the Princess that was to be Queen of *Zor*, fell into the Hands of the *Portuguese*. The taking of this Prize, and some others, clear'd the Sea of that Fleet; and that extraordinary piece of Cannon, which serv'd to Ballast a Ship, was brought as a Present to the King of *Spain*, for its Monstrous Size, but a Storm oblig'd them to leave it in the Island *Tercera*, where it is now seen and admir'd. The City *Zor* was also Taken by the *Portugueses*, and in it they found 1500 pieces of Cannon, Artificially Cast, with curious Figures and Flowers of Rais'd-Work on them. The *Molucco* Embassador being come to *Lisbon*, obtain'd Audience of the King; who, tho' he was fully inform'd of the Embassadors Falshood, and the Practices of his Nation, yet gave him a favourable Hearing, after he had shew'd his Credentials to the Ministers of State. He in a long Speech recounted, from its Original, the constant Fidelity of the *Molucco* Kings, and how particularly Remarkable it had been in *Sultan Aerio*, and that the wicked Commander in Chief in putting him to Death, had equally wrong'd the Crown of *Portugal*. That since the Murderer was not punish'd, to satisfy the dead Man's Children and Kingdoms, it might well be concluded, that so Cruel and Undeserv'd an Execution had been by the Direction of some higher Power than the Governor *Mesquita*, and that even in case the Crime had been Notorious it had been more Prudence to charge it upon some private Person. That King *Cachil Babu* intreated his Majesty to punish the Offender in such manner as might give Satisfaction, and be an Example and Security to all the *Asiatick* Kings, that own the Dominion of *Spain*. In Return for that Favour, and Justice, he promised to Restore the Fort of *Ternate*, and his other Kingdoms, which were Alienated, and that they would return to their former Subjection, as they had promis'd to the Governor *Pereyra de la Cerda*; so remarkably correct their Behaviour, that there should be visible Effects of a Royal, and Humble Gratitude, both in respect to his Majesties Service, and the Security of the Garrisons, and to the Advantage of the neighbouring Provinces, belonging to other Kings, who were his Subjects, about *Malaca*, the *Philippine* Islands, and Parts Adjacent. He also ingaged to Restore the Churches, and Christian Religion, and much more than had been agreed upon with *Pereyra*. The King having heard his Request, as if he were ignorant that the *Ternates* did not deserve the satisfaction they requir'd, since they had taken it themselves so fully, that it exceeded

Molucco *Embassador at* Lisbon.

His Speech.

exceeded even the bounds and examples of Revenge, he Anſwer'd, That all the Acceſſaries to that Fact ſhould be found out, it being prov'd that the Principal was already Dead, and none of them ſhould eſcape Unpuniſh'd, as would have been done by King *Sebaſtian*, had he Liv'd. That *Cachil Babu* muſt prepare to Reſtore all Things into the ſame Poſture they were in before, if he intended to partake of the general Amneſty, which blotted out all paſt Offences throughout the Dominions of that Crown. *Nayque* had ſome private Audiences, and ſome Miniſters of State had Conferences with him, with a Deſign to find out how the People of *India* were diſpos'd. *The King's Anſwer.*

At this ſame Time *Don Gonzalo Ronquillo*, purſuant to the Orders he had receiv'd from *Spain*, ſent the Enſign, *Francis de Duenas*, from the *Philippine* Iſlands, where he was Governor, to the *Moluccos*, to pry into the Inclinations of the Kings, and People, Governors, and other *Portugueſes* at *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and *Bachian*, as to ſubmitting to the King of *Spain*. He ſet out in the Habit of a *Chineſe*, and was much aſſiſted by his Knowledge of thoſe Countries, and their Languages, and much more by his bold Spirit, ſufficiently try'd in thoſe Wars. He artfully Learnt what Hopes there might be of the Recovery of *Ternate*, and how firm the People of *Tydore* ſtood. He firſt inquired what Leagues were carrying on in the *Archipelago*, what Intelligence they had with, and expected from the Northern Fleets, with whom they had now familiar Correſpondence. He Travell'd about the Iſlands, like a *Sangley*, or *Chineſe*, in the *Janguas*, or Trading Veſſels of the *Malay*, and *Philippine* Merchants, and had the Opportunity of viewing them all, ſo far as to take the Dimenſions of ſtrong Places, compute what Stores and Ammunition the Barbarians had, and diſcover the Humours and Inclinations of the *Portugueſes* who Traded, or Govern'd there; and returning to the *Philippine* Iſlands, his Account, and Relation, firſt Encourag'd and gave Hopes that more Advantagious Enterprizes might be undertaken in thoſe Parts, than about *Malaca*, tho' it were but only Supporting the *Portugueſes* and *Tydores*, then hard preſs'd by the King of *Ternate*. King *Philip* receiv'd this Intelligence at *Lisbon*, whence the *Molucco* Embaſſador was then gone, ill ſatisfy'd with the Anſwer he had; but *Sultan Babu*, on whom the Word of ſo great a Monarch, and the Authority of his Promiſe might perhaps have had great Effect, dy'd long before the ſaid Embaſſador could come to his Preſence. The ſmall Remains of Chriſtianity ſtill left in his Kingdom, took a little Heart, and had our Arms but appear'd upon the Revolution caus'd by his Death, the only Noiſe of them might have gain'd the Victory. It is Reported that furious King *Babu* dy'd by the exceſs of his Love, or rather of his inordinate Luſt, in the Arms of one of his Miſtreſſes. Some ſay ſhe kill'd him with Charms, or Poiſon, which is the Tyrant-Slayer among thoſe Nations, impatient of one Mans long Rule. He was Succeeded by his Brother, who was Illegitimate, as we are told by *Cachil Tulo*, in the Letter, which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he writ to the Governor of the *Philippine* Iſlands. The new King took the Name of *Cachil Sultan Nait Dini Baraca Xa*, before whom *Cachil Madraca* ought to have been preferr'd, as being Son to the principal Queen. As ſoon as Enthron'd he offer'd Peace to his Neighbours; on this Security, and that of a clear Conſcience, *Cachil Gava*, King of *Tydore*, paid him a viſit. He was receiv'd with publick Rejoy-

Enſign Duenas *from* Philippines *to the* Moluccos.

The Intelligence he got.

Sultan Babu *Dies.*

Sultan Nait *ſucceeds.*

cings

cings in one of the greatest Squares of *Ternate*, and attended to a mighty lofty Arbour, provided to offer Sacrifize in, a (Chappel suitable to the Priesthood) and there to decide Controversies, and give Audience to his Subjects. When the first Complements were over, and the King of *Tydore* least suspected any thing, the *Ternate* Guards, hearing the Signal given by their K. drew their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and without allowing the Guest time to cry out, fell upon, and cut him in Pieces; tho' he was the Man thro' whose Means the K. of *Ternate* had the Crown given him, contrary to the Opinion, and Designs of his Unkles. But whensoever great Returns are due to a Favour receiv'd, Ungrateful Souls convert the Obligation into Hatred, and nothing can occur to them more odious than the Sight of the Benefactor. Next he turn'd his Fury against that murder'd Princes Family, and such of his Servants as could not make their Escape to *Tydore*, were either Kill'd, or remain'd Prisoners at *Ternate*, or absconded wheresoever Fortune, and their own Confusion lead them. This cruel Fact, which some assign'd to his Father, *Cachil Babu*, Reconcil'd the Murderer and his Unkles. But he immediatly acquainted them, how he expected to be Invaded on two Sides; that it was of the utmost Consequence, that Subjects should own their Sovereign, and fortify his Islands, especially all the upper Parts; and that since he had such Powerful Unkles, it was Reasonable, and Convenient, the People should be acquainted how firmly they were United to their Nephew. Then extolling their Valour, he with the sweetness of their Commendations so blinded and amused them, that they could not perceive the profound Jealousie he shrouded under them. Thus he divided them, that they might attend the Fortifications in distant Places; whilst he in Person carry'd on the War against the *Tydores*. They presently set up a Brother of their late King in his Stead; who, tho' he govern'd with Bravery, and stuck close to the *Portugueses*, yet had some strong Places taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, which were afterwards restor'd, in our Kings Name, by *Don Pedro de Acuna* to the King now reigning. This Prince lived but a short Time, yet so long that *Cachil Mole*, who was a Child when the King his Father was murder'd, grew up, and in him the Revenge of the Injury receiv'd. He never thought, or talk'd of any other Thing, till he brought it to Execution.

Murders the King of Tydore.

New King of Tydore.

In the mean while the new King of *Tydore*, assisted by the *Spaniards* he had in his Forts, provided to oppose, and attack his Enemy. They all expected Succours from *India*, where it was certain they must think it necessary to support *Tydore*, in order to recover *Ternate*. Their Behaviour was so brave, as to defend themselves, tho' ill furnish'd with Arms and Provisions against those who attack'd them with Plenty of all Things.

He is taken by him of Ternate.

Hector Brito was come with a Galleon from *India* to their Assistance, and it being known at *Tydore* that a Storm had oblig'd him to stay on the farther Coast of *Borneo*, the King fitted out four *Carcoas*, and went to meet him, but was forced back to his Island by contrary Winds. He of *Ternate* watch'd to improve all Opportunities against his Enemy, and therefore would not let this Slip, nor trust to any other; but Man'd out nine *Carcoas*, and going in Person fell upon him. The *Tydores* wanted not Courage to defend themselves, and the Fight began with that Fury, which always arms those two Nations against one another; but tho' the *Tydore* fought desperately

desperately, he was taken, and his Men either kill'd, or dangerously wounded. This Misfortune griev'd the *Portugueses* no less than the *Indians*, because they all lov'd him. For this reason they gather'd the Remains of that Disaster, and all the other Forces they could make, offering their Service to *Cachil Aleazen*, Brother to the Captive King, a very hopeful Youth. He thank'd them, and was so dexterous in gaining the Affections, and confirming the Fidelity of the Subjects, that through his Care, no Man was wanting to his Duty. This Industry was of good Use, for the Conqueror did not return immediately to *Ternate*; but went about to his Enemies Islands, perswading the People in each of them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, showing them their Captive King, whose Life was at his disposal; but the *Tydore* Towns, being furnish'd with all Necessaries, and believing they might with Safety practice that Hatred and Rage Nature has fill'd them with, would not give Ear to his Proposals, though they were mix'd with Intreaties, and Threats, and on the contrary dismiss'd him with their usual Fierceness. He perceiving that the Ostentation of his Victory, and the Sight of the Captive King availed him but little, Sail'd away for *Ternate*. At his Arrival, he was received with Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, and Basons they beat on, and with Songs they make for such like Occasions. The Heads and Limbs of the *Tydores* slain in Battel, were fix'd upon the Spears they have advanc'd in the *Carcoas* on the Poops and Prows, and other high Places of them, and particularly the Kings. This is their way of erecting Trophies. Of the Skulls they make Cups to drink out of; like the *Scithians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, practise the same; or like the *Germans*, as *Tacitus* tells us, of the Heads of the *Uri* they slew, and that was a Token of Nobility. He would not trust the keeping of the King in any of his Forts; but turn'd a strong House into a Goal, and appointed him a Guard of *Gilolo* Islanders, well arm'd. Sometimes he show'd Severity, and otherwhiles Tenderness; but all Men knowing his Disposition, expected the End of the Captive King; tho' at the same time they believ'd, he would mitigate his Revenge out of Respect to his Sister, the Princess of *Tydore*. *Hector Brito*, Commander of a *Galeon*, came now to *Tydore*; but his Arrival did not much mend the Posture of Affairs, tho' those in the Fort were Encourag'd to hold out, and at least he added some Reputation to the Cause, and inclin'd the *Ternates* to listen to some Overtures. However what could not be compass'd by force of Arms nor Treaty, was effected by the Resolution of an Amorous Soul.

Fidelity of the Tydores.

Cruelties of Ternates.

Hector Brito *at* Tydore,

The Princess *Quisayra*, Sister to King *Gapabaguna*, that was the Prisoner's Name, had so great an Opinion of herself, as to hope that her Beauty would prevail to bring about that good End, which was then of Consequence to all Parties, on several Accounts. She knew she was belov'd by the King of *Bachian*, by him of *Sian*, a brave Youth, by him of *Ternate* her Enemy, and by other prime *Sangiacks* of his Kingdom, and his Kinsmen, who all publickly vy'd in doing her Honour. She was discreet enough dexterously to feed them all with such Hopes, as lay no Obligation on the Party that gives them, and yet encourage those who value them. She gave out that she would marry none but the Man that should set her Brother at Liberty, and deliver him to her alive, or dead. This Part of the Declaration, tended to the Promoting of her Design.

Remarkable Story of the Captive King's Liberty.

Contrivance of Quisayra, *Princess of* Tydore.

The

The Promise work'd upon all her Admirers; tho' it was most certain, that her naming herself as a Reward of the Enterprize, proceeded from the Affection she bore *Ruy Diaz d' Acunha*, a *Portuguese* Gentleman, and Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*. She thought he would attempt the Rescuing of the King, and that such Success would entitle her to marry him, tho' many suspected there was already a mutual Obligation, as well as Desire, and that they were reciprocally in Love. It was known, that they had discours'd together several Times in the House of *Quinchana*, a great Lady, Aunt to *Quisayra*, whether *Ruy Diaz* was wont to go frequently; and that with her Interposition the Matter had been so far concerted, that the Princess promis'd she would embrace Christianity to marry him. This made not his Rivals dismay, and the King of *Ternate*, upon these profer'd Hopes, offer'd to give her Brother his Liberty. However he was not regarded, because *Quisayra* was as averse to be beholding to him, as she was desirous to be oblig'd by *Ruy Diaz*. This powerful Passion informs barbarous Minds. Her Disdain caus'd the King of *Tydore* to be more close confin'd, and his Body to be loaded with heavy Chains, being more narrowly observ'd than before.

She is in Love with the Portuguese *Commander.*

Cachil Salama, a Subject and near Kinsman of his, well known for his Valour in the Wars, was more deep in Love with *Quisayra* than all the Rest, and listen'd to all the Reports of their endeavouring to comply with her Expectation. He entirely keeping his own Council, a Thing rare in Lovers, to be secret without Affectation, that no Notice might be taken of him, one Night fitted out a *Baroto*, so they call a Sort of small Boat, putting into it five *Tydore* Soldiers, he could confide in. Thus he crossed over the Channel to the Leeward, and landed on *Ternate*; where he left the Boat ready, but hid on the Shore. Then *Cachil Salama*, conceal'd among the Croud of trading People in the City, went to the chief Part they call *Limathas*, and set Fire to a House in that Ward he thought stood most convenient for his Purpose. The Flame, which had taken hold of the Roof gathering Strength, threatned a greater Conflagration. Having done this Mischief, whilst the People flock'd together, and endeavour'd to put a Stop to it with Water, and other means, *Cachil* return'd to his Boat, on the Inside the Ridge of Rocks there is about the Island, and went away to the other Side of the Fort, where he began to beat an Alarm, to cause the greater Confusion. This done he went ashore again, with only his *Campilan*, or Cimiter, ordering three of his Men to follow him at some small Distance. He found the King's Prison almost abandon'd, the Guards being gone to help at the House that was a Fire. He went in boldly, breaking open Doors, and Bolts, till he came to the Prisoners Chamber, who scarce believing what he saw, ask'd him, with much Amazement, how he came thither, and whether the Fort of *Tydore* was lost? *Cachil* answer'd, he must be quick, and go along with him, and should afterwards be satisfy'd as to his Questions; for if he refus'd he would strike off his Head. Then laying hold of the end of the Chain, and the other three *Tydores* being now come up to them, they forc'd their Passage out of the House, making way with their Swords and killing such as offer'd to oppose them. The same Valour and good Fortune carry'd them through the Streets, to the Port, and leaping into their little Boat, put all their Hands to the Oars.

Cachil Salama *a Lover of* Quisagra, *his Bravery.*

He rescues the King of Tydore.

Oars. In thoſe Iſlands it is uſual for Kings to row, without being compell'd to it by Neceſſity; for as in *Spain* the Nobility learn to ride, ſo the Iſland Princes in all thoſe Eaſtern Parts value themſelves upon handling the Oars, and Sails. They croſs'd over the Streight, and being purſu'd too late, by the light Veſſels of *Ternate*, arriv'd unexpected at *Tydore*. The Fame of his arrival was ſoon ſpread abroad, and when certainly known, the Cannon was fir'd, the flat Drums in the Temples were beaten, and the Bells rung, the Sound whereof uſes to draw the People of the *Moluccos* tögether, and in ſhort there was a general Rejoycing, without quitting their Arms. All Men cry'd up *Cachil Salama* to the Skies, calling him the Deliverer of *Tydore*, and *Neza Maluco*, *Neza* ſignifies a Spear, and *Maluco* a Kingdom, and both together the Spear, that is, the Defence of the Kingdom.

Only *Quiſayra* was troubled at this Event, becauſe the general Promiſe ſhe had made of marrying, whoſoever perform'd it, was only deſign'd for *Ruy Diaz de Acunha*. She was not able to conceal this Truth; eſpecially when *Cachil Salama* boldly preſs'd the Performance of the Promiſe, the King himſelf ſeconding him. She delay'd him, alledging ſome ſpecious Pretences to gain Time. She would willingly have made her Complaint to *Ruy Diaz* himſelf, either to ſhame, or provoke him to Paſſion. She eaſily compaſs'd to meet him at her Aunts, where, as ſoon as ſhe began to Diſcourſe, there was nothing but Tears, Complaints, Excuſes, and Contrivances to murder *Salama*, to conclude a Reconciliation. *Rocque Pinheyro* the Commander's Nephew, and a Soldier of reputed Valour, was preſent at this Diſcourſe. *Quiſayra* truſting him with her ſecret Thoughts, he boldly, and with Art, gave her to underſtand that his Unkle was as ſlack as before; and ſince he had been ſo in the other Affair, what could be expected from him in what he now promis'd. He ſaid, if ſhe could prevail upon her ſelf to be ſenſible of the Ingratitude of *Ruy Diaz*, and to ſubſtitute him in his Place, he would not only murder *Cachil*, but his own Unkle too. That out of the Reſpect due to her high Qualities, he had not till then preſum'd to let her know how deeply he was in Love with her Beauty; but that he now thought himſelf abſolv'd from all human Tyes, and wholly confin'd by that. *Pinheyro* had a full hearing, an Advantage not far remote from being admitted; and tho' he was not commanded to murder his Unkle, yet he perceiv'd he had not left him ſo well in the Princeſſes Eſteem as he was before.

Quiſayra *contrives to murder* Cachil Salama.

Pinheyro *undertakes to murder him and his own Unkle.*

In the mean while, *Cachil Salama* was not idle, preſſing the Buſineſs haſtily, and having got ſome Inkling, or ſuſpecting the Cauſe of the Delay, like a true Lover who is ſeldom deceiv'd in this Sort of Jealouſy, he found out the Truth. By the Contrivance of one of *Quiſayra's* Women, he durſt preſume to hide himſelf in her Bedchamber; and in the dead of the Night, he ſuddenly appear'd before her, his Fierceneſs being overcome by a Superior Power. The Princeſs was ſurpriz'd, but diſſembled it, and prepar'd to defend herſelf in Caſe Violence were offer'd. She threatned to cry out; utter'd Complaints with Tears, and bewail'd the loſs of her Reputation, ſaying, how could they think her Innocent, who ſaw him either come in, or go out. *Salama* all the while in humble Poſture, and on his Knees, aſſur'd her he had no other Deſign, than to put her in Mind of the Obligation ſhe lay under, and that ſince it was known he was to be her Huſband,

Salama *convey'd into* Quiſayra's *Bed Chamber.*

his being seen was of no Consequence. That her Reputation suffer'd more, by the delaying of the marriage; and that to convince her of his Affection, he would be gone as obediently as he had always done. He went out immediately, comforted with Thanks, and Hopes; and deliver'd her from the Fear she had conceiv'd of him. She was so taken with this Courteous Action, that revolving it in her Mind, it wrought so much, as to settle her Affection on *Salama*; so that she would have marry'd him, tho' he had not oblig'd her before.

He gains her Affection.

At this time *Pinheyro*, who was already engaged in her Love, either to obtain its Reward, or because his Unkle did not Favour him as he expected, or for both Reasons, contriv'd his Death. As he was going one Day to the Palace, to acquaint *Quisayra* that the Murder was already committed, *Cachil* happened than to come from a Fort to see his Mistress. He seeing *Pinheyra* coming out of her Apartment, drew his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, and tho' the Youth fought Manfully, and like a Lover, yet *Cachil*, who had the same Qualifications, and was Jealous over and above, at the first onset clove his Head, so furiously, that he dropt down dead of the Wound.

Pinheyro *murders his Unkle, and is kill'd by* Salama.

Then proceeding as he had begun, he went in where *Quisayra* was, whom he easily perswaded to be gon with him, and leaving the Palace full of Confusion, they Imbark'd in the *Baroto*, or small Boat that brought him. They Marry'd with the good liking of the King and Kingdome, and the Loss of those two Gentlemen's Lives. And since among the *Portugueses* Nation, as much Account is made of Honour gain'd, or lost in Love Affairs, as was formerly of Victories obtain'd in *Greece*, at the *Olympick* Games, the Vindication of these Lovers shall be left to the Management of those who are well skil'd in that Matter, to whom we refer our selves.

He marries Quisayra.

The *Portugueses* were much griev'd at this Disaster, as being Publick, and the King was so incens'd, that one of them having accidentally kill'd a Horse he had a great Value for, he caus'd him to be Hang'd, without hearkning to any thing thar could be said for him. This gain'd *Cachil Mole* so generally the Affections of all Men, that tho' *Cachil Coia* was Elder, and Son to the principal Queen, by them call'd *Putriz*, under colour that the latter was a Friend to the King of *Ternate*, and about to contract Affinity with him, the other gain'd the greater Party, which advanc'd him to Succeed in the Throne of *Tydore*, as we shall soon see.

A Portuguese *hang'd.*

The *Portuguese* Galeons arrived at *Malaca*, and in them *Cachil Naique* returning from *Spain*, and having stay'd there some Months for the *Monsons*, he had a good Voyage, and arrived safe at *Ternate*, when he had by the way sollicited the *Javaneses*, and the People of *Achem* and *Borneo*, not to admit of the *Spanish* Domination. He brought no acceptable Answer from King *Philip*, and found the King who had employ'd him Dead, and in his Place another, so different from the Former, that he entertain'd no Thoughts of restoring the Forts to the *Portugueses*, but on the contrary, aim'd at casting off all Obedience, and obliterating their Name. To this effect he Confederated with the *English*, who, with other Northern Nations, Lorded it in the Island. Five Leagues from it lay at Anchor an *English* Ship, waiting for two others that came out with her. They Anchor'd in the Port, and went ashore, as if they had been in *London*, being well receiv'd by the *Sultan*, with whose Leave they settled a Factory in the

Nayque *returns to* Ternate.

English *at* Ternate.

the City, where they left Officers, who under the name of Trade, were more absolute Masters of it than the Natives. They dispers'd to gather in the Clove for the Goods they brought to Barter; and on the 21st. of *August* dispatch'd their Ships, loaded with that Spice, and with those Nuts they call of *Molucco*, and excellent Preserves of them both. In these Ships went Embassadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to the Prince of *Orange*, carrying Presents suitable to those Persons, of the most valuable Things in *India*. They were order'd to offer the Queen his Kingdome in Vassalage, and his Friendship to the Prince of *Orange*. The Advantage of these Embassies afterwards appear'd; yet he did not on that Account give any hopes of Restoring Christianity; for besides that the Persecution grew more violent, he had at that time brought over into his Kingdome, a great number of *Arabian* and *Persian* false Prophets, all of them *Mahomet*'s Priests and Ministers, to strengthen that Sect. Besides, being inform'd by his Spies, That it was given out in the *Philippine* Islands, That they would make War on him that way, and that in *Spain* the King promis'd the Union of the two Crowns should produce the Conjunction of their Power and Arms, for the punishing of disobedient Tyrants, he slighted no Alliance, nor contemn'd the Weakest Enemy. For this Reason, he gave Entertainment, and allow'd the planting of Colonies to *Europeans*, and Leagued with *Idolaters* and *Mahometans*, who hate *Spain*, as their common Enemy. The *English* Ships now frequented *India*, facilitating the Passage, and shewing an Example to the *French* and *Dutch*, which encourag'd them all to venture out far from their Countries, and seek for Treasure in strange ones.

Mahometan *Preachers at* Ternate.

Sultan Capahaguna did not long enjoy his Liberty at *Tydore*. He was taken ill at an Entertainment. Some believe he had a slow Poison given him; because he was very moderate in Eating, and those motions of his Arms, the gnashing of his Teeth, and losing of his Senses, which attend the Falling-Sickness, and are Simptoms of Apoplexies, could not naturally proceed from his Temperate way of Living; but are always caused by much Excess, which Occasions this violent Distemper. He came to himself after that first Fit, but his Vigour wasted, and he linger'd on to the end of his Life. *Cachil Cotta* should have Succeeded him, but they were suspicious of his Correspondence with the *Ternates*; and they all so openly favour'd his Brother *Cachil Mole*, that there was not the least Difficulty made about the Succession. He often remember'd his Fathers unfortunate Death, and in Regard that this raging Desire of Revenge, might prove instrumental for the Recovery of *Ternate*; as soon as his Unkle Dy'd, which was on the 24th of *April* 1599, the *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyrao* repair'd to his Palace, and by Means of the *Portuguese* Power and Arms, caused *Cachil Mole* to be sworn King, as being a most faithful Friend to his Nation, and no less an Enemy to the *Ternates*. He immediatly dispatch'd Captain *Palma* with this News to *Manila*, and with it an Account of the *Molucco* Islands, of their Neighbours, and of their Preparations; because they were then providing in the *Philippine* Islands for this War, to extirpate this Receptacle of Sects, where all sorts of Apostasies are admitted, and particularly the vile Doctrines of *Mahomet*. Ever since the Year 1555. when the *Dutch* enter'd those Seas, they have not,

King of Ternate *dies.*

Cachil Mole *King of* Tydore.

not, till this Time, ceas'd bringing in Sectaries, and Captains of Pyrates: These Men carry away the Wealth of *Asia*, and in Lieu of it leave behind them that false Doctrine, which renders the Conversion of so many Souls Fruitless.

Moluccos *slighted at* Goa.

The Forgetfulness, or Contempt the Governours of *India* show'd for the *Molucco* Islands, seem'd fatal; since they refus'd, or with-held the usual Succours, abandoning the Commanders, and Forts, for so many Years, as if they had not been in the World. This was not remedy'd by the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; on the contrary, the great Success of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Legaspe*, in the Islands *Luzones*, which he call'd *Philippines*, being known in *Spain*, King *Philip* the IId. thought fit as we shall soon see, that the *Molucco* Islands, and Parts adjacent, whither he was Zealous to send Evangelical Preachers, should be sensible of the Advantage of his Neighbouring Empire. This was speedily order'd, and tho' the Effects were not sutable, by Reason of the many Accidents great Undertakings are liable to, yet Time has shown how convenient it was to fix that Resolution. For the better understanding of the Reasons on which it was grounded; since one of them proceeded from the various Disposition, Qualities, and Interests of the Nations throughout those Seas and Lands; it will be absolutely necessary in this Place to make them known, before we come to Particulars.

Relief order'd from the Philippines, *and why.*

Description of China.

The Country of the *Sinæ*, whom we call *Chineses*, is the uttermost of the Continent of *Asia*. On the East and South it is encompass'd by the Ocean, which the Ancients call'd *Sericus*. On the West, it reaches to the Borders of the farther *India*; and on the North to those of the *Massagetes* and *Scythians*. Their Ancient Annals, Writings and Traditions informs us, that the *Chineses* extended their Empire much further. This is verify'd by the Remains of sumptuous Structures; and not only in Ruins, wherein their former Magnificence is still apparent, but even in Cities, which Time has preserv'd, tho' not inhabited, and yet to be seen in the Provinces they have excluded their Limits. There are many which take there Denomination, and own their Original from *China*. For that immense Empire finding it self labouring under its own Power, and overburden'd with its Magnitude, like a judicious Patient, to prevent more Harm, it breath'd the Veins, and brought down the Redundancy of the Body. The same we read the *Carthagenians* did, when in the like Condition, and for the same Reasons. It confin'd it self to a narrower Compass, proportionable to the Extent of humane Providence, that so their Prince's Light might reach to shine over, and be communicated to them; which cannot be, when the Circumference is too great for the Darting of the Beams. They publish'd indispensable Decrees against such as go out of *China*, without leave from the Magistrates. They abandon'd vast Provinces, which being left expos'd to Tyranny, and Infidelity, after tedious Wars, submitted to the most Potent. Hence the Kings of *India* took their Original, being oblig'd never to lay down their Arms, nor keep any Faith, so to support themselves one against another, till a greater Power subdues them.

Chineses *contract their Empire.*

15 *Kingdoms in* China.

In *China* they reckon 15 maritime Kingdoms, or Provinces of an extraordinary Extent, with each its Metropolis, or Capital; the rest are up the Inland.

Inland. The moſt Part of it lies within temperate Climates, and receives into its pure and open Boſome the Sun's vital Rays, having a healthful, and ſerene pleaſant Air. This favourable Diſpoſition renders it ſo fruitful, that it yearly yields two or three Crops. The great Induſtry of the Tillers, is a conſiderable Addition to its Fertility. The Number of them is infinite, being a People that daily multiply exceedingly, becauſe they are forbid going into Foreign Countries. Neither is any among ſuch a numerous Multitude of Men allow'd to live idle Idleneſs is not only expoſed to private Contempt, and the Scoffs of Neighbours, but puniſh'd by publick Cuſtome and Law. Thus the Peaſants leave not the leaſt Spot of Ground untill'd. The Hills and deep Bottoms produce Vines and Pine-Trees; the Plains, Rice, Barley, Wheat, and other common Grain. Tho' they do not preſs the Grapes for the Wine, as we do, yet they keep them to eat; and of the Herb call'd *Chia*, they make a wholeſome hot Liquor. This they drink, as do the *Japoneſes*, and it preſerves them from Colds, Head-Aches, Rheums in the Eyes, and makes them live long and healthy. Some Parts of the Country want Olive-Trees, but they are not deſtitute of other Plants, which yield a Liquor to anoint them. There is a perpetual Abundance of Paſture, Fruits, Flowers, and all the Products of Gardens. There are many Navigable Rivers, carrying Ships of great Burden, and full of excellent Fiſh; the Banks cover'd with perpetual Greens, ſpacious Harbours, and a Trade in them of all Things neceſſary for humane Life. The Fowl are of various colour'd Feathers, and pleaſant and nouriſhing to eat; great Numbers of large Deer; vaſt Lakes, Woods and Mountains, and Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron, and other Metals; beſides Pearls and precious Stones. Its Purcelane, or Earthen Ware, is not to be imitated in the World; and it affords rich Furs againſt the Cold, Silks, Wooll, Cotton, and Flax; nor is there any End of its Sugar, Honey, Amber, Vermilion, and Lake. Musk, whereof no mention is found among *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, is more plentiful in *China* than in other Parts.

Fertility, Air, Populouſneſs.

Idleneſs puniſh'd.

Product, Tea.

Rivers, Ports, &c.

The People are moſt paſſionately addicted to Delight, and Laſciviouſneſs. They alone always ſell all Things; they buy nothing that Nature or Art affords, either for Suſtenance, or Cloathing, except ſome Perfumes for their Cloaths, and Pepper out of *India*; nor would there be any Place for Foreign Trade, did not an inſatiable Avarice of Gold and Silver predominate among the *Chineſes*. What they draw out of the Bowels of the Mines, they conceal as carefully as if it were ſtill in them; and even that they bring from remote Provinces, they heap up, and bury. Their publick and private Structures would make up a Narration of extraordinary Length. We are told of 200 Cities of an extraordinary Magnitude, and many more of inferior Degree, beſides Towns, Caſtles, and Villages, containing above 3000 Families each, built of Bricks made of the ſame Clay as our Purcelane, or *China* Ware, and theſe encompaſs'd with continu'd Woods, Springs and Rivers. In all theſe there are Towers with ſtately Pinnacles, Pleaſure-Houſes, and Temples, tho' hideouſly painted, yet coſtly, with Variety of deform'd Images, through which the Devils give their Anſwers. But theſe are not in all Parts, for many of them know no God, nor Religion. Life, they ſay, was from Eternity

The People.

Cities.

common

common to, and alike in all living Creatures. That at first Men drank humane Blood, and eat raw Meat. That afterwards the Use of Reason provided for Necessity, and Pleasure; inventing the Ways of dressing, and seasoning Meat at the Fire, in Vessels and other Utensils. The same, they say, happen'd in Regard to Man's Nakedness. So that Man is indebted to himself alone for what he enjoys, and therefore whosoever lay'd on him the Burden of Religion, and the owning of a Cause Superior to Nature, only aim'd at the dejecting him, and exercising a Tyranny over his Liberty. With these impious Notions, and destructive Atheism, they oppose their Eternal Salvation, which our Arms, and our Preachers invite them to. They only regard Generation; but not without Distinction. Lawful Matrimony entitles Women to be Mistresses of their Families. The Matrons value themselves upon being highly Chast. Concubines are kept in Houses apart. They do not want for Plays, and such Representations; and they delight in seeing their Traditions, whether true or fabulous, acted on the Stage. They use Entertainments, and have Tables and Chairs of *Ebony*, and other precious Materials; as also Shipping, Shows, Carts, Horse-Litters, and the Exercise of Arms, and Riding.

Barbarous Opinions.

Chastity.

Customs, and Manners.

It were no difficult Matter to give an Account here of their private Customs and Manners, were they to our Purpose. Something shall be said of the Publick and Political, for the better Understanding of some Things that happen'd in the *Philippine* Islands, from whence the Recovery of the *Moluccos*, in our Times, had its Beginning. They call their great Men *Loyttes*, from among whom the King chuses his Judges and Counsellors. There is almost an infinite Number of inferiour Magistrates, who exercise the Regal Power and Authority, even in the most inconsiderable Cases. In every Town there are five, that have the greatest Power, and these are Strangers in the Place, that they may be free from Partiality. The Head of them all, is call'd *Tutan*, being the same as a Viceroy in *Europe*. The next in Dignity is the *Poncasio*, who has Charge of the King's Taxes, and Royal Treasure, with a great Number of Clerks, and other Officers; and he pays all Salaries and Pensions. Next follows the *Ancasio*, who is chief Justice, in Criminal Cases of Consequence. The *Aitan* has the Inspection of all Martial Affairs, he musters the Armies, builds the Ships, and his principal Duty is to observe the Guards, that no Stranger may pass into the Inland Country. The *Luitisio* is next to the *Aitan* in Dignity, and is to be expert in War, in which he is employ'd by the *Aitan*. I know there are other Magistrates, and their Names and Dignities, which I must pass over in Silence. All of them except the *Luitisio*, keep great State. There are ten chosen Persons of the Council, tho' not equal in Authority. Five of them sit on the Right, the others on the Left. The King often thrusts in among the Judges and Parties in Disguize, to pry into the Causes, and their Decisions, and be certainly inform'd of both. When he thinks fit, he sometimes makes himself known; and the Moment he discovers himself, they all stand Mute, full of Respect and Astonishment, listening to what he shall command. Then he commends or reproves either Party, and rewards, or punishes before he departs the Court. His *Mandarines*, and Prime Ministers are so highly respected, that no Man dares look them in the Face, and they always look

Government.

Tutan *a Viceroy.*

Poncasio.

Ancasio.

Aitan.

Luitisio.

Manda-rines.

so

so Stern, that it would be thought a great Disorder to lose the least of their Gravity, tho' it were but with a modest Smile. This they observe, when they pass thro' the Streets, in Sight of the People. The greatest Honour among them is to wear a Cymiter with a gold Pommel, and a yellow Hat.

When the President of the Council Dies, the eldest Judge succeeds him. *Judges.* These go Circuits thro' the Provinces, and reform Abuses, and all of them wear the King's Badge on their Shoulders, and Breaste, being a Golden Dragon wove in the Cloth. When they go these Progresses, they save, or lessen the Charge by circumscribing the State. When first elected, at their taking Possession of their Posts, they generally go out attended by Troops of Horse and Foot, with all Sorts of Musick, and Splendour. Their Pomp appears in the Hanging, and other Ornaments of the Streets and Houses. All the expence of Law Suits, Courts, and other Perquisites is allow'd out of the King's Exchequer. The *Mandarines* are Governors, and Viceroys. In *China* there are no Dukes, Marquesses, or Earls, nor do they own any Dignity, but what is deriv'd from the King's Authority. Though in the Parts next to *Scythia*, or *Tartary*, some People are *Mahometans*; yet in all others they are either Idolaters, or look upon the Notion of a God as a meer Jest. They believe the Life and Death of Men and Beasts are alike. There is nothing they are more attentive to, than the obstructing of any foreign Religion, and this under the politick Pretence, that they are jealous of Innovation. But above all they oppose the true Religion, hating that they know nothing of; and are as much afraid of it, as if its Ministers went arm'd to preach it, and with the Noise of Drums, and Trumpets, and regular Armies. They are frighted at a few bare-foot, and almost naked Men who profess Poverty, and preach up Morality, and supernatural Virtues, grounded on Humility and Peace. They have such an Aversion for them, that were it proper to our Subject, or were there not printed Relations thereof already, we would recount several Instances, to show their unreasonable Hatred. Hence may be infer'd, how much more Need of the special Grace of Heaven these Nations stand in, with those in the Neighbourhood, which are expos'd to the Infection and Danger of their Obstinacy. The Reader ought also to consider, that tho sometimes, the Avarice, and other Crimes of our Commanders, and Soldiers interfere with the Preaching of the Gospel, yet their Offences do not lessen the Justice of the Cause. He is also to reflect, that, allowing his Majesty, for weighty Reasons of State should, as we have said was propos'd, resolve to abandon those Parts of *Asia*, as the *Chineses* did, and circumscribe the Compass of his Monarchy; yet the Cause of Religion would not permit it. Our Kings are its Ministers, and Sons of the Catholick Church, and any War made for the Propagation of the Gospel, is of the greatest Consequence, and highly gainful, tho' it be to acquire, or recover desert Provinces. Besides that the *Philippine* Islands have shown us how tractable their Natives are, and how much they improve with the Example, and Society of the *Spaniards*, and how affectionately they have imbrac'd the Faith, and assist the Religious Men, who dilate, and carry it over into *China*, *Japan*, *Camboxa*, *Mindanao*, the *Moluccos*, and other Islands, where still Idolatry continues, or the Friendship with the Devils left them by their antient Masters, when they excluded *Religion.*

them

them their Dominions, or else the *Mahometan* Fictions, which they have since imbrac'd.

This is the Principal End of keeping those Provinces; and the Revenues and Wealth which is consum'd upon them, and several others, are laid out upon the Forces, and Preparations *Spain* makes for the Preaching and Security of the Ministers of the Church. Besides, that as Times have alter'd, so they have often in *China* chang'd their Opinion, and show'd they repented their having diminish'd their Empire. No Year passes over without Threats of *Chinese* Armies; of their Listing Men; of building Ships; of their solemn consecrating, or dedicating them to their carv'd Gods, or to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which are ador'd in some Parts, begging Success in their vain Prayers against the *Spaniards*, who are possess'd of those Countries they abandon'd, thro' their own Indiscretion. This short Account of the *Chinese*, or *Sangleys*, is here inserted, for the better understanding of those Actions we shall soon treat of. They not only oppose the Truth; but tho' they are wholly addicted to their Interest, and Slaves to Gain, and tho' it be so absolutely requisite for the attaining of those Ends through their Industry and Trade, to maintain Amity with their Neighbours, yet there is nothing less to be reliy'd on than their Faith, or to give it a more proper Name, their Dissimulation. Happy those People, if when *China* withdrew its Dominion, it had also with drawn the Errors of its Worship.

Rumours of Chinese *Invasions.*

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK V.

THE Islands *Luzones*, or *Manilas*, which are both of them antient Names, having been discover'd by *Magellan*; after his Death, and various Accidents befallen his Companions, *Sebastian Cano* return'd to *Spain* in that renowned Ship, call'd the *Victory*, as it were to express her Voyage, which is not so likely as true. *Sebastian Cano*, was born in the Town of *Guetaria*, on the *Pyrenean* Mountains, as we are told by *Maffæus*, in his *Latin* History, where he extols *Cano*'s mighty Resolution, and skill in the Art of Navigation. He tells us with what Respect and Admiration all Men look'd on him, as the first that went round this Globe, which is the Habitation of Mortals. And in Truth what value shall we henceforward put upon the Fabulous *Argonauts*, *Tiphys*, *Jason*, and all other Sailers, so much celebrated by the *Greek* Eloquence, or Vanity, if compar'd with our *Cano?* He was the first Witness of the Communication of the two Seas, to whom Nature disclos'd what she had till then reserv'd for his Discovery, suffering herself to be entirely lay'd open, as a Beginning of such Bold Enterprizes of that Law which serves, and renders us Immortal.

Sebastian Cano *the first that sail'd round the World.*

Magellan being dead, the Islands *Lusones*, which ought to have inherited his Name for being his Place of Burial, as the Streight did for his discovering and passing it, in the year 1565, chang'd theirs for that of *Philippines*, tho' those of that Eastern *Archipelago* bear the same. The *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Michael de Legaspe*, sent from *New-Spain*, by the Viceroy *Don Lewis de Velasco*, with a *Spanish* Fleet arriv'd at these Islands. He first conquer'd that of *Zebu*, and its Neighbours, where he spent six Years. These Islands, as there are several Names given to divers of those Parts, are call'd *Pintados*, because then the *Indians* went naked, and their Bodies wrought and painted of several Colours. He left a Garrison there,

Islands Lusones *call'd* Philippines.

Legaspe *the first Conqueror*

Luzon *Island subdu'd.*

and went over to possess himself of *Luzon*, 150 Leagues from *Zebu*. He fought the Barbarians, who after the first Surprize, caus'd by our Arms, Ships, and Countenances, differing from theirs, was over, were encourag'd by that very Novelty. *Legaspe* ran into a Bay, four Leagues over at the Mouth, where is an Island now call'd *Marivelez*. The Bay runs thirty Leagues up to the City *Manila*, and is eight Leagues over, lying North-West, and South-East. The Inhabitants of this City oppos'd him with more Bravery than the *Pintados*; because they had Cannon, and a Fort, but as soon as they saw that taken by the *Spaniards*, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously that the Country had not time to come in; and thus he enter'd *Manila*, a Place strong by Nature. At a Point of it, which is shut in by the Waters of the Bay, a considerable River empties it self, which rises in the Great Lake call'd *Vay*, five Leagues Distant. This Point which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the Sea-coast runs away to the South South-East, and the River West, leaving a most spacious Spot for the City, which is all encompass'd with Water, except that part which lyes to the South-West. *Legaspe* then built it of Wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The Roofs he cover'd, or Thatch'd with the Leaves of *Nipa*, which is like our Sedge, or Sword-Grass, and a sufficient Fence against the Rains; but a Combustible Matter, and the occasion of Great Conflagrations, which have often hapned.

Manila *City.*

Luzon *Island described.*

Luzon is more Populous than any of the other Islands, which in Honour of King *Philip* the Second, were call'd *Philippines*, and which some affirm are in Number 11000. The Compass of *Luzon* is 350 Leagues. It runs without the Bay 100 Leagues to the Northward, as far as *New Segovia*; and from where this Province commences, which is at Cape *Bojador*, and 70 Leagues from it, turns to the Eastward, to the Promontory *del Enganno*; from thence along the Coast to the South, 80 Leagues; then turning again to that they call *Embocadero*, or the Mouth, being the Streight against the Island *Tandaya*, 40 Leagues, and this is 80 from the Bay. So that it bears the shape of a Square, and in it several Bays, and few good Harbours. It lyes in 160 Degrees Longitude, reckoned from the *Canaries*, the Southermost Part in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, and the Northermost in 19. On that Side of it lyes *China*, separated from it by the Sea 60 Leagues over; and the Islands of *Japan*, 250 Leagues distant. On the East is the Vast Ocean; on the South is the greatest of all the *Archipelagos*, divided into five, and those again rent into so many Islands, Kingdoms, and Provinces, as if Nature had resolv'd that Man should never determine their Number. The most known are the two *Javas*, our *Moluccos*, *Borneo*, and *New Guinea*. On the West of *Luzon*, at 300 Leagues, and greater Distances, lye *Malaca*, *Siam*, *Patan*, *Camboxa*, *Cochin-china*, and several other Provinces on the Continent of *Asia*. The *Chineses* forsook their Habitations in our *Philippine* Islands, but not the Trade. Neither did the Worship they had introduc'd cease, nor their Fertility. They produce plenty of Corn, and other necessary Grain; Deer, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, and Wild Boars; Fruit, and Sweets; and if any be wanting the *Chincheo Chineses* bring it, as they do Porcelane, and Silks. The Wine they use, and always drank, is drawn from the Palm, or rather *Coco* Trees, cutting off the Clusters of the Fruit they produce, when Green, and

Product, and Trade.

and taking off the Nipples of them, they gather the Water that runs from them, and Boil it in Jars, till it becomes so strong, that it makes Men drunk, in the same manner as the strongest *Spanish* Wine. Of its Natural Growth, the Island has Oranges, Lemmons, and most delicious Citrons; of *Spanish* Fruit, Figs, and Pears. There are Numerous Breeds of Sparrow-Hawks, Birds like small Herons, and Eagles, besides sundry Sorts of Parrots, and other large and small Fowl. *Birds.* In the Rivers and Lakes there are many Monstrous Crocodils, or Alligators. *Alligators.* These easily kill the *Indians*, and especially Boys, who happen unadvisedly to come where they are, and the Cattle that goes into the Water to drink. It often happens, they lay hold of their Snouts, or Noses, and draw them under Water, where they are drown'd, without being able to defend themselves; then they drag the Carcass to the Shore, and devour it. An Alligator being kill'd a whole Buffaloes Head has been found some times in the Belly, and yet in that Country they are as big as the largest Ox in *Spain*. The Alligators lay Eggs as the Tortoises do, about the bigness of Goose-Eggs, and so hard that they will scarce break, tho' struck against a Stone with main Force. They are Hatch'd by burying in the Sand, near the edge of the Water; the moisture whereof, with the Heat of the Sun forms the young Ones. There are some *Indians* so brave, that as fierce as these Creatures are, they kill them with their Hands. *How the Indians fight the Alligators.* They arm the left up to the Arm with a Glove of Buffalo's Hide. They hold in it a Stick, or small Stake, somewhat above a Foot long, and as thick as a Man's Wrist, and sharpned at both Ends, with which they go into the Water up to the Waste: The Crocodile makes up to the *Indian*, gaping to swallow him, and he holding out his Arm that is arm'd, and the Hand with the Stake in it, for the Monster to bite at, claps it across his Mouth, so that he cannot shut it, or make use of his Teeth to hurt him. The Alligator feeling the hurt of the sharp pointed Stick, is so dismayed that he neither makes resistance, nor offends, nor dares so much as move, because the least struggling gauls him. Then the *Indian* holding fast the Stake, with a Ponyard he has in his other Hand, Wounds the Creature so often about the Gills, till it bleeds to Death. Then he drags it ashore with Ropes and Noozes, many *Indians* joyning to draw, and there is need of many, considering the Bulk of those Crocodiles. They are shap'd like Lizards, but arm'd with such strong Shells, that a Musket-shot makes little Impression on them, and they are scarce to be hurt, but only about the Gills, and under their short Legs, where Nature has plac'd a sort of sweet Odour, which the *Indians* make their Advantage of. These Islands, besides the Cattel, produce all that is found in *Africk*, as Tygers, Lions, Bears, Foxes, Monkeys, Apes, Squirrels, and some of them Abundance of Civet-Cats, which are much Hunted, in order to be sent into several Countries, with other Commodities of *China*; Callicoes, Silks, Porcelane, Iron, Copper, Steel, Quick-silver, and many more Yearly Transported from those Countries. *Beasts.* *Commodities.* The Religion and Government is now the same as in *Spain*; but in those which are not yet subdu'd, they follow an Extravagant Idolatry; believing the Soul Immortal, but wandering from one Body to another, according to that ridiculous Transmigration invented or publish'd by *Pythagoras*. They are much addicted to Trade, and forwarded in it by the Commerce.

with *China*. The *Philippine* People are braver than their Neighbours; the *Spaniards* and their Breed do not degenerate from their Original.

Ronquillo's *Preparations for the* Moluccos.

An Army was now forming of all these Sorts of People, by Order of the King, to attempt recovering the Forts of the *Moluccos*. *Don Ronquillo de Pennalosa* was then Governour there; and tho' he had receiv'd some Intelligence brought him thence by Spies and Traders, yet not satisfy'd with it, he sent thither another Soldier. He disguised himself, and being like the Natives in Countenance, and speaking their Language to Perfection, got to *Tydore*. He found our People very earnest to forward that Enterprize, and that King ready to support it with all his Power. Thence he pass'd over to *Ternate*, among Merchants, where he view'd the Forts, the Shoals of the Harbours; observ'd their Correspondence with the *English*, and took notice how they Landed, and Traded in all Safety, or rather with Authority. Nor was he unacquainted with the Numbers of conceal'd Christians, who would take up Arms when a seasonable Opportunity was offer'd, or any other Particular, which belong'd to a Judicious Spy to enquire into.

The Forces sent under Sarmiento.

Hereupon *Ronquillo* gather'd about 300 *Spaniards*, and above 1500 Natives of the *Philippines*, with Ammunition, Provisions, and Seamen, and at the proper Season sent them for the *Moluccos* in three Great Ships, and a considerable Number of Small Ones. *Peter Sarmiento*, a brave and experienc'd Officer, still living in those Islands, when this was writ, went as General. He had Courage, and Force to destroy any of the Enemies that then frequented those Seas. His Majesty had some time before bestow'd the Government of *Ternate*, if it were Conquer'd, on *Paul de Lima*; and allow'd his Brother *Francis de Lima* to make two Voyages to the *Moluccos*, in Confideration of their Services, and those of *Henry* their Father. *Paul* was Marry'd to a Christian, and devout Lady, tho' a Kinswoman to the King of *Ternate*, who was not so. For this Reason, and because he had been possess'd in *Ternate*, of the ancient Inheritance of the Villages of *Guita*, *Mofaquia*, *Mofaguita*, *Pavate*, *Pelveri*, *Sansuma*, *Takane*, *Mayloa*, and *Soma*; and in the Island of *Machian* of *Sabele*, *Talapao*, *Talatoa*, *Mofabonana*, *Tabaloga*, *Tagono*, *Bobaba*, and *Molapa*; and in Regard the King of *Ternate*, had expell'd him most of them, as also of *Bitua* in *Tydore*, and several other Places, he went over to *Manila*, as a Banish'd Man, where he confer'd with the Governour, about the means of facilitating the Conquest, just before it was put in Execution. His Advice was of use, and he gave it, as one so nearly concern'd; for besides the Inheritance the King of *Ternate* wrongfully with-held from him, he hop'd to recover the Island of *Moutil*, which belong'd to his Forefathers.

Paul de Lima *rich in the* Moluccos.

Don John Ronquillo *joyn'd with* Sarmiento.

The Enterprize was farther Authoriz'd by the Presence of *Don John Ronquillo*, the Governour's Nephew, who had equal Power with *Sarmiento*, both by Sea and Land. If any thing was wanting, they thought the Defect would easily be supply'd by the Valour of the Soldiers, the Celerity of the Passage, and the Enemies Surprize; but the divided Command was an Obstacle to their Hopes.

Spaniards *arrive at and take* Moutil.

The Weather prov'd not very cross, yet neither was it so favourable, as that they could come directly to anchor at *Ternate*, as would have been most convenient to deceive the Watchfulness of the Enemy. They arriv'd at *Moutil*, and fought a Parcel of *Janguas* in Sight of Land; which were

were taken, and the Christians in them set at Liberty. *Paul de Lima* being well acquainted with the Bays, and there being no sufficient Force in the Island to withstand a Fleet, it easily submitted, when attack'd in several Parts. The Natives came out with Palm, Citron, and Clove-Tree Branches, in Token of Peace, and to beg Pardon. Both were granted, and *Paul de Lima* appointed their Lord, tho' his New Dominion turn'd to little Account, for within a few Days, all the People slipp'd away, either because they thought themselves safer at *Ternate*, or to meet the Enemy, who of Necessity must carry the War over into that Island, as it happen'd. Here *Sarmiento* refitted the Ships, and being over-joy'd with this Success, obtain'd without the Loss of one Man, arriv'd at *Talangame*, passing amidst the Enemies *Carcoas*, which they had fitted out in a Hurry. The King expected him long before in the Fort, well furnish'd with our Cannon, particularly the Bastion they had enlarg'd, and call'd *Cachil Tulo*, from the King's Uncle, who made it, and these Preparations seem'd to threaten any Disaster. Our Men landed on that Side, and were oppos'd by the *Ternates*; but Night put an End to the Fight, and both Parties retiring to their Fastnesses, our Cannon was landed, and planted in the Place, and after such Manner as *Paul de Lima* directed, and ever since he commanded it in the Fort of *Tydore*. The King of this Island was willing to joyn our Camp, as had appear'd by some of his Actions, and his Promises to the Ensign *Duennas*; but he mistrusted the Fortune of the *Spaniards*, as if he had not had sufficient Experience of it. The Opportunity and Fidelity now invited him, and yet he forbore; his Doubtfulness is thought to have been prejudicial to the Success. *Sarmiento* having planted his Cannon, intrench'd himself, and taking some Prisoners, of whom he learn'd what Provisions and Amunition the Besieged had, began to press on, and batter them furiously; yet they were not discourag'd, but answer'd boldly. It was found convenient to possess the upper Grounds, which over-looking the Place, tho' they have been since levell'd, our Men much incommoded the Enemy, and had they continu'd it, that would have put an End to the War. However there was so much Sickness in the Camp, that no Remedy was found against it, but going off so to save themselves for a more favourable Season. The Succours which came as Duties from *Tydore*, were very inconsiderable; the Allies were cold, and all Things weak; what other Causes there were Heaven knows. It is likely there were some of more Moment, for in short the Army broke up, and reimbark'd for *Manila*, without doing any thing but adding to the Enemies Resolution.

Sarmiento in Ternate.

King of Tydore *dubious.*

Fort of Ternate *batter'd.*

The Siege raised.

At that Time, only the *English* Nation disturb'd the *Spanish* Sovereignty in those Eastern Parts; for this Reason, King *Philip* was desirous, not only for the present to curb them by Force of Arms, but to make them an Example to all other Nations, that they might not spread themselves abroad to attempt such Invasions, as we are Eye-Witnesses to. This Work was undertaken in the Year 1588, but first happen'd what we are now to relate. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, after a tedious Imprisonment, beheaded *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*, for some Politick Reasons, or Fictions. The then King of *Scotland*, and since of *England* also, Son to the Martyr, arm'd his People, strengthen'd his Garrisons, and invaded the Dominions of the Enemy, who had caus'd him to be Motherless; and more

State of Affairs in Europe.

more particularly the Marches about the River *Tweed*, and those of *Annandale*, water'd by the River *Solway*. The Queen call'd Home the Earl of *Leicester*, who was in *Holland*, appointed him General, and War broke out in all those Northern Provinces, with apprehensions of greater to ensue.

Queen Elizabeth's Practices.

After many Events, which do not belong to this Place, Queen *Elizabeth* strengthned her Alliance with the *Dutch*, encouraging those Provinces to persist in their Disobedience to the Church, and to King *Philip*, and advising them, since the King had forbid them trading in all the Rest of his Dominions, to go over into *India*, there to raise Commotions, and rob him of the Spice. The more safely to compass her Designs, she supported the *Flemmings* Obstinacy, flattering herself with the Hopes of a new Monarchy, for the acquiring whereof, she propos'd to make use of the Wealth yearly brought from the North and South Seas, for *Spain*, the Robbing of which had already made an Addition to her Power; as also of the Factories erected for Trade in the *Moluccos*, *Banda*, *Sumatra*, *Ceylon*, and the two *Javas*; where she kept Garrisons, in order to convert the Friendship into Sovereignty.

King Philip's mighty Fleet.

King *Philip*, whose great Soul ever entertain'd both Forbearance, and Counsel, resolv'd to cut off the Heads of this *Hydra* at the Neck they all sprung from. He gather'd, for the Conquest of *England*, the mightiest Fleet that has been seen on the Ocean in our Days. Twenty Thousand fighting Men were put aboard tall Ships, besides 9000 Sailors, with 1730 Pieces of Cannon, Abundance of Ammunition, and Pikes and Fire-Arms for the Catholicks, who it was hop'd, as soon as they saw the *Spanish* Colours, would joyn our Army.

And Army against England.

Don Alonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and was to joyn the Prince of *Parma*, then Governour of *Flanders*, who had Commission to raise another Army of 30000 Horse and Foot, with the Necessary Provisions and Ammunition, which he was to transport at a fit Season to that Point of *England*, where the *Thames* falls into the Sea, to march thence to *London*, and there Arm the Catholicks. But it was first requisite to beat the *English* at Sea, where they were then powerful, and well acquainted with the proper Times to sail and keep at Home. At the least they were to be terrify'd, that they might not dare to obstruct the Passage of the Troops, the Prince of *Parma* had in readiness at *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, or hinder their embarking, when the *Spanish* Fleet should come thither to wait them over. this Fleet sail'd from *Lisbon* on the 29th of *May*, 1588, and as soon as out suffer'd much by the Weather, so that three Gallies were cast away, on the Coast of *Bayonne*. Abundance of the Powder blew up; and the General was oblig'd to return to *Corunna*, to refit; whence he could not get out till the 2d of *July*.

They suffer by Storms.

Arrive at the Lizard.

Being come into 48 Degrees of Latitude, he sent away *Don Lewis de Guzman* to give Advice to the Prince of *Parma*, and on the last of the same Month arriv'd himself at the *Lizard*, in *Cornwall*, where he lay by, and was certainly inform'd, that all the Enemy's Ships, being fifty in number, lay in *Plymouth*. The *English* Admiral at Break of Day discover'd ours, and tho' he wanted neither Strength, nor Experience in Sea Affairs, he resolved to draw off and avoid ingaging, but his Ships being lighter incommoded us in the Rear. In the Catholick Fleet, a great Ship of *Guipuscoa*

Spanish Ship taken.

blew

blew up, and another of *Andaluzia* ſpent her Main-Maſt, in which Diſtreſs, two *Engliſh* Ships attacking her, and thoſe afterwards ſeconded by others, in one of which Sir *Francis Drake* was, they took her. There *Don Pedro de Valdes*, a *Spaniſh* Commander of known Valour, and then Lieutenant General, was made Priſoner, with whom they ſent to *Plymouth*, a great Quantity of Crown Pieces, and fifty Great Guns. About 400 *Spaniards* were kill'd, and taken. On the 2*d* and 4*th* of *Auguſt*, the Lord *Howard*, and *Drake* joyn'd their Squadrons, ſome write they had an hundred Sail, all well Mann'd, and light, with which they infeſted ours, which were heavy, and encumber'd, particularly the *Portugueſe* Galleon, call'd the *S. John*, being the greateſt in the Fleet, and in it were *John Martinez de Recalde*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Marques *de la Favara*, and other Commanders of Note. However they got to the Iſle of *Wight*, whence the Duke ſent away two Meſſengers to the Prince of *Parma*, who was then at *Bruſſels*, deſiring he would furniſh him with Powder and Ball, for the Defence of the Fleet, and imbark what Troops he had ready. But he, either prevented by invincible Obſtacles, or for other Reaſons, which have left that Princes Reputation expos'd to Cenſures, mov'd ſo ſlowly, that what had been ſo maturely concerted took no Effect. The Enemy boaſting, that the Sea and Winds had fought againſt us, in Vindication, as they ſaid of their Cauſe, made publick Rejoycings, firing their Cannon; and ſoon after the Queen put forth a Proclamation to the ſame Effect, againſt which a certain *Engliſh* Religious Man writ learnedly, by the Name of *Andrew Philopator*.

Diſappointment of the Fleet

The *Dutch* who were in Confederacy with Queen *Elizabeth*, ſeeing this Succeſs, were encourag'd to aſpire to greater Matters, renouncing their Religion, and their Sovereign, attempting to uſurp the Treaſures of the East, Mines, Spice, Drugs, and Silks, as appears by their bold Voyages, wherein they have endeavour'd to follow the freſh Examples of the *Engliſh*, and the ancient ſet them by *Columbus*, *Albuquerque*, *Magellan*, *Gama*, and *Cortes*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But, both they and the *Engliſh*, if they try the Juſtice of their Cauſe by the Succeſs of that Fleet, muſt be oblig'd to prefer the Cauſe of the Gentiles, when God for his Secret Judgments permitted his own choſen People to be over-thrown. Deſtruction is more glorious than Proſperity; and a religious Soul will rather chuſe to be caſt down than Victorious, if an angry God is to give it the Victory.

The Dutch *aſpire.*

After this *Santiago de Vera* govern'd the *Philippine* Iſlands, and by ſpecial Order, arm'd againſt *Ternate*, where the *Engliſh* from that Time traded with all poſſible Security. All Nations had ſettled Factories except the *Javaneſes* and *Laſcarines*. Above 2500 *Mahometans* from *Mecca* preach'd their Abominations. They fear'd nothing from *Portugal*, all their Apprehenſion was from the *Spaniards*, who were newly ingag'd to ſeek Revenge. The King of *Ternate* well knew that *Sarmiento* and *Ronquillo* would have taken it, had not Diſeaſes prevented them. When the News of freſh Preparations came to *Tydore*, it was carry'd over by Spies to *Ternate*. That King preſently call'd together his Subjects, eſpecially the Iſlanders of *Machian* and *Homer*, who came in 40 *Carcoas*, becauſe their Iſlands were very populous. The Number had been greater, but that the King would not ſuffer more to be fitted out than he demanded, for he could not conceal his Fear that they would rebel, thoſe Parts being full of Chriſtians,

Another Expedition from the Philippines.

King of Ternate *prepares.*

stians, and the Taxes he laid on the People intolerable. *Santiago de Vera* appointed *John Morones* General, who wanted not for Conduct, nor his Men for Valour, nor the Fleet for Cannon and Ammunition. But whether Natural Ambition, or any other Accident was the Occasion of it, there were such Divisions among them, that they had sufficient Grounds to mistrust the Event, before they left *Manila*. They set sail with fair Weather, and pass'd the greatest Dangers of the Sea, and when they thought themselves safest, all the Elements seem'd to conspire against the Fleet. They lost the Light, and their Reckning, the Vessels were shatter'd, and the greatest of them sunk, and all the Men lost. This was the Galleon *S. Hellen*, which carry'd the Guns to batter the Fort, and many other Necessaries and Stores. For all this, they insisted upon proceeding, and the King of *Bachian* assisted them with what Forces he had rais'd, under Colour of clearing the Sea of some Enemies; and being a Christian baptiz'd, lamented his departing from our holy Faith, on Account of Persecution, and promis'd the Restitution of his Soul.

Spanish Fleet loses a great Galleon.

Spanish General refuses the best Advice

The Weather growing calm, when they were in Sight of *Ternate*, the *Carcoas* durst not stand them, but fled at the first Discharges, which they can do without receiving any Damage. Therefore the two Kings, and *Paul de Lima*, advis'd to fall on in several Places. *Ferdinand Boto Machado*, Captain of a Galleon, was of the same Opinion; but the General suspecting the former, on Account of his Affinity, and the latter for the Friendship he had lately contracted with the King of *Tydore*, whom he was not well satisfy'd with, would not follow their Advice; alledging, That it was not convenient, by dividing the Forces, to weaken them more than the Storm had done. He laid Siege to the Fort, but the Besieged being acquainted with the Condition of our Troops, oppos'd all their Assaults courageously, and scoff'd and laugh'd at the insignificant Batteries. However our Men, whom the Storms had depriv'd of Necessaries for that Work, vented their Spleen upon the *Javanese*. These valu'd themselves upon sallying out to Skirmish, being distinguishable by their Arms, and manner of drawing up. The *Spaniards* handled them so roughly, that they did little more during the War. Some Months were spent in Fruitless Attempts, and if they had attack'd the Country, but a Culverine-Shot short of the Fort, at the Bay of *Limathao*, and march'd thence to attack the Fort behind, as the most understanding desir'd, it had been of good Consequence. But the General *Morones*, putting all upon Experience without Forecast, was satisfy'd with fronting next the Sea, doing much Harm, which was caus'd by that first, and obstinate manner of attacking; and that gave Way for Succours to go into the Natives, at other landing Places, tho' thirty Men at a small Distance might have prevented it. This both the Kings maintain'd, whose Valour, which ought to be commended even in Enemies, if our General had pleas'd, might have given Success to this Undertaking. Besides that experience has shown that fifty *Spaniards* have done as much upon Occasion, as whole *Roman* Legions well arm'd and disciplin'd.

Besieges the Fort of Ternate.

Morones now perceiving that neither his Arms, nor his Proposals had any effect upon the Rebels, he resolv'd to pass over some of his Men against the other Fort, which, tho' seated on a Ground of difficult Access, seem'd to be pregnable, because built in Haste, a League from the former on a steep Hill.

Sends some Men to the other Fort.

Hill. On the Land Side of it is the Mountain, and on the Back a Lake, and is of no use, because it does not defend the City, which is open, and is only regarded for being near the old Fort. Our Men went on chearfully, and the Defendants receiv'd them as well firing their Cannon, which gave a Check to the *Spanish* Fury. Those in the other Fort, tho' they made little use of Fire-Arms, being compell'd by Necessity, ventur'd to sally out to the Shore. To draw them to this Resolution, some of our Men on a sudden set Fire to the *Junks*, in which a great Number of *Javanese Indians* had come thither. The Vessels, which were old blaz'd up, without any Obstruction from those who guarded them, but they referr'd the Remedy to their Weapons. They were in all about 3000 fighting Men, 1000 of them had Muskets, whereof 200 were expert at them; the rest neither Pikes, nor Lances, nor any other long sort of Arms, but only those they call *Toranas*, about a Fathom in Length, like Darts, and some like Arrows, which they cast by main Strength, with Canes and Strings, wherewith they unexpectedly wound unarm'd Men in Fight; because they fly not out of a Bow, but are thrown strait forward, or over their Heads. Others had only their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and Shields. Many of them fought the more obstinately, confiding in their Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces, bought of the *Portugueses*; but as soon as they clos'd with our Men, they broke their Order, and lost Courage. This Accident prov'd a very great Obstacle, because it diverted our Men from their double Design of pressing both Forts at the same Time, so that the very Commanders were forc'd to ingage. *Morones* knew how to behave himself upon all Occasions, and the *Spaniards* made such a Slaughter, that almost all the *Javaneses* lay upon the Spot. Those in the Forts had not the Courage to fall in upon the Rear, tho' they pour'd a Volley upon the Forces of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, but with little Harm. This Victory was not gain'd without Effusion of Blood, yet they took Heart to hope for one more compleat, at the Arrival of the Galeon from *India*, and believ'd that Addition of Strength would make amends for what they lost in the Storm.

Javanese Ships burnt

Bloody Victory gain'd by the Spaniards.

The Galeon arriv'd at *Tydore*, better provided to carry on the Trade, than the War. For this Reason, and because many of our Men were Sick, or Wounded, *Morones* was oblig'd to raise the Siege, and dismist those Kings, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of *Spanish* Commodities, some Horses and Silks. It was since known that tho' the *Ternates* will endure much Hardship, they were then so near press'd, that Hunger must have subdu'd them, could our Men have stay'd a little longer. They embark'd in Sight of the Enemy, who presently appear'd in the Field rejoycing, with Musick, and other Tokens of Victory. The *Asiatick* Traders resorted to their Ports, and others from *Europe*, but particularly their new Friends the *English*, with whom they communicated the Joy of their Success.

The Siege rais'd.

They never made a good use of Peace and Quietness at *Ternate*, as soon as that was now restor'd, the King was again at Variance with his Unkles; which Fortune so improv'd as to furnish an Opportunity that might have been advantageous to our Designs, had not she thwarted it. *Cachil Mandraca* was the noblest of Sultan *Aerio*'s Sons, as born of the Queen they call *Putriz*, which is the Chief. His Father would have had him succeed in the Throne, but was disgusted at a Boldness which does not use to be mis-

Notable Practices.

lik'd among Politicians. *Cachil Mandraxa* was desperately in love with *Filola*, his Niece, Daughter to the King his Brother; and that Princes did not refuse her Unkles Courtship. The Father one Day found them talking together, in the Apartment reserv'd only for himself; and tho' he was satisfied their Conversation was within the Bounds of Decency, took such an Aversion, that he depriv'd him of the Succession. The illegitimate Nephew Reign'd, against the Will of all the Unkles, who were near conspiring to kill him; but the subtle King knew how to disappoint their Designs, and secure himself without discovering the Contrivance. He call'd *Cachil Mandraxa* to him, and repeating all past Distates, told him, how desirous he was to remove all manner of Jealousies by a perfect Reconciliation, which he thought might be done by means of the Princess *Filola*, and since there was such a good Correspondence between them, all the Rest would be easie. However before he gave her to him to Wife, he must reflect that she was promis'd to the King of *Tydore*, to whom he was not willing to administer fresh Causes of War, or to be the Occasion of interrupting that short Tranquility they enjoy'd. That since all they discours'd there would remain in their Breasts, he would have him to take his Advice. *Mandraxa* was beside himself, with that unexpected Satisfaction, and yet had he been truly Master of himself, he might easily have seen thro' the Fraud of that pleasing Change in his Condition, wherein he found the King so much his Friend, who but just before had been his Enemy. He thank'd him for the Favour, and putting his whole Dependance on the Words of his Mouth, desir'd he would give him the Advice he spoke of. The King answer'd, *I have contriv'd a Way, which will satisfie you, and the King of* Tydore *will have no Cause to complain. For the attaining of both these Ends, I will keep Council, as is requisite, and do you any Night steal away the Princess, the Way you shall best like, so it be with Regard to my Reputation, and in all Respects giving such outward Tokens, that all Men may believe it was open Violence, and no Contrivance, or at least known to me. I, on my Side, will pretend to be very Angry, and will complain of the Injury as loudly as is requisite to satisfie the World of my Innocence. For why should I, Unkle, wish for the Felicities of this World, but to make them common to our Family? I will retain the Cares of the Crown, and do you enjoy the Satisfaction the Kingdom affords.* *Mandraxa* could not forbear Weeping for Joy, he fell down at his Nephew's Feet and kiss'd them, without disguizing any thing of his Passion, yet suppressing the Joy of his new Hopes, the best he could, he found Means to acquaint the Princess, and to appoint the Hour, Place, and Confidents for exposing herself to be stolen away.

Subtilty of the King of Ternate.

His crafty Words.

Cachal Maudraxa *steals the Princess* Filola.

To this Purpose they pitch'd upon a Garden, which looks out upon the Sea, adorn'd with its Natural Trees, whence the Ships are seen, and among them, on the Day prefix'd they spy'd a *Carcoa*, with all the Men that Row'd curiously dress'd and they and the Soldiers wearing Garlands, plainly show'd the Design of their Voyage, tho' they row'd without the Musick they use to have at other Times. *Mandraxa* and a small but brave Number of his Friends landed as silently, and they after the manner of *Talasio*, and the ancient *Romans*, when they forc'd away the *Sabine* Women, laid Hold of *Filola* and the Rest, and run them aboard with all possible Speed, conveying them to a strong Place in the Island, where having fortify'd himself,

like

like a Soldier, *Mandraxa* devote himself to Love. Fame the utter Enemy to Secrecy divulg'd the Fact, and convey'd it over to the King of *Tydore*'s Ears, with the King of *Ternate*'s Complaints. He magnify'd the Affront, and every Man spoke of it, according to his own Notion. The King who had contriv'd it, and by whose Breath all the Machines of that Tragedy were mov'd assembled the prime Men of his Kingdom, most of them Enemies to the deluded *Mandraxa*, and ask'd their Assistance and Advice in so notorious a Violence, and pretending extraordinary Concern. They all Voted to a Man, that it was absolutely necessary to make such an Example as might deter others from the like. When the Consultation was over, the King dispatch'd Messengers to his Unkle, intreating him to repair to Court to stop all Mouths by fair Means, and appease the Neighbouring Princes. *Cachil Mandraxa* made no difficulty to obey, as well knowing that none of his Actions had been contrary to the King's Orders. Only the Princess advis'd the Contrary; for tho' young, as little above 20 years of Age, she was better acquainted with her Brother, and well knew he never kept his Faith, particularly with his own Family, and that he could not have any Kindness for them as being jealous of the Crown. *Mandraxa* made no Account of all that, but went to Court, and enter'd the Palace attended by his Family, and relying on the King's Promise, but more especially on the secret Mystery of that Affair, known only to them two, Unkle and Nephew. When he came to kiss the King's Hand, he looking as stern as if he had not advis'd the stealing of the Princess, said he knew not what Course to take upon so notorious an Affront offer'd to his Crown and Palace, but to cut off his Head. *Mandraxa* thinking at first that had been all Counterfeit, and according to what had been agreed between them, when he perceiv'd it was barefac'd falsehood, would have spoke loud in Defence of his Innocence; but was not permitted, and the King making a Sign to a Sturdy Black he had prepar'd for that Action, he drew his Cymiter, and hew'd him down barbarously. The poor Prince fell, without being reliev'd by any Man; for at that Time his Brothers *Cachil Tulo*, and *Cachil Sufur* were not at *Ternate*, the former being Governor, the latter Admiral. Nor did they come to *Ternate* in a long Time after, tho' they took Care to protect the Widdow Princess, who was left with Child, and afterwards brought forth *Cachil Amida*, who dy'd Young.

Base falsehood of the King.

He murders Mandraxa.

The whole Truth of this Matter was soon known, with all its Particulars, and Circumstances; and the *Cachiles* conferring together, *Tulo* resolv'd to go over to the Service of King *Philip*, to which Purpose, when *Duarte Pereyra* was Commander in Chief at *Tydore*, he went thither to treat with him, and with *Antony de Matos*, who went first for the same End to *Bachian*; but forasmuch as what was concerted among them, will better appear by the Letter *Cachil Tulo* sent from *Tydore* to the Governour *Santiago de Vera*, we will here insert it, translatad from the *Malaye* Language, by the King's *Naguatatos*, so they there call the Interpreters.

The King's Unkles conspire against him.

Cachil Tulo's *Letter to the Governor of the* Philippines.

Cachil Babu, *my Brother, late King of* Ternate, *writ to the King of* Portugal, *to desire he would do him Justice, upon a Man, who murder'd to the Go- his Father and mine; upon receiving which Satisfaction, he would again deliver the Fort of* Ternate *to his Majesty, it being then out of his Possession. His*

His present Majesty succeeding in the Throne of Portugal, *answer'd my Brother's Letter, by* Cachil Naique, *his Embassador; but when he return'd my Brother was dead, which was the Reason we did not then deliver up the Fort, because a Bastard Son had succeeded him, being proclaim'd King by the People of* Ternate, *with the Assistance of the King of* Tydore, *tho' he had no Right to it. He would not perform what his Father had promis'd, and he was oblig'd to; nor follow the Advice given him by me, and by my Brother* Cachil Mandraxa, *the rightful Heir of the Crown; which was that he should deliver up the Fort, as his Father had promis'd, to the* Portuguese; *and this, not because he could not defend himself against them, and his Majesty; but expresly because his Father, and my Brother had so order'd; for we did not suppose it could be taken from us by Force of Arms; but we knew it was his Will to serve his Majesty, by delivering up the Fort to him. He finding we persisted in this Opinion, resolv'd to murder my Brother, and his own Unkle, the true Heir of the Crown, cutting him in Pieces, by the Hands of a Slave, when he came upon his Word, and had his Security and mine. Wherefore considering the Injustice of my Nephew upon this Occasion, and that he will not perform what his Father, my Brother and I promised to his Majesty, I am resolv'd from this Time forward, to become his Majesty's sincere Subject and Servant. And I do by these Presents, oblige my self, and swear by my Law, as I did swear; and do not depart from it, to the Father Vicar* Antony Ferreyra, *to give all my Help and Assistance, towards the taking of the Fort, with all my Kindred and Friends, till it shall be in the Possession of his Majesty's Commander, or whosoever shall come with the* Portugueses, *or* Spaniards *that attend him; upon Condition, that the Commander, or Commanders, shall, in his Majesty's Name, perform what* Duarte Pereyra, *the Commander in chief promis'd me and sign'd for him, I having given him a Counterpart; which is, that I shall be proclaim'd King of* Ternate, *as soon as Possession is taken of the Fort for his Majesty; both in regard it belongs to me in Right of my Father, and of the Service I now do, and hereafter hope to do his Majesty. I therefore beg it as a Favour of your Lordship, and require you in his Majesty's Name, that you take Care to send the greatest Number of Men you possibly can, and with the greatest Expedition; to the End that this my Intention, and Will to serve his Majesty herein may be effectual, which I hope will be without the Expence of Lives; notwithstanding the Fort is well fortify'd, as your Lordship may have been inform'd. The Commander in chief, will write to your Lordship, what Season and Order those Forces are to observe. Given at* Tydore, *to which Place I am come to this Intent, as will be testify'd by the Father Vicar* Antony Ferreyra, *and the Judge* Antony de Matos, *whom, as Persons of such Note, I desir'd to sign for me.* May *the* 23d.

Nunno Pereyra's Perswasions to the same Governour.

At the Bottom of the Letter, the Vicar and *Matos* certify'd his Hand and Subscription. With this came another very long one, wherein *Duarte Pereyra* gives the Governour a more ample Account of what is here deliver'd briefly, representing to him the Opportunity offer'd in forcible Terms. He tells him that *Mandraxa* a little before his Death, had propos'd the same thing to him, that his Brother *Tulo* now did; and that they were desirous to fulfill what they promis'd *Nunno Pereyra*. That the Island

Iſland of *Machian*, the moſt fruitful in Clove, Eſpous'd the Party that was againſt the King. That they could no longer endure their Oppreſſion. He perſwaded him to Arm 400 *Spaniards*, if they were come from *Mexico*, and to Ship them off for the Expedition upon *Ternate*, giving out, that they were going to clear thoſe Seas from *Javaneſes*, whoſe Friendſhip the People of *Ternate* value more than they do ours. That beſides the good Succeſs he expected by the Help of thoſe Forces, they would at leaſt ſecure thoſe Ports againſt the *Engliſh*, the People of *Ternate* having always a Fleet in Readineſs. That the Enterprize might ſucceed with Fifteen Frigates, and one Galeon, provided they went to ſtay a Year at the *Moluccos*, and brought a Number of *Philippine* Pioneers. He ſays, the *Javaneſe* Ships are leſs than the Frigats, and there are Forty Soldiers in each of them, who lye Aboard Eight Months, and live a Year upon 300 Buſhels of Rice. That in Caſe the Frigates could not hold the Men, they ſhould bring ſome Junks, which are neceſſary Veſſels to Tranſport Proviſions from the Iſlands of *Burro* and *Bachian*. He complains of the King of *Tydore*'s ill Behaviour, and his Avarice; of *Sancho de Vaſconcelos*, and *James de Azambuja*, who built the Fort of *Tydore* in an ill place. He commends the King of *Bachian*, and ſays he in private lives like a Chriſtian. Among theſe Things he intermixes many more, all of them tending to perſwade the Expedition of *Ternate*, to blot out the laſt Diſgrace, without any Expence to the King, through *Cachil Tulo*'s Contrivance.

The Projects for executing the Deſign.

The Governour receiv'd this Diſpatch, and he would willingly have put it in Execution immediately; but as it went on ſlowly, and the Death of *Cachil Tulo* happened in the mean while, it was requiſite to delay the Deſign, and attend to the Preſervation of the *Philippine* Iſlands, againſt the Machinations of the *Chineſes* and *Japoneſes*, againſt whoſe Robberies and Burnings they are never ſecure. Each of theſe Attempts haraſs'd the Province with the Expence of Treaſure, and Power, ſo that there was a neceſſity of breathing to recover both. It was thought the moſt proper Advice to joyn from the *Philippines* and *Malaca*, with equal Force, coming from both Parts to Arm in the *Moluccos*, which was the Boundary of both Provinces. This took Effect ſome Years after, Captain *Andrew Furtado* coming from *Malaca*, of whoſe Actions it will be proper to begin to ſpeak to give a Reputation to his Perſon.

Andrew Furtado *his Actions.*

Andrew Furtado de Mendoza might have Ennobled his Family, had it not been of antient Quality. He was the Terror of thoſe Eaſtern Parts, where he ſerv'd the King ever ſince the Year 1576, ſubduing Barbarous Nations. In the Year 1587 he was Governour of the Fort of *Rachol*, till he came to have that of *Malaca*. Whilſt he was in the firſt, ſome Villages of Gentiles roſe up againſt the Miniſters of the Church, diſturbing Chriſtianity with Warlike Diſorders. *Furtado* pacify'd them with Severity, and his Authority. In 1591 *Furtado* was Commander of the *Portugueſe* Soldiery in that *Archipelago*, and was very earneſt to employ them in the Recovery of *Ternate*; but was hinder'd by other Wars, which he concluded Victoriouſly. In *Auguſt* that ſame Year, he was inform'd that Eighteen Galeons had put out of *Cunnal*, Commanded by *Cutumaza*, aſſiſted by *Raju*, with a Deſign to Beſiege the Fort of *Ceylon*. This *Cutumaza* had the Year before Burnt a Ship of ours, Sailing for *China*, and made diſmal

dismal Havock on the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Furtado* went out in Search of the Enemies Fleet, and by the way reliev'd the Fort of *Ceylon*; and on the Coast of *Malabar* he met three Ships Bound from *Mecca* for *Cunnal*. He fought them, and Sunk two, the Sea running so high, that the Vessels which Row'd could not attack them. The other after a long Dispute yielded to him. This Victory was a sufficient Revenge for the Burning of our Ships. Continual War is maintain'd in these Parts, which Neighbour upon *Malaca*; and that in *Ceylon* never ceases, contrary to the Advice of Persons that are well acquainted with *India*; because the best Product of that Island being the Cinnamon, a Commodity of less Durance than the Mace, Clove and Pepper, they look upon almost all the expence laid upon *Ceylon*, as good as thrown away. Besides that the greatest Commanders are employ'd in suppressing the continual Rebellions of those most inconstant People, without stretching out, at least as far as the *Moluccos*, by their Absence encouraging their Tyranny, and giving Opportunity to Nations that are our Enemies to fix themselves in our Forts.

Ceylon *describ'd.*

Ceylon is one of the most Remarkable Islands in the World, and the most fruitful. It lies opposite to Cape *Comorin*, Nobly Inhabited, and cultivated. In it grow all Plants, known in all other Parts of the World, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cinnamon, and the most Excellent call'd *Mosyllion* grows in this Island. Here is Wild and Garden Fruit, *Spanish* Figs, and Grapes, and the best Oranges in all *Asia*. There are whole Woods of mighty Palm-Trees. The Variety of Flowers, would take up much Time to describe it; as also of Grain known to us, Wheat, Rice, and Flax, of which and their Cotton, they make wonderful Webs. It has all sorts of Precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Steel, Tin, Iron, and Seed Pearl. Several Christaline Rivers, and Fountains moisten it, with delightful and Medicinal Waters, of Excellent Qualities. And among the rest there are Springs of Liquid Bitumen, thicker than our Oyl, and some of pure Balsam. There are Burning Mountains continually blazing, and casting out Clods of Brimstone among the Crags of the Hills; where there are Groves of Tall Trees, on whose Branches are to be seen all sorts of Birds that fly in other Parts of the World, and among them our Turkys, Wild Hens, and Pidgeons. It abounds in Deer, Wild-Boars, Tygers, Lions, and Elephants of so Noble a Kind, that all others submit to them. Those that are bred in this Island have such an Extraordinary Natural Instinct, that it verifies what *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Athenæus*, *Ælian*, *Pliny*, and others, who have Writ Natural History testifie, and is, that whether it proceeds from Knowledge, or Habit, they partake of the Wit, Sense, and even of the Prudence of Men. We are told they have so much Sense of Honour, that they will not go Aboard a Ship, if they imagine they are carry'd to serve Princes in strange Countries, and that they obey, if their Owners swear they will bring them back to their own. That they are concern'd at abusive Words given them. That they pay a sort of Religious Respect to the Sun and Moon. That they remember such Things as they conceive; and *Gellius* perswades us we may believe, that at Night they bewail their Servitude with doleful Complaints; and if any Man happens to come near in the Height of their Lamentation, they with shame suppress their Sighs;

Product.

Birds.

Beasts.

Elephants.

and

and in short, they seem sensible of the Iniquity of their Fate. In this Country it is their Part to load and unload Ships, the Weight of Commerce, whether Arms, Metals, Provisions, or other Commodities whatsoever hanging on their Teeth, or lying on their Necks. They are more willing to carry Arm'd Men on their Backs, in great Castles built to that purpose. They serve the *Chingalas*, not as they did in *Rome* at publick Shows, but in Battel, as they did the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards the *Romans*. The People of *Ceylon* believe their Country is the Terrestrial Paradise. They call the Top of a certain Mountain *Adam's Point*, and on it, they say, is to be seen the Print of his Foot, and that there he did Pennance. Upon this Belief, the *Jogues*, who are penitent Pilgrims, visit that Point, where they affirm there grows a thick Tree, of an indifferent Height, with small rough Leaves, of a dusty Colour, the Bark Ash-colour'd, which in the Night shines, and dispells Darkness. Under Colour of this Superstition, all the Gangs of strowling Players or Actors, come out of this Island, and travel throughout all *India*, representing their Fables, with odd Gestures, and Dancing to little Flat Tabors, Bag-pipes, and Rattles of small Bells. Abundance of Pearls are found about it. The Gold and other Metals are kept untouch'd in the Mines, by publick Law, and yet notwithstanding this Precaution, they are not free from War and Oppression. The Natives are call'd *Chingalas*, and resemble the *Malabars* in Customs and Countenances. They have broad Noses, but are not so black, and go naked, but not to immodesty. Formerly they had but one King, who was dispossess'd by Force, and Treachery, and the Kingdom divided among many. Division having thus weaken'd them, a Barbarian, call'd *Raju*, tyrannically expell'd the King's the Island; one of whom was by the Magnificence of the Kings of *Portugal* bred at *Goa*.

Opinion that Paradise *is in* Ceylon.

Strange Tree.

Players.

King's expell'd.

Raju was a subtle Soldier, and jealous even of those that supported him. He had some Years before, besieg'd the Fort of *Columbo*, with a great Body of Foot, Elephants and Horse. *Andrew Furtado* being in search of the Enemies Fleet, in Profecution of his Revenge for the Ships lost, to relieve the Fort of *Columbo*, doubled Cape *Comorin*, thro' the Streight of *Ceylon*, at the Time when it is usually most difficult and dangerous for Tall Ships, much more for such Vessels as use Oars. He came to the Fort so opportunely, that had he stay'd never so little longer it had been lost, for most of the Garrison had mutiny'd against their Commander in Chief *Simon de Brito* who was wounded by them with two Musket Balls. *Raju* was marching with all Expedition by Land to *Columbo* for fear of slipping the Opportunity offer'd him of taking Possession of it. *Cutumuza* lay with all his Fleet in the River *Cordiva*, distant from the Fort ready to attack it by Sea, when *Raju* fell on by Land. *Furtado* was before-hand with him, and getting in, dispos'd all Things for its Defence. He quell'd the Mutiny, punish'd the Ring-leaders, satisfy'd such as had just Cause of Complaint or had been wrong'd, and with all possible Speed went out to find *Cunale's* Fleet. Nor was he disappointed, for the Enemy did not offer to fly, but met him, with his Ships drawn up in good Order, and after Cannonading, they laid one another aboard, where there was an obstinate Fight on both Sides, till *Cunnale's* Navy was defeated. *Furtado* took 14 Galeons, with all their Artillery, and Men, besides Abundance kill'd. The Admi-

Furtado relieves Columbo.

Beats the Indian *Fleet.*

ral

ral fled with only four Ships of 18 he had, and made to *Raju's* Country. This Victory was sufficient Satisfaction for the Damage receiv'd by that rebellious Fleet, the ill Success whereof discourag'd *Raju* from coming to besiege *Columbo*, so that he retir'd and dismiss'd his Army.

Not long after, *Furtado* was inform'd by his Spyes, that the King of *Jasanapatan* had concluded a League with *Raju*, pressing him to return to the Siege of *Columbo*, whilst he did the same to *Mana*. That his Presumption might not want such Punishment, as became the Honour of the Crown of *Portugal*, and the Reputation of its Grandeur, which is more prevalent in those Parts than Force, *Furtado* gathering what Power he could, with all possible Celerity attack'd that King. He was not unprovided, but drawing up without the Walls of that City, offer'd him Battel, his Men, Elephants and Horses covering spacious Fields. *Furtado* playing both Parts of a Commander, and a Soldier, drew up his Forces, encourag'd them in few Words; and both Sides coming to the Charge exercis'd their Force and Fury; but at Length the King's Troops were routed, and he slain entering the City, in which abundance of Brass Cannon was found, besides the Plunder, which was considerable. He took Possession of it, and seizing the Forts and Garrisons, carry'd on the War there in such Manner, that the whole Kingdom seeing such severe Execution, and feeling it so heavily within its Bowels, submitted to the King of *Spain*. By his Authority, when the Sword was put up, he appointed a Kinsman of the late King, to whom of Right it belonged, to reign in *Jasanapatan*, he having been taken in the last Battel. He caus'd him to swear and plight his Faith, that he would be a perpetual Vassal to his Majesty; imposing on him the Payment of a yearly Tribute, which still subsists. The Writings containing this Settlement were sent by him into *Spain*, where and at *Goa*, all that had been done was approv'd of by the Viceroy, and the Conqueror, who had concluded it so happily, highly applauded.

Routs him, and subdues his Kingdom.

Ternate the Cause of Rebellions.

He next Strengthned the Fort of *Columbo*, with Four Ships of his Fleet, and 100 Soldiers; and Supply'd *Cosme de la Feta* with Eighty Men, under Two Captains, to prosecute the Affair of *Candia*, which was committed to him, and sorted good effect. No Rebellion broke out in those Parts, but what was either supported by *Ternate*, or proceeded from its Example, and great Celerity was requisite in the Commanders for suppressing of it.

Coast of Pearl Fishery Rebells, and is reduc'd.

At this same Time all the Coast of the Pearl Fishery rebell'd, and among other sudden Destruction usually made by Seditious Men in Arms, the Subjects of *Virapanaique* burnt Twenty five Christian Churches. *Furtado* made all possible speed to chastize them before the Rebellion grew to a Head. The Mutineers not being well Strengthned, sent Embassadors to him, begging Peace, and colouring their Guilt with Excuses, which *Furtado* admitted of because it was convenient for his Majesties Service; upon Condition they should make good all the Damages occasion'd by their Revolt. He commanded them to rebuil'd the Churches they had destroy'd, and to grant the Society of the *Jesuits*, who had then the Charge of the Christians in that Country, all the Liberties and Immunities demanded by those then residing there; taking sufficient Hostages for the Performance.

These

These and other no less notable Actions, he perform'd in the space of four Months; but as Envy seldom fails to oppose Valour, when he came to *Cochin*, and was there ready to set out for the Conquest of the *Moluccos*, and particularly of *Ternate*, he received Letters from the Viceroy, *Matthias de Albuquerque* commanding him to deliver up the Fleet to *Nunno Vello Pereyra*. He obey'd, and when he came to *Goa*, was Imprisoned, and put to Trouble. As soon as it was in his Power, he resolv'd to depart *India*, and remove himself from the ill-will of those he thought were not his Friends; but the City of *Goa* conjur'd him not to forsake it, and in vain endeavour'd to procure a Reconciliation betwixt those Commanders. This happened in the Year 1592, when, and some Years after, *Ternate* might have been reliev'd, as *Furtado* desir'd, had not the Animosities reigning obstructed it. However they were so far from employing him, that, tho' *Furtado* several times Offer'd himself, with his own Ships, and at his proper Cost, where there was such Necessity of suppressing *Cunnale*, yet he was as often Rejected, and that Victory envy'd him, which afterwards he had granted by Heaven, as we shall see in its Place.

Furtado *ill us'd would depart India.*

At this Time *Santiago de Vera* was discharged of his Command of the *Philippine* Islands. He had signified his Intentions to *Andrew Furtado*, and received his Answer, That he would comply with his Desires; but Fortune disappointed these good Beginnings, embroiling *Furtado* with those who did not love him, and removing *Santiago* from his Government. His Successor was *Gomez Perez de las Marinnas*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or St. *James* the Apostle, a Person of high Reputation, born at *Betanzos*, in the Kingdom of *Galicia*. He arriv'd at the *Philippines* in the Year 1590, and brought with him his Son *Don Lewis*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*. The new Governor found *Manila* open, without any Form of a City, and without Wealth to Improve it. Above 200000 Pieces of Eight were wanting for this Purpose; yet he compass'd the Work by Projects, and Contrivance without any Dammage to the Publick, or to private Persons. He Monopoliz'd the Cards; he laid Penalties on excessive Gaming, and punish'd such as Foresal'd the Markets, and on Victuallers, and other Retailers of that Sort that were guilty of Frauds; with these Fines he built the Walls of *Manila*, which are 12849 Geometrical Foot in Compass, each Foot being the third part of a Yard. He apply'd himself diligently to this Work, and the Inhabitants attended it, being willing to forward it on Account of the Intreaties and Example of their Chief. The City had but one Fort, and that ill built, wherefore he Erected another at the Mouth of the River, calling it *Santiago*, and enclosed the old one. He finish'd the Cathedral, and built from the Ground the Church of St. *Potenciana*, Patroness of the Island, for Women that have retir'd from the World. Then he apply'd himself to casting, and brought able Artists, who furnish'd the Place with heavy and small Cannon; built Galleys to Cruize and Trade, whereon depends the Welfare of those Countries; and pursuant to what he had promis'd in *Spain*, bent his Thoughts towards *Ternate*, and all the *Moluccos*; reflected on the Disreputation of the unfortunate Expeditions of his Predecessors, who attempted the Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom, and how he might punish those who Tyranniz'd in it.

Gomez Perez *Governor of the* Philippines.

He Walls Manila; *Builds Forts, &c.*

He imparted his Thoughts by Word of Mouth, and by Letters to Zealous

His first Steps for recovery of the Moluccos.

Persons, and more particularly to *F. Marta*, a Priest of the Society of *Jesus*, and a grave and active Man, whose Experience and Doctrine had been very Advantageous in those Parts. This Religious Man furnish'd him with Intelligence, Advice, and proper Ministers to prepare and carry on the Work; one of whom was Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, a *Spaniard*, and Lay-Brother of the said Society. Among the many Conferences there were to this Effect, I find an Exhortation of *F. Antony Marta*, in a Letter he writ to the Governor from *Tydore*, which, because it is an Original, and conducing for the better Understanding of this Affair, I will here insert, translated out of the *Portuguese*. Grant me this Liberty, since the Speeches which are generally Fabulous, pretended to be made by Generals and Consuls, in the Greek and Latin Histories, are allow'd of. *F. Antony Marta* says thus;

F. Merta's *Letter, of the State of the* Moluccos.

In fine, your Lordship is resolv'd to undertake this Expedition. You will have a spacious Field for dilating the Glory of God very much, and rendering your Name famous to Perpetuity. By it your Lordship will acquire to his Majesty a most Large and Wealthy Kingdom, since all this Archipelago *of the* Moluccos *and* Amboina, *as far as* Banda, *which is above* 130 *Leagues in Length, and* 70 *in Breadth, is an inexhaustible Source of Clove, Nutmeg, and Mace, which will afford his Majesty a Yearly Income of* 200000 *Crusados*, which is about 27000 Pounds Sterling, then a considerable Sum, *in* India *alone*; *besides that of other Islands, which produce no Clove. Nor will it require any Expence, because the Country it self will freely afford it on its very Mountains*; *and what is yet much more, your Lordship will gain above* 200000 *Souls to God, all which, in a short time, after subduing the Kingdom, will become Christians, without any, or with very little Opposition*; *whereby your Lordship will have a burning Flambeau in this World, to light and conduct you to Heaven. Besides, you will magnify and perpetuate your Name, with a Title nothing inferior to those of the ancient* Roman *Generals, such as those of* Germanicus, Africanus, *and the like. It is not now requisite to touch upon the Method your Lordship is to observe for compassing this Enterprize, to your eternal Praise*; *for, as we understand, there is no want of Experience with you for Warlike Affairs*; *Yet if your Lordship should be any way Dubious,* Jerome de Azevedo *is able to inform you of such things as you shall desire to know. He is well acquainted with the Strength of the* Moluccos, *and of their Enemies. However I would have your Lordship look upon this War as considerable and difficult, because it is very convenient to come well Provided, and Resolv'd. You are not to Fight with the* Ternates *alone, but with all the* Moors *of this* Archipelago. *Hitherto the Fort of* Amboina *had to do with the* Ternates, *that are at* Veranula, *and this of* Tydore *with those in the Island* Ternate; *but now of late we are to fight with those of the Islands of* Banda *and of* Seram. *All the* Moors *in those Parts Assembled last year, and Resolv'd, That for the future the War should be carry'd on under the Name of their Religion. And for the more Security, and better Establishing of this Point, they chose those of* Banda *for Chiefs of their Law*; *and took an Oath to lay down their Lives, or expell the* Portugueses. *Accordingly the last Year, those of* Banda *came with the* Ternates *of* Veranula, *with a great number of* Carcoas, *to Besiege the Fort of* Amboyna; *and in the Engagement they had with us, took one of the two* Galiots *we brought from* Goa, *tho' it was not their Valour, but our Negligence that*

League of the Mahometans.

Fort of Amboyna *Besieg'd.*

that occasion'd the making of that Prize. It plainly appear'd, that our Lord did it to punish our Pride. This so far Encouraged them, that they durst afterwards daily Cruize in sight of the Fort, took the Fishermen that went out in the Morning to follow their Trade, and laid a Ground some Carcoas *on the Shore. They erected a Mosque opposite to the Fort, as in a safe Place, and thus they kept the Fort Besieged with Contempt, for the space of a Month. At the end thereof, the Galley going out, with one Galiot we had left, made them fly, every one to his own Country, giving out, and threatning, That they would Return the next Year with a greater Fleet, which will be about* September. *We are certainly assured that the People of* Banda, *left* 50 *of their prime Men at* Amboyna, *as Hostages for the performance of their Engagement. This is also known by a Man of our own, who fled from* Banda, *having been carry'd thither Prisoner from* Amboyna. *We are informed, that* 25 *Carcoas would set out, so many being Launch'd, and they were to Sail after their Lent, which is at the End of this Month of* July, *and to joyn the* Seyrves, *and the rest of the Confederates, in order to return again before the Fort of* Amboyna. *If they come with such a Force, I am very suspitious that the Fort will be lost; because the Enemies method is to take in all the Towns that are Subject to it; and when this is left alone, wanting the Support of its Neighbours, it must of necessity Surrender.* Antony Perez, *the Governor of that Fort, is a Man of Courage, and well Fortified; and yet there are Circumstances to be consider'd, some of them very Difficult; as that the Enemies are Numerous, and there will come some Confederates with them, who are fit for any piece of Treachery; besides, that they cannot be Reliev'd from any Part whatsoever, for the full space of five Months, that is till the beginning of* January *next. We cannot but apprehend some great Mischief will happen; for supposing they do not take the Fort, still this War is Dangerous, as being Universal, with all the* Moors; *stirr'd up by means of the* Caciques; *Concerted under solemn Oaths; and Declar'd to be Religious, with full Remission of Sins to all that Die in it. There is no want of Fomenters, and those* Caciques *of Note, and great Authority among the* Moors, *in* Banda, Amboyna, Ternate, *and* Tydore. *These Men urge their Religion, and the Honour of* Mahomet, *and by that means manage the People as they please; as I have found by Experience this Year, and in this War we had at* Amboyna, *in which I was. For formerly the* Moors *were soon weary of being at Sea, and when any Man of Note happened to be kill'd in Fight, they presently retir'd, looking upon it as an ill Omen. Now they continue all the seasonable Months at Sea, without flinching; tho' the* Portugueses *slew* 150 *of their Men, and among them their Admiral, and others of the prime Commanders they had in their Fleet. To this must be added, That this is a general Conspiracy of all the* Moors *against us; insomuch, that two who were our Friends, and had Assisted us several times, with their Fleets, against the* Ternates, *being those of the Island* Burro, *these being summoned by the Commander to Sail with him in the Navy, as they had done at other times, did not only refuse it now, but would not so much as receive the Message, or suffer him that carry'd it to Land. The* Tydores *did the same, for the Commander of* Amboyna *demanding Assistance of them, they would not go, alledging that their Fort was in as much Danger. And the King of* Tydore *being inform'd of your Lordships coming,*

General Conspiracy against Christians.

his Subjects declare before hand, and perhaps at the Instigation of their King, That they will have no Spaniards *in these Parts; which makes us look about, where they will raise* Moors *to Destroy us. Therefore all Delays, in this Affair, will be very dangerous; because we are Inferior to the* Moors, *and must of Necessity Fight them, since it is for Religion, and Honour, on both which Accounts they are become our mortal Enemies. By this your Lordship will understand what need we are in of your Succour and Relief; and may compute how many are to draw their Swords against you, since they are all our Enemies in general, and have Conspir'd against us. However, it will be Discretion first to Dissemble with the* Tydores, *that they may not joyn the* Ternates, *and by that means render the War more tedious and difficult. I do not speak to all the rest in particular, according to my Notion, because I refer it to* Jerome de Azevedo, *who will give a very good Account. But let this be Established as a Maxim, That your Lordship has a mighty Enterprize in Hand; and I trust in God he will give you Wisdom, and Strength to go through it with Ease; since you come to Revenge the Injuries formerly, and now offered by these Barbarians, to God and his Saints. For we know that the* Ternates *still drink out of the consecrated Chalices, and make use of the Patent to Offer, or Receive any thing, as on profane Salvers; and of the Vestments, and Ornaments of Altars, they make Cloaths, and Hangings for their Houses. The People of* Banda, *most of them, wear Ornaments of the Blood of above* 3000 *Christians, they Treacherously Murder'd, at several times, in their Ports, as they went thither to Trade with them; and in that Island, and part of the Sea, there are Streams of* Spanish *and* Portuguese *Blood running. Your Lordship came to spread the Catholick Faith, and that you may the better conceive what* Jerome de Azevedo *will say to you touching this Affair, I send you by him a Draught of all this* Archipelago, *as well of the* Moluccos, *as of* Amboyna, *and* Banda. *In it your Lordship will see what a large Kingdom we loose, when it might be recover'd with little Cost. It only remains, That your Lordship come, with all possible Expedition, because the greatest Danger is in Delay; and when you are here you will find brave Commanders, who will assist you with their Swords and their Advice. Among them is* Sanheo de Vasconcelos, *who was Commander at* Amboyna, *has often fought with these Infidels, and obtain'd signal Victories over them. Here is also* Thomas de Sousa, *Commander of* Molucco, *and of most Southern Parts, a Man expert in Martial Affairs. In* Tydore *and* Amboyna, *you will also find brave Soldiers, and there will not want to Pay them, for the Riches of the Country will be sufficent for that, and to satisfy them with Gold, precious Stones, and other Booty; besides you will find many sorts of Arms. We Religious Men daily offer up our Prayers, and will so continue to do with Fervour; and tho' the Unworthiness of the Ministers might be a Hinderance, yet we hope they will prove Advantageous.*

F. Marta *tresses for Relief.*

Irreverences to Religion.

Good Officers and Soldiers.

Gomez Perez *prepares.*

The Governour receiv'd this Letter; which, with the Discourse he had more at large with *Jerome de Azevedo*, made him put the last Hand to a Work of so much Importance to the Service of the Christian Commonwealth, which had been neglected in those Parts. *Gaspar Gomez* had conferr'd with him long before, and by his Means, and the Accounts of other knowing Persons, the Governor was so well acquainted with the Kingdoms, and Seas, the Seasons and Dangers of the Undertaking, that he had no great need of *F. Marta's*

ta's Map. He dispatch'd *Gaspar Gomez*, a Man of Secrecy and Activity, trusting him with the Design, because he was recommended by several grave Fathers of that Order. He gave him particular Instructions, with which, and his own Experience, he wander'd about the *Archipelago*, and learnt as much as was convenient. He visited *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Mindanao*, both the *Javas*, and scarce omitted any Place, as far as the Point of *Malaca*, but what he took a View of. Gaspar Gomez *sent as a Spy.*

In the Year 1593, King *Philip* the 2d bestow'd the Government of *Cartagena*, in *America*, upon *Don Pedro Bravo de Acunna*. To take this Employ, he quitted that he had in the *Spanish* Galleys; he was Captain of the Admiral Galley, and Vice-Admiral of them all, under the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Castile*, his Kinsman. He had serv'd his Majesty many Years by Sea and Land, in the *Mediterranean*. No Action of Note was perform'd without him, since the Expedition of *Navarino* against the *Turks*, and the others that ensu'd in those Parts, in *Naples*, in *Portugal*, and all those that occur'd before, till his Majesty was put in Possession of that Crown. Lastly, When he commanded the *Spanish* Galleys he fought those of the *Moors* and *Turks*, with the Galiots, and Brigantines of the *Levant*, and *English* Ships, and took and sunk several of both Sorts. He took a great Number of Slaves in *Barbary*; particularly at *Zangazon*, *Benegicar*, and *Alcazar*. He defended *Cadiz* from the Invasion, and Rapine of *Drake*, the *English* Admiral, who attempted it with a mighty Fleet. This was done by only four Galleys, but two of which were clean, yet the Bravery of the Commander made amends for all. How great an Action this was, and what Reputation *Don Pedro* gain'd by it, appear'd afterwards, when the *English* again possess'd themselves of *Cadiz*, at the Time that all the Galleys in *Spain* were in the Bay, and the Fleet then preparing to sail to the *Indies*. In each of these Actions, most whereof were victorious, there are many remarkable Particulars, and they all deserve large Encomiums; but since they do not belong to the Subject of this History, it would be blameable to insert them here. D. Pedro de Acuna *Governor of* Cartagena. *His brave Actions.*

The King for these Reasons constituted *Don Pedro de Acunna*, his Captain General, in the Province of *Cartagena* and *Tierra Firme*, and Commander of the Galleys on that Coast; which Commissions had never before been united in that Government. He gave him a Galley, and Orders to receive the Royal Fifths of the Pearl-Fishery, at the Island *Margarita*. He set out from the Port of *Sanlucar*, on the 27th of *September*, in a Pink, with 12 Soldiers, some Religious Men, and his Servants, the Galley, and another Ship following. The Winds soon rose, and the Sea swell'd, and the Vessels were dispers'd. In one of them there were 20 Soldiers, and 40 Slaves at the Oar, this was so far drove away, that they saw it no more, till five Days after they came to *Cartagena*. The Storm ceas'd, and *Don Pedro* arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, but would not go into the City. He took in two hundred Cask of Water. The Governour *Don Lewis de la Cueva* was not in the Island; but it being known in his Family that *Don Pedro* was come, they sent to welcome him. The Visit was follow'd by some Horses loaded with Abundance of Fowl, Game, Sheep, Wine, Pears, and most stately Quinces, besides Abundance of other Provisions. He sail'd thence with a favourable Wind, which soon turn'd against him, and tho' he was ar enough off, drove back the Ships in Sight of *Teneriffe*. After being toss'd about for *His Voyage*

some

some Days, there happened such a tedious Calm between two Islands, as made Amends for the Violence of the Storms, and yet he had others afterwards as violent as those before. Many Days after, when they had lost their reckning, they arriv'd at the Island *Metalinon*, inhabited by unconquered *Indians*, where they took in Water without Opposition, for the Rest of the Voyage. Thence he had fair Weather to the Island *Margarita*. As soon as he landed in the Harbour, *Don John Sarmiento de Villandrando*, the Governour of the Island came to meet him, having hourly expected him, since he knew he was to come. The rejoycing, and Entertainment was such as became Friends, and Friends of that Quality.

An English *Ship near the Island* Margarita

An *English* Ship of above four hundred Tun Burthen, with thirty Pieces of Cannon of five thousand Weight each, and Abundance of Men, had been 30 days in a Harbour but two Leagues from the Island *Margarita*. *Don John Sarmiento* telling *Don Pedro*, what Insolences that Ship committed, and how much to his Disreputation she oppress'd the Islanders under his Government, desir'd he might attack her with his Galley. *Don Pedro* perswaded him to desist from that Enterprize, since it did not belong to him, and it was an unpardonable Fault to attack her, without an equal Force. *Don John* persisted so long, that he carry'd it against *Don Pedro*'s Opinion. They made to the Place where the Ship lay, passing by dangerous Rocks, and being come in Sight of it, perceiv'd it was stronger, and better provided than they had been told. Our Men, in Order to fight, turn'd out all the Women, most of them Wives to those that came in the Galleys. Twenty Soldiers came from the Island *Margarita*, by their Governours Order, who being ship'd they appear'd by Break of Day in Sight of the Enemy. The Wind then blowing fresh *Don Pedro* advising with the Natives of the Island *Margarita* and their Governour told them, it was requisite to expect a Calm, in Order to take the Ship, since the Galley could wait for it under Shelter, without any Danger. The Islanders being provok'd by the Dammage they had receiv'd, and to flatter *Don John Sarmiento*, answer'd, That they had two of the Prime Men of that Ship Prisoners in the City, by whose Account they were inform'd of the Distress she was in, and that she must surrender, as soon as attack'd. This Opinion being bandy'd about with Obstinacy, came to be Positiveness in Don *John*. *Don Pedro* looking upon it as such, and concerned to see his Friend engag'd in such a Piece of Madness, with those Hot, but unexperienc'd Men, said to them, By my long Experience in several Seas, I know it is the worst of Conduct to attack a Ship, when she has the Wind; but let us fall on; that the People of the Island *Margarita* may not have it to say that I deferr'd engaging out of Fear, and not out of Discretion. This said, he order'd his Galley to weigh Anchor. He arm'd himself, and *Don John*, and just as the Sun appear'd they attack'd the Ship with Fury and Violence. The *English* were not backward; they speedily cut the Cables of three Anchors they had out, and leaving them in the Sea, set their Sails. The Wind was fair and soon fill'd them. The Men were brisk and ply'd their Cannon without ceasing. Our Galley did the same, and fir'd five Shot, before it receiv'd any Harm. Then she ran her Beak against the Poop of the Ship, but could not grapple, nor board. Some Men went down to the Boats which were tow'd by the Ship, and cut the Ropes. The Ship, and Galley fell a firing again, without Intermission.

The Islanders oblige Don Pedro *to Fight her.*

The Engagement.

Don

Don Pedro receiv'd a Muſquet Shot on his Target, which glancing off broke in Pieces a Board of the Stern Lockers, and wounded thoſe that were next it. A Cannon Ball took off the Head of one of our Slaves, and ſcatter'd his Brains in *Don Pedro's* Face; but another Ball touch'd him nearer, when it threw *Don John Sarmiento* into the Sea, who being ſunk by the Weight of his Armour, was never ſeen again. Fourteen Soldiers of the Iſland *Margarita*, and nine Spaniards were kill'd, and many wounded, of all whom *Don Pedro* took Care, without neglecting the other Duties of a Commander. Some Perſons of Note were alſo kill'd, as *Alonſo de Anduxar*, a Youth about twenty Years of Age, of the Order of Chriſt, and *Antonio Santiſo*, who had been a Captain in *Flanders*. The Ship holding on her Courſe, made the beſt of the fair Wind, and was ſeen to fly, as if ſhe had been victorious; tho' ſhe threw many dead Bodies over Board, in Sight of our Men. *Don Pedro* return'd to the Iſland *Margarita*, lamenting the Death of his Friend, and his Wifes Widow-Hood, amidſt the Tears of other Widows, and Fathers left Childleſs. He comforted the afflicted the beſt he could, received the King's Boxes of Peals, and went on much griev'd at the Event, and to ſee how little his Precaution had avail'd.

Don Pedro had a proſperous Paſſage thence, to the Iſland *Curazao*, to *Rio de la Hacha*, and ſo in Sight of *Cartagena*. Being deſcry'd from the City the Galleys went out to meet him, whoſe Muſick and Guns, with thoſe of the Fort made a Mixture of Harmony and Noiſe. He enter'd upon the Government and immediately took a View of the Galleys, Warlike Preparations being of the greateſt Conſequence in thoſe Parts. He found them ſhatter'd, and almoſt gone to Ruin, refitted one, and furniſh'd another with Slaves, and all other Neceſſaries. All things were before in ſuch Diſorder, and Confuſion, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Galley Slaves and the Soldiers, the former going about as free, and gay as the latter. He blam'd this Liberty, and order'd the Heads and Beards of the Slaves to be ſhav'd, and that they ſhould be chain'd. Next he took in hand the Diviſions, Manners, and civil Government of the City, and there was ſoon a Reformation of Abuſes, and publick Crimes, all this he perform'd by his Valour, and Example. He alſo review'd the Horſe and Foot; repair'd the Fortifications; attended all Martial Affairs; had his Gates always open to decide Controverſies, without Diſtinction of Perſons; and tho' he had here conſiderable Opportunities offer'd him, and much Matter to diſcover his Capacity, and the Greatneſs of his Soul, yet he found in himſelf greater Hopes and Deſires, above what was preſent, and exciting him to advance farther, and to make known to the World that generous Reſtleſſneſs, which was afterwards ſerviceable to the Church, by reſtoring its former Honour, in the remoteſt Provinces.

Don Pedro *at* Cartagena.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK VI.

Gomez Perez builds four Galleys, and makes Slaves wrongfully

IN the mean while *Gomez Perez*, still carrying on his Preparations, conceal'd the Design, without sparing any charge for Shipping, Provisions, or Men. Among other Necessaries, he built four choice Galleys, and for the manning of them, took a Method which was look'd upon as severe. He Order'd, That as many *Indians* who were Slaves to other *Indians* of Quality, as would serve to Man the Galleys, should be bought up, and Paid for by the *Spaniards*, who were Proprietors, out of their own Money, setting the Price of each Slave at two *Taes* in Gold, each *Tae* being little above an Ounce, which was the Price Slaves had in former Times been valu'd at among them. He promis'd, that the Proprietors should afterwards be Refunded what they laid out, from the Kings Revenue. Yet this did not seem to mollify the Rigour of the Order; because he improperly call'd those *Indians* Slaves, for their Lords use and love them like Children, set them at their own Tables, and Marry them to their Daughters; besides that, Slaves then were worth more Money. The Concern of those that were to be Sold, was attended by that of the Proprietors, who were to contribute out of their Estates, to defray Charges they look'd upon as not very Necessary, and to Disgust their Vassals, by taking them away forcibly, being never likely to recover the Money they laid down, which they were well assur'd of. The Governour gave out, That those Galleys were to secure the Country, and defend it from the Danger that threatned; because he knew the Emperor of *Japan* was coming to Invade it, with a numerous Fleet; and that it could not be Defended without Galleys, and therefore it was absolutely Necessary to Man them with Slaves, since they had no others to Row. That these were not to be Fetter'd in the Galleys, nor Treated like Slaves, but so kindly used, that they themselves should prefer their Entertainment, before that of their Lords, whom they look'd upon as Parents, or Fathers-in-Law.

Taes *of Gold their Value.*

Discontent in the Philippines.

The Governors excuses.

These

These Allegations, and the absolute Necessity of defending themselves, silenc'd both Parties; but could not stop the Mouth of Fame, for it was already known, what Engagements he made before he came from *Spain*, to the King, the Ministers, the Kindred, and Fomenters of the Expedition of *Ternate*, so that whatsoever he conceal'd, was divulg'd by uncertain Authors. However some advis'd him not to rely on the *Chineses*, or *Sangleyes* for the Defence of the *Philippines*; because no natural or civil Tye had ever gain'd, or attracted their Affection towards them. That he ought to remember the fresh Instance of what they did, when his Predecessor employ'd them, and consequently should be watchful over them. That he sending a Supply of Men, Ammunitions and Provisions to the Fort and Town of *Cagayan*, which is on the Coast of that Island of *Luzon*, 80 Leagues from the City *Manila*, and there being then no Ship to send it in, Necessity pressing, he thought he might relieve that Want, by making use of one of the *Chinese* Ships that were then at Anchor in the Harbour, and clear'd in Order to return to *China*. He commanded the Supply to be put aboard her, and the *Chineses* to carry, and in the Way, to land it where he directed, since it was no let to their Voyage; promising to requite and gratify them for that Service. They undertook it with extraordinary Tokens of good Will; but their Artifice appear'd by the Event, and show'd how Men that are upon the Watch, improve Opportunities. The *Chineses* set sail, and the second Day after, when the *Spaniards* were asleep, as believing themselves safe among trusty Friends, they fell upon them so unexpectedly, that they had not Time to stand upon their Guard, but were all murder'd and cast into the Sea. They plunder'd all they carry'd, and dividing the Spoil, sail'd for their own Country. They only sav'd one unhappy *Spanish* Woman, that went with our Men, and took her along with them. They spar'd her Life, but after having insolently abus'd her, they set her ashore, in a Sea-Port Town of the first Part of *China* they made. She presently had Recourse to the Magistrates, whom she acquainted with the Villany those Men had committed, and the Wrongs they had done her; but tho' favourably heard by those Judges, she had no Satisfaction for her Wrongs, nor could she obtain Justice. However they appointed Officers to carry her up the Country, remitting her to other Supream Magistrates. In this Journey, which was many Leagues, she endur'd more than she had done before, till some of the Governours taking Compassion on her and her Tears, carry'd her to the City of *Macao*, where the *Portugueses* reside, and set her at Liberty. Thus the whole Matter came to be known, and it was at *Manila* in the Mouths of all Men, who now magnify'd it, upon Occasion of the New Enterprize.

The Design against the Moluccos takes Air.

Falshood of the Chineses.

Spanish *Woman abandon'd in* China.

In short, all the Slaves demanded by the Governour *Gomez Perez*, were raised with much Trouble and Oppression, and in the same Manner they were put into the Galleys, where they continu'd some Time before they departed, and many of them dy'd, as not being us'd to that sort of Life. All those Slaves were not sufficient to Man the Galleys, and the Admiral Galley remain'd without Rowers. This, and the Necessity of finishing the Work produc'd a more rigorous Practice than the former. The Governour order'd that 250 of the *Chineses*, who resort to the *Philippines* to

Chineses *put into the Galleys.*

Trade, should be taken to Man the Admiral Galley, and each of them to be allow'd two Pieces of Eight a Month, out of the King's Revenue. He assur'd them, they should not be chain'd, but at Liberty, and with their Arms, to serve as Soldiers; and that they should only row in the Galleys when there was any Calm, and to weather some Capes. The *Chineses* being acquainted by their *Chinese* Governour with this Resolution, positively refus'd it, as an intolerable Burden. But our Governour pressing to bring about his Design, the *Chinese* assembled his People, to treat about the Affair, and contrive how 250 might be chosen out from among them all, threatning that he would take every Tenth Man out of their Houses. These Words provok'd them to such a Degree, that the next Day they shut up the very Windows of their Houses, and the Traders their Shops, and stopp'd the Provisions which run through their Hands. Our Governour seeing this Proceeding, and alledging that they mutiny'd, caus'd about 50 of those that came next to hand, to be seiz'd, and put to the Oar in the Galley. The others terrify'd by this Action, met, and drew from among them all, the 250, and because no Man would be of that Number, they divided 20000 Pieces of Eight among those that would comply, and gave every *Chinese* that would go in the Galley 80 Pieces of Eight, besides the King's Pay. By Means of this good Encouragement, there was no Want of *Chineses* that listed themselves to row, but the 20000 Pieces of Eight were consum'd among them, or rather among the Officers. These 250 *Chineses* were form'd into five Companies, under five *Chinese* Christian Captains, who pass'd Musters and Reviews, with Pikes and *Catanes*, which differ little from Cymiters, and expres's'd Joy and Satisfaction.

F. Caspar Gomez *brings Intelligence.*

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came to *Manila*, full of Intelligence, whereof he gave the Governour an Account, at several private Conferences. He said, the King of *Ternate*'s Affairs were in no ill Posture; tho' somewhat weak'ned, by not agreeing with the Prime Men of his Kingdom; and that many of them threatned, they would Rebel, on Account of his Tyranny, and because he rais'd intolerable Taxes. That then, neither the *Javaneses*, nor the *Lascarines*, nor the *Moors* of *Mecca* frequented *Ternate*, as they had done at the Time when Captain *Morones* arriv'd there, under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*. He gave very particular Information concerning the two Forts of *Talangame*.

Strength of Ternate.

That the King of *Ternate* had then about 3000 common Soldiers, 1000 Musquetiers, and a great Number from his other Kingdoms. That they fought with Darts, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and Shields; and others had Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces they got from the *Portugueses*, in exchange for Spice. That they had Abundance of Ammunition, all of their own making, of the Materials the *Javaneses* brought to barter for Clove. That the Principal Place was the City *Ternate*, where the King and all his Court reside, and therefore it is best secur'd, and from thence all others are supply'd, supported, and encourag'd.

How to be attack'd.

He advis'd that our Men should assault it before Break of Day; because all Attacks made upon those People in the Morning Watch had been successful. That, if our Fleet came unexpected, it would certainly succeed; but that the said King had his Spies spread abroad in almost all those Islands, as

as far as those of *Canela*, *Sarrangan* and *Mindanao*. That a good Number of Brass Sakers, and other great Guns might be brought in the *Carcoas*, from the Fort of *Amboyna*, and the Kings of *Sian*, and *Tydore*. That the People of *Amboyna* would send them upon Command, those of *Sian* and *Tydore*, upon very small Intreaty; because besides their owning the Crown of *Spain*, they are Enemies to *Ternate*. That the necessary Preparation for finishing the War, even in case the King of *Tydore* should fail, and it might be suspected he would not willingly see his Enemy utterly destroy'd, consisted in Artillery and Shipping, which was ready, and above 1200 Soldiers well arm'd, with their Coats of Mail and Head-Pieces, till they went over to the Island of *Banda*, to put in the necessary Garrison there. That there should be a Number of Light Vessels to take the Enemy flying; for by that Means the War would be quite concluded in a short Time, and without Bloodshed. That even the Malecontent *Ternates* declar'd, and publish'd as much, and own'd, that if a considerable Number of Fighting Men should come into their Country, they would all come in and submit without striking Stroke. Hence he inferr'd, that there were conceal'd Christians in the *Molucco* Islands. That the Conquest of the whole Island of *Banda*, was very advantageous and profitable, and not hazardous, and that the Neighbourhood of *Amboyna*, which was ours, would be of great Consequence for maintaining it. He further affirm'd, That the *Portugueses* very much facilitated the Enterprize, and magnify'd the great Benefit it would be to his Majesty; and that *F. Antony Marta*, of whom the Governour had so great a Conceit, was of the same Opinion. Brother *Gaspar Gomez* added so many Circumstances to these particular Accounts, that he wholly inflam'd the Governour's Heart.

Light Vessels of good Use.

At this Time, *Landara*, King of *Camboxa*, sent the Governour an Embassy by two *Spanish* Commanders, attended by many of his Subjects, with such Splendor as the Occasion of it requir'd. That barbarous King thought fit his Embassadors should not be natural born Subjects, because of the Occasion his People had given him to suspect their Fidelity. He chose them of Different Conditions, to the End that such Variety, the Diversity of Inclinations, and Opposition, might produce the better Effect. The one of them was a *Portuguese*, his Name *James Veloso*, the other a *Spaniard*, *Blas Ruyz de Fernan Gonzalez*. They brought *Gomez Perez* a Magnificent Present, a great Quantity of *Ivory*, *Benjamin*, *China* Ware, Pieces of Silk and Cotton, and an *Elephant* of a generous Temper, as afterwards appear'd by Experience. They deliver'd their Embassy, the Purport whereof was, to desire Succour against the King of *Sian*, who was marching against him of *Camboxa*, with a numerous Army; offering in Return for his Assistance to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace Christianity. That the King concluded, that so brave and gallant a Gentleman as *Gomez Perez*, would not on Account of any other Diversion refuse to perform an Action, which must redound so much to the Glory of God, and the Advantage of the Crown of *Spain*. The Governour receiv'd the Present, making a Return with another of some *European* Curiosities; and by way of Answer, thank'd that King for the Confidence he had seem'd to place in him; but that, for the Present, he could not possibly afford the Succours, nor divert those Forces, which he was getting ready, to punish the King

King of Camboxa *sends* Spaniards *Embassadors to the Governour.*

Their Present.

Subject of their Embassy.

The Answer.

of *Ternate*, and recover that Kingdom, and the rest of the *Moluccos*, which had Rebell'd, so much to the Dishonour of the *Spanish* Nation. That his Highness should place his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and persevere in the Design of serving him in his Holy and True Religion, and as soon as the Expedition of *Ternate* was over, he would convert his Forces to the Relief of *Camboxa*. The Embassadors were dismiss'd with these Hopes, which the Governours Son, *Don Lewis de las Marinas*, afterwards made good; and to give them entire Satisfaction, and justify the Delay, it was found necessary to make Publick the true Design of that Fleet, which till then had been kept secret.

Mighty Preparations against Ternate.

The Governour, in fine, resolv'd to set forward, and endeavour'd to take along with him all the Men he could get. All were listed that could be prevail'd upon either by Force or Intreaties. The Proprietors and Soldiers were extravagantly expensive, upon the Ships, Provisions, and Gallantry; and the *Philipines* being well furnish'd with all Things, they did more than had been imagin'd, or could be in the Governour's Power. He sent his Son *Don Lewis*, with all the Soldiers that were in Pay, to the Island of *Zebu*, where the Fleet was to rendevous, and there he continued six Months, waiting for new Orders. *Gomez Perez* stay'd at *Manila*, ordering Matters of great Moment. Two Days before his Departure, being invited by, and supping in the House of *Peter de Rojas*, his Lieutenant,

Prediction of ill Success.

where diverting himself with Gaming, and much Pleasure, he grew so merry, contrary to his Custom, and the Harshness of his Temper, that many interpreted it as a good Omen of his Success. He said in Discourse, that *F. Vincent*, of the Order of St. *Francis*, had told him, the Enterprize could not succeed, because the Army was made up of Men that were carry'd away by Force, and particularly the marry'd Men were so. He departed *Manila* on the 17th of *October*, with six Royal Galleys, one Galleon, one small Vessel call'd a *Foist*, one little Frigot, and several other Frigots, Carcoas, and Bireyes, which are another Sort of

The Fleet sets out.

Vessels of the Natives; all which, being part the King's, and part belonging to Subjects, who offer'd to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes, amounted to an hundred. There were a Thousand *Spaniards* well arm'd; above four hundred Musquetiers of the Territory of *Manila*; a thousand more of those they call *Visaias*, Men arm'd with Lances, Shields,

Its Force.

Bows and Arrows, and above four hundred *Chineses*, of those that dwelt in the Island, besides a good Number of those that came to Trade taken into Pay; but many more Compell'd than Voluntiers. The Galleys carry'd Abundance of Provisions for the Army, over which he appointed his Son *Don Lewis Perez*, his Lieutenant, and sent him before, as has been said, with Orders to make for the Island of *Zebu*. He embark'd himself aboard the Admiral-Galley, which had twenty eight Benches for the Men to row, and was mann'd with the 250 *Chineses* for the Oar. Eighty *Spaniards* were put aboard it; they touch'd at *Cabite*, sail'd thence on the 19th, and with them some Vessels, in which there were private Persons, who follow'd at their own Expence, coasting the Island of *Manila* as far as *Balajan*. They parted, because the Vessels kept in Sight of Land, and the Governour put out to Sea. On the 25th he came alone to pass the Night, at the Point call'd *de Azufre*, or of Brimstone, in the Island of *Manila*,

opposite

oppoſite to that of *Cazza*, where the Current, and the Drift of the Water from the Land run ſtrong, and the Breezes then blowing, the Galley could not weather it. He anchor'd under the Shelter of it, and yet dragg'd a little with the Force of the Current. They made the *Chineſes* row exceſſive hard, to bring her up again under the Land. In ſhort, they row'd very faintly, either becauſe they were not us'd to that Labour, and forc'd to the Oar, or becauſe they were then tir'd, and incens'd with the Command. Other contrary Winds ſtarted up, which again obſtructed their Voyage, and to weather ſome Points of Land, it was neceſſary to ply the Oars, and to vex the Crew, with the uſual Severity and Puniſhment commonly inflicted aboard the Galleys. They thought this hard, and contrary to what the Governour had aſſur'd them, which was, that they ſhould be kindly treated; but neither the Laſh, nor the Threats, nor the ſtemming of the Currents, with the Vigour and Sweat of their Bodies, ſeem'd ſo intollerable, and injurious to them, as to hear the angry and ſtern Governour himſelf bid them row manfully, for if they did not, he would put them in Chains, and cut off their Hair. This to the *Chineſes* is an Affront that deſerves Death, for they place their Honour in their Hair, which they cheriſh and preſerve very fair, and value themſelves upon it, as the Ladies in *Europe* us'd to do, all their Delight and Reputation being in keeping it curiouſly comb'd. Hereupon they reſolv'd to mutiny, to prevent ſuch an Affront and Contempt. The next Night, which was the 25th of *October*, being appointed for the Execution, when the tir'd *Spaniards* laid themſelves down upon the Benches, and other convenient Places in the Veſſel, the *Chineſes* did ſo too, but cunningly dividing themſelves, every one lay down by a *Spaniard*, pretending to be aſleep. In the dead of the laſt Watch, which they thought the propereſt and ſafeſt Time, ſeeing the *Spaniards* ſound aſleep, the *Chineſes*, upon hearing of a ſhrill Whiſtle, which was the Signal agreed upon between them, ſtarted up all together, and every Man with wonderful Celerity put on a white Veſt, or Shirt, that they might know one another in the Height of their Fury, and the Darkneſs of the Night, and ſo diſtinguiſh where to make the Slaughter, tho' for the more Security, they alſo lighted abundance of Wax-Candles, which they had conceal'd wrap'd up in thoſe white Veſts. Then they drew their *Catanas*, which are keener, and more crooked than our *Cymiters*, and began without any Noiſe every Man to hew his next *Spaniard*; ſo proceeding in their Fury, and killing all thoſe that ſlept. Above 60 Perſons had imbark'd in the Admiral-Galley, ſome of them being the Governour's Servants, and other old Soldiers, who ſuffer'd Inconveniencies to oblige and divert him. They had play'd all the Night, and being tir'd, and the Heat very violent, they lay naked, ſome on the Gang-Way in the middle of the Galley, others on the Benches, and the greateſt Favourites, who had more Room allow'd them, in the Poop, and to that Purpoſe the Governour retired into the Cabin. The *Chineſes* continu'd the Execution, on thoſe who ſlept, without any Miſtruſt, which was done ſo expeditiouſly, that when ſome of thoſe who ſlept in the Poop awak'd, the other *Spaniards* were all kill'd. The Watch heard nothing of it, tho' their could be no Excuſe for that Neglect, becauſe there had been Inſtances and Warnings enough before. Others awak'd, and feeling themſelves

Chineſes *at the Oars ill us'd.*

The Governour threatens them.

The Chineſes *rebel and kill the* Spaniards.

selves wounded, in the Confusion leap'd into the Sea, where most of them were drown'd; some few cast themselves into the Sea before they were hurt, and were also swallow'd up by it, tho' they were near Land, because the Current being strong, they could not stem it; twelve escap'd, and many Bodies were found along the Shores.

Many of them drowned. Only 12 *escape.*

The *Chineses* now grown bold, drew out the Pikes they had hid under the Benches, and finish'd their Treacherous Work with Noise. The Governor, who was under Deck, Sleeping, with a Candle and Lanthorn by him, Awak'd; and that he might do so, they made the greater Noise; and the *Chineses* themselves cry'd out to him, desiring he would come up to pacify a Quarrel there was among the *Castillas*, so they call the *Spaniards*. He, for this Reason, or believing the Galley dragg'd, as it had done at other times, getting up in his Shirt, and opening the Scuttle, look'd out, lifting half his Body above it: At the same time the *Chineses* fell upon him with their Cymiters, and wounded him Mortally, clutting his Head, and running him through with their Pikes in more than barbarous manner. Seeing his Death near he drew back, and took up the Prayer Book of his Order, which he always carry'd about him, and an Image of our Blessed Lady, and ended his Life between those two Advocates, which were afterwards seen bathed in his Blood: Yet he dy'd not presently, for they afterwards found him in his Bed, imbracing the Image, where he Bled to Death, and about him the Bodies of *Daniel Gomez de Leon*, his Valet de Chamber, *Pantaleon de Brito*, *Suero Diaz*, *John de Chavez*, *Peter Maseda*, *John de S. Juan*, *Carrion Ponce*, and *Francis Castillo*, all of them his Servants, and four brave Slaves, who had the same End. This was not known till it was Day; because none of the *Chineses* durst go down where the Governor was that Night, fearing least some of the 80 *Spaniards* that were in the Galley, had retir'd thither; such was the Dread of their own Guilt. None were left alive in the Galley, but *F. Francis Montilla*, of the Barefoot Order of *S. Francis*, and *John de Cuellar*, the Governors Secretary, who lay under Deck, whether the fainthearted *Chineses* durst not go down in three Days, when their first Fury was over. Then they afterwards set Ashore, on the Coast of *Ilocos*, in the same Island of *Luzon*, that the Natives might suffer them to Water; and because the Frier and the Secretary had Capitulated, having their promise that they would do them no hurt, before they surrendered. The *Chineses* being satisfy'd that there were no more ancient Christians left, began to Shout and Roar for Joy that they had gone through with their Work, and had no Man more to stand in Awe of.

The Governor kill'd.

Two sav'd alive.

The *Spaniards*, who were in the other Vessels, near the Shore, tho' they saw the Lights, and heard a confus'd Noise aboard the Admiral, thought it might be on account of some Work belonging to the Galley, or the like. When, a long time after, they understood how matters went, from those who sav'd themselves by Swimming, they lay still, not being able to redress it. They were but few; had not Strength enough; and the Mischief was done. They stay'd till Morning, and when Day appear'd, perceiv'd that the Galley had set her Shoulder-of-Mutton-Sail, and was standing for *China*, but they could not follow her: The Wind favouring, she sail'd all along the Coast of the Island, till they got clear of it, the *Chineses* all the way Celebrating their Victory.

The Chineses *sail for* China.

The

The Frier and the Secretary, who were among them, being fully perſwaded they would ſoon kill them, and fearing it would be after ſome of their cruel Methods, holding up their Hands, begg'd they would allow them ſome Time to make their Peace with God; and in caſe they would put them to Death, that it might be by Beheading, and not any other Inhuman Way. One of the *Chineſes* bid them not Fear, for they ſhould not Dye. They all lay'd down their bloody Weapons, and proſtrating themſelves, return'd Thanks to Heaven in moſt humble manner, beating Drums, and ringing Bells they carry'd, according to their Cuſtom. The two Chriſtians being then bolted to a Bench in the Galley, during 15 Days their Captivity laſted, were fed with a ſmall Proportion of Rice, boil'd in Water, without Salt, continually looking upon the Blood of their Companions that had been ſpilt, wherewith all the Deck was Stain'd. They ſhed Abundance of Tears on it, beſides thoſe they hourly let fall with the Apprehenſion of Death, thoſe *Chineſes*, like faithleſs falſe Men, deſigning to take away their Lives, in ſome ſtrange manner. They weigh'd, and ſailed between the Iſlands of *Mindanao* and *Luban*, towards *China*, and Coaſting along *Manila* towards *Cagayan*, ſome contrary Winds happening to blow, and Calms ſucceeding, they were much concern'd, fearing, that if the News of their Treachery reach'd the *Philippines*, they would ſend after and overtake them. This Dread made them have recourſe to their Gods, and call upon them, offering ſeveral ſorts of Sacrifices, Perfumes, and Prayers, which the Devil often anſwer'd in formal Words, by the Mouths of ſuch as were Poſſeſſed, whom he Enter'd to that Purpoſe, for there never wanted two or three ſuch, all the time thoſe Chriſtians were in the Galley. What they ſaw was, that when leaſt they thought of it, and on a ſudden, the Perſon poſſeſſed began to quake, from Head to Foot. The others ſeeing him in that Condition, ſaid, *Some God was coming to Speak to them.* Then coming up to him, with Tokens of Reſpect, they unty'd, and ſpread abroad his Hair; and ſtripping him quite naked ſet him on his Feet, and he preſently fell a Dancing to the Noiſe of ſome Drum, or Bell, they beat or rung. They put a Cymiter, or Spear into his Hand, and as he danc'd he brandiſh'd it over all their Heads, with no ſmall danger of hurting them, which they were not the leaſt apprehenſive of; alledging, that their God, tho' he did ſo, would never hurt them, without they were guilty of ſome Sin againſt him.

The two Priſoners beg an eaſy Death, and are promis'd their Lives.

The Chineſes *invoke their Gods.*

Some of them poſſeſs'd.

Before the Devil had poſſeſs'd any in the Galley, the *Chineſes* were concerting to murder the Chriſtians, believing they were the Occaſion, why God did not give them a fair Wind for their Voyage; but that watchful ſovereign Providence, without whoſe Direction the leaſt Accident does not happen, making Uſe of the Devil himſelf as an Inſtrument, prevented it by Means of thoſe very Perſons who offended it. The Perſon poſſeſs'd ask'd for Ink and Paper, which being preſently brought him, he made certain Characters and confus'd Scrawls, which being expounded by the others in the Galley, they found ſignify'd, that thoſe two Men were harmleſs, therefore they ſhould not kill them, which was no ſmall Incouragement to the Priſoners. However this laſted not long, for ſome others who were poſſeſs'd after the firſt, tormented them cruelly, eſpecially one of them, who was the maddeſt. He told the *Chineſes*, that if he ſhould happen to hurt thoſe Men, as he brandiſh'd the Weapon he had in his Hand over them,

Chriſtians preſerv'd by Means of the Devil.

them, making Essays, as if he cut and slash'd, then they must kill them immediately; because it would be a certain Sign, that their Gods requir'd it, and that their being in the Ship was the Occasion, why they gave them not a fair Gale. All the Men in the Galley assembled, to behold that Spectacle, and the Person possess'd having for a considerable Space walk'd about the Gang-Way, with extravagant Gestures, went then to the Place where the Religious Man and his Companion were; there growing hellishly inrag'd, he commanded all the rest to stand aside, and being left with only the two Prisoners, began to make hideous Faces and Grimaces at them, when getting upon the Table in the mid Part of the Galley, he thence threw his Cymiter at them, with such Fury, that it stuck in the Deck, between their Feet. Seeing he had not hurt nor touch'd them, he ask'd for it again to make a second and third Tryal, sticking it every Time so deep, that the others could scarce draw it out from the Planks. This done, he bid them give him a Partesan, with which he hack'd, hew'd, and thurst, in such frightful and dangerous Manner, that the *Chineses* themselves were astonish'd. He kept them above an hour in that Dread and Affliction, without daring to stir, or beg for Mercy; believing it would not avail them, but that on the contrary, whatsoever they could say might be prejudicial. Thus having plac'd all their Hopes, and Confidence on that sovereign Lord, who even when he delays does not fail to give Assistance, they call'd upon him, and offer'd themselves up to him in fervent Prayers; particularly the Religious Man, repeating some Psalms and Verses, which his former Devotion, excited by the present Danger, brought into his Mind, and were suitable to that Occasion, and such like Exigencies; by which, as he afterwards said, he receiv'd great Comfort, and Addition of Courage. This sort of miserable Life, and these Torments lasted all or most Days during therein Captivity.

Horred practices upon the Prisoners.

At length, the *Chineses* perceiving they could not possibly perform the Voyage they desir'd, by Reason the Wind was contrary; they resolv'd to land on the Island of *Ilocos*, not far from *Luzon*, at the Port they call *Sinay*. They being there ashore to Water, the Natives knowing they had murder'd the Governour, laid an Ambush and kill'd twenty of them, and might have destroyed above eighty that had landed, if they had not wanted Courage; because at the very Shout the Men gave, when falling on, they were so daunted, that they all fled several Ways in Confusion, throwing down their Arms, endeavouring to save their Lives, by leaping into the Sea, so to get off in the Boat. The *Chineses* meeting with this Disaster, and thinking one of their own Men had been the Occasion of it, because he advised them to put into that Port, they resolv'd to seize and put him to Death. They did as had been resolv'd, and at Night, by unanimous Consent, threw him into the Sea, then weighing their Anchors, they got out of that Harbour, and put into another, three Leagues off, on the same Coast. There the Devil entering into one of them, as he us'd to do, commanded them immediately to return to the Port, where they had sustain'd that Loss of their Friends and Companions, and that they should not depart thence, till they had sacrific'd a Man to him, without appointing which he would have. They immediately obey'd the Command, one of the Chief *Chineses* making Choice of one of the Christian *Indians* of the *Philippines*

The Chineses land, and of them are kill'd.

They drown one of their own Men.

pines they had Priſoners, to be Sacrifiz'd, and ty'd his Hands and Feet, ſtretching them on a Croſs, which they rais'd up, and the Chriſtian being bound againſt the fore-Maſt, one of thoſe poſſeſs'd by the Devil came up to him in Sight of them all, and playing the part of an Executioner, ripp'd up his Breaſt, with one of thoſe Daggers they uſe, making a wound ſo large, that he thruſt in his Hand with eaſe, and pluck'd out part of his Entrals, whereof, with horrid Fury, he bit a Mouthful, and caſting the reſt up into the Air, eat what he had in his Mouth, and lick'd his Hands, pleaſing himſelf with the Blood that ſtuck to them. *An* Indian *cruelly Sacrifiz'd.*

Having committed the Murder, they took the Croſs, and him that was on it, and caſt it and the Martyr into the Sea, which receiv'd that Body, offer'd in Sacrifize to the Devil, then to be cloath'd in Glory, by him that has provided it for thoſe who ſuffer for the Confeſſion of the Faith. This dreadful Spectacle ſtruck Horror, and rais'd Emulation in the two Chriſtians, who beheld it with Zeal, and had expected as much before. The Inhuman Sacrifice being over, they put out of the Harbour, and having for ſome days Coaſted the Iſland with Difficulty; one of them, by command of the Poſſeſs'd Perſon, who had order'd the Sacrifize, with the conſent of them all, ſet at liberty the Religious Man, the Secretary, and all the *Indians* they had Priſoners, putting them aſhore in the Boat, and then the *Chineſes* ſtood out to Sea. They endeavour'd to make over to *China*, but not being able, put into *Cochinchina*, where the King of *Tunquin* took all they had, and among the reſt two heavy Pieces of Cannon, that had been put aboard for the Expedition of the *Moluccos*, the King's Standard, and all the Jewels, Goods, and Money. He ſuffer'd the Galley to periſh on the Coaſt, and the *Chineſes* diſpers'd, flying into ſeveral Provinces. Others affirm, that King ſeiz'd and puniſh'd them. *They caſt him into the Sea.* *The Secretary and Frier ſet at Liberty.*

The *Spaniads* that eſcap'd, went to carry the News to *Manila*, where ſome griev'd, and others, who hated the Governour for his Severity, rejoyced; but that ill Will ſoon vaniſh'd, and all generally lamented him; more eſpecially when ſome of the Bodies were found and brought in. Among them were thoſe of the Enſign, *John Diaz Guerrero*, an old Soldier, and Governour of *Cebu*; of the Enſign *Penaloſa*, Proprietor of *Pila*; the great Soldier *Sabagun*, whoſe Wife ran roaring about the City; of Captain *Caſtano*, newly come over from *Spain*; of *Francis Rodriguez Perulero*; of Captain *Peter Neyla*; of *John de Sotomayor*; of *Simon Fernandez*; that of his Sergeant; of *Guzman*; of the Enſign and Sergeant of the Company brought by *Don Philip de Samano*, who being ſick transferr'd it to Captain *John Xuarez Gallinato*; and thoſe of *Sebaſtian Ruis* and *Lewis Velez*, theſe two Merchants, all the reſt old Soldiers; whoſe Funerals renew'd the Sorrow for that diſmall Accident. Spaniards *that eſcapd came to* Manila. *Bodies found.*

This News being brought to *Manila*, and no Papers of the Governour's appearing, wherein he nam'd, who was to ſucceed him, tho' it was known he had the King's Order ſo to do, believing it might be loſt in the Galley, among much of the Kings, his own, and private Perſons Goods, the City therefore choſe the Licentiate *Rojas* for their Governour, and he was ſo forty Days. But the Secretary *John de Cuellar* returning to *Manila*, in a miſerable Condition, with *F. Francis de Montilla*, gave Notice, that *Gomez Perez*, before his Departure had appointed his Son *Don Lewis* to ſucceed, and that this would be found at the Monaſtery of *S. Auguſtin*, in a Box, Rojas *choſe Governour by the City.*

Don Lewis das Marinnas *Governor.*

among other Papers, in the Custody of *F. James Munnoz*. *Rojas* had already sent Orders to *Cebu*, for all the People employ'd in the Expedition, to return, as was accordingly done. So that *Don Lewis* coming, notwithstanding some Protestations, he, by Virtue of his Father's Authority, succeeded him in the Government, till *Don Francis Tello* came.

Character of Gomez Perez.

Such was the End of that Gentleman, whose Actions were valuable in themselves, and the more for the Zeal he did them with. He wanted not for political and martial Virtues, nor for Prudence in both Sorts; but he would not regard Examples; and contrary to what those taught him, durst promise himself to succeed, so that he became confident, if not rash. But his Christian Piety makes Amends for all.

The Fleet dismiss'd.

Don Lewis, his Kindred and Friends, would fain have prosecuted the Expedition to the *Moluccos*, and to this End *F. Antony Fernandez* came from *Tydore*; but he succeeded not. The Fleet was dismiss'd, and it was a singular Providence for the Security of the *Philippine* Islands; for presently after, at the Beginning of the Year 1594, there came thither a great Number of Ships from *China*, loaded only with Men and Arms, and brining no Merchandize, as they are wont to do. Those Ships brought seven *Mandarines*, being some of the chief Viceroys and Governours of the Provinces. It was believ'd, and prov'd certainly true, that they knowing *Gomez Perez* went upon that Expedition, to which he took with him all the *Spaniards*, concluded the Country was left defenceless, and therefore came with a Design to Conquer, or plunder it, which would have been very easy, had they found it as they expected. They went out of their Ships but twice to visit *Don Lewis*, with great State, and much Attendance. He receiv'd them affectionately, and presented every *Mandarine* with a gold Chain. They told him, they came by their King's Order, to pick up the *Chineses*, who wander'd about those Islands without his Leave; but this was look'd upon as a meer Pretence; because there was no Need, for that Effect, of so many *Mandarines*, nor such a Number of Vessels arm'd and furnish'd for War. The *Chineses* who murder'd *Gomez Perez*, were of *Chincheo*, and therefore *Don Lewis*, as knowing the certain Criminals, sent his Kinsman *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, in a Ship, to give the King of *China* an Account of that Treachery; but his Voyage miscarry'd, and all was left in Suspence.

Arm'd Chineses *in the* Philippines.

Mandarines *visit* Don Lewis

King of Camboxa *demands the promis'd Succour.*

At this Time *Langara*, King of *Camboxa* made Instance for the Succours, and requir'd *Don Lewis* to perform his Fathers Promise made to him not long before. He therefore, in Pursuance to it, and to the End that those Forces, or some Part of them, might continue in the Church's Service, since they were provided for that End, in the Design of *Ternate*, resolv'd to support that King with them.

Camboxa *described.*

Camboxa is one of the most fertile of the *Indian* Regions. It sends Abundance of Provisions to other Parts, for which Reason it is frequented by *Spaniards*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*. The King is a *Mahometan*; but his Subjects the *Gusarats* and *Banians*, follow the Precepts of *Pythagoras*, perhaps without any Knowledge of him. They are all sharp witted, and reputed the cunningest Merchants in *India*. However they are of Opinion, that after Death, Men, Brute Beasts, and all Creatures, receive either Punishment, or Reward; so confus'd a Notion have they of Immortality. The City *Camboxa*, which gives its Name to all the Country, is also call'd *Champa*.

Opinions of the Natives.

Champa, abounding in the Odoriferous *Calambuco* Wood, whose Tree call'd *Calamba*, grows in unknown Regions, and therefore has not been seen standing. The Floods upon those great Rivers bring down Trunks of it, and this is the precious *Lignum Aloes*. *Camboxa* produces Corn, Rice, Peafe, Butter, and Oyl. There are made in it various Sorts of Cotton Webs, Muslins, Buckrams, Calicoes, white and painted, Dimities, and other curious Pieces exceeding the finest in *Holland*. They also adorn their Rooms with Carpets; tho' they are not like those brought out of *Persia* to *Ormuz*. They weave others for the common Sort, which they call *Bancales*, not unlike the *Scotch* Plads. Nor do they want the Art of Silk-Weaving, for they both weave, and work with the Needle, rich Hangings, Coverings for the low Chairs us'd by the Women of Quality, and for the *Indian* Litters, or *Palanquines*, which are made of Ivory, and Tortoise-Shell, and of the same they make Chess-Boards, and Tables to Play, Seal-Rings, and other portable Things. In the Mountains there is found a sort of Christal, extraordinary transparent, whereof they make Beads, little Idols, Bracelets, Necklaces, and other Toys. It abounds in Amethists, Garnets, the Sort of Saphirs call'd Hyacinths, Spinets, Cornelians, Chrysolites, Cats Eyes, properly call'd *Acates*, all of them precious Stones; There are also those they call Milk, and Blood Stones, pleasant, and medicinal Fruits, Opium, Bangue, Sanders, Alom and Sugar. *Indigo* is incomparably prepar'd in *Camboxa*, and thence sent to several Provinces. The living Creatures are the same *Asia* affords in those Parts, Elephants, Lions, Horses, wild Boars, and other fierce Beasts. It is in Ten Degrees of North Latitude. The River *Mecon* waters all the Kingdom, and in it falls into the Sea; being look'd upon as the greatest in *India*, carrying so much water in Summer, that it floods, and covers the Fields, like the *Nile in Egypt*. It joyns another of less Stock, at the Place call'd *Chordemuco*. This River, for six Months runs backward. The Reason of it is the Extent and Plainness of the Country it runs along. The Southern Breezes choak up the Bar with Sand. The Currents thus damm'd up, swell and rise together, after much Struggling one against the other. The Bar looks to the South-ward, both Waters at first Form a deep Bay, and finding no free Passage out, but being drove by the mighty Violence of the Winds, are forc'd to submit and bend their Course the wrong Way, till a more favourable Season restores them to their natural Course. We see some such like Effects in *Spain*, where the *Tagus* falls into the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Guadalquivir* into that of *Andaluzia*, oppos'd by the superior Force of the Sea Waves, and of the Winds.

Lignum Aloes.

Manufactures.

Product.

Beasts.

Mecon *River.*

About this Time, in the remotest Part of this Country, beyond impenetrable Woods, not far from the Kingdom of the *Laos*, was discover'd a City, of above six thousand Houses, now call'd *Angon*. The Structures, and Streets, all of massy Marble Stones, artificially wrought, and as entire, as if they had been modern Works. The Wall strong, with a Scarp, or Slope within, in such Manner, that they can go up to the Battlements every where. Those Battlements all differ one from another, representing sundry Creatures, one represents the Head of an Elephant, another of a Lion, a third of a Tiger, and so proceed in continual Variety. The Ditch, which is also of hew'd Stones, is capable of receiving Ships. Over it is a magnificent Bridge, the Arches of it being supported by stone

Angon *City Discover'd.*

Its Magnificence.

Giants of a prodigious Height. The Aqueducts, tho' dry, show no less Grandeur. There are Remains of Gardens, and delightful Places, where the Aqueducts terminate. On one Side of the Town is a Lake above thirty Leagues in Compass. There are Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Characters not understood. Many Buildings are more sumptuous than the rest, most of them of Alabaster, and Jasper Stone. In all this City, when first discovered by the Natives, they found no People, nor Beasts, nor any living Creatures, except such as Nature produces out of the Breaches of Ruins. I own I was unwilling to write this, and that I have look'd upon it as an imaginary City of *Plato*'s *Atlantis*, and of that his Common-Wealth; but there is no wonderful Thing, or Accident, that is not subject to much Doubt. It is now Inhabited, and our Religious Men, of the Order of St. *Augustin* and St. *Dominick*, who have Preach'd in those Parts, do testify the Truth of it. A Person of Reputation for his Learning, conjectures it was the Work of the Emperor *Traian*; but tho' he extended the Empire more than his Predecessors, I have not ever Read that he reach'd as far as *Camboxa*. Were the Histories of the *Chineses* as well known as ours, they would inform us, why they abandon'd so great a Part of the World; they would explain the Inscriptions on the Buildings, and all the rest that is unknown to the Natives themselves. I know not what to say of so Beautiful a City's being buried in Oblivion, or not known. It is rather a Subject of Admiration than Reflection.

Three Spanish *Ships sent to the Relief of* Camboxa.

Don Lewis being zealous to bring those Nations into the Bosom of the Church, and their Wealth, and Kings under the Subjection of the Crown of *Spain*, fitted out three Ships, under the Command of *John Xuarez Gallinato*, born at *Tenerife*, one of the *Canary* Islands, with 120 *Spaniards*, and some *Philippines*. They Sail'd from *Cebu*, but there rose a Storm immediately, which dispers'd the Ships. *Gallinato* drove on by the Fury of the Winds, arriv'd at *Malaca*, and the other two at *Camboxa*. Going up the River, they were Inform'd, That the King of *Sian* had defeated him of *Camboxa*, his Neighbour; who, with the wretched Remains of his Army, fled into the Kingdom of the *Laos*, a Neighbouring but Inhumane Nation; and that, whilst he was begging Compassion among those obdurate Hearts, the King of *Sian* had set up *Praucar*, Nick-nam'd, *Wry Mouth the Traytor*, Brother to the vanquish'd Monarch, for King of *Camboxa*. This Accident did not obstruct the Succours which the *Spaniards* carry'd under Colour of an Embassy. They came to the City *Chordumulo*, 80 Leagues distant from the Bar, and leaving 40 *Spaniards* in the Ships, 40 others went to the Country where the new King was. They made Application to visit him presently, but he would not be seen that Day, tho' he order'd they should have good Quarters, and be told, he would give them Audience three Days after. But *James Veloso* and *Blase Ruyz*, either that they were formerly acquainted with the Country, or some new Subtilty occurring, looking on that delay as suspicious, visiting a beautiful *Indian* Woman, of the King's Family, she told them in private, That being admitted into that Tyrants Secrets, he being fond of her, she knew he intended to Murder them all; and that during those three Days he had assign'd them, as it were to Rest, after their Journey, the Men and Means for Executing that Design were to be provided. The *Spaniards* return'd Thanks for the Intelligence, not without promise of Reward.

King of Camboxa *routed by him of* Siam.

Design to murder the Spaniards.

They

They were not dismay'd at the Danger; but repeating their Thanks to the *Indian* Woman, for her Intelligence, came to this magnanimous, if it may not be term'd a rash Resolution. They agreed to attack the King's Palace that same Night, and to withstand the whole Army, if Need were. They prepar'd themselves for that Enterprize, which was above human Strength, set Fire to the House where the Powder lay, and the People running to help, or to see the Mischief, the *Spaniards*, during the Confusion, enter'd the Palace, and being acquainted with the royal Apartments, made through them, till they came to the King's Person, whom they run thro', and kill'd after cutting his Guards in Pieces. He defended himself, calling out for Help, but those who came to his Assistance found him bloodless. The Report of this Action alarm'd the other Guards, and then all the City, which contains above thirty thousand Inhabitants, who where all running to Arms; above 14000 Men took up such as Occasion offer'd, and came upon the *Spaniards* with many war-like Elephants. Our two Commanders drew up their little Body, and retir'd in great Order, always fighting and killing great numbers of their Enemies. The Fight lasted all the Night, with wonderful Bravery, the next Day they got to their Ships, and imbark'd, leaving that Kingdom full of new Divisions.

Desperat Bravery of the Spaniards.

They kill the King of Camboxa.

Retire before 14000 Indians.

The second Day after, *Gallinato* came in, with his Ship. He landed, having been before inform'd of what had happen'd, and thinking he did not perform his Duty, unless he succour'd the *Spaniards*, when he heard the Drums and Bells, and saw the Streets and Port full of trading People, now in Arms. He gave strict Orders to those that attended him, to behave themselves very modestly, so as to conceal their own Concern, and deceive the People of *Camboxa*, both by their Looks, and the Sedateness of their Words. The principal Men of *Camboxa* visited him, in peaceable Manner; whom he treated very courteously. He might have perform'd some great Exploit, but finding his Strength too small for such an Enterprize, and that now Affairs had taken another Turn, and were in a different Posture, he thought fit to be gone. Most of those great Men oppos'd it, promising him the Crown, as being well affected to the *Spaniards*, and a foreign Government. Hence came the idle Report, that *Gallinato* was King of *Camboxa*, which was believ'd by many in *Spain*, and acted on the Stage with Applause, and good Liking. And it was the Opinion of Persons well acquainted with those Countries, that had *Gallinato* laid hold of the Opportunity offer'd him, he might then have possess'd himself of *Camboxa*, and united it to the Crown of *Castile*.

Gallinato *at* Camboxa.

The great Men offer him the Crown.

I have seen Letters of *Velloso*, and *Blase Ruiz*, to the Council at *Manila*, after this Action, wherein they speak to this Effect, and complain that *Gallinato* should blame what they did. But *Gallinato*, whose Judgment, and Valour, had been try'd in the greatest Dangers of those Eastern Parts, and many Years before in *Flanders*, would not suffer himself to be easily led away by popular Affection, and honourably rejecting that Opportunity, sail'd towards *Manila*. He took in some Refreshment in *Cochinchina*. *Blase Ruiz* and *James Velloso* had landed there before, and went alone by Land to the Kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies West of *Cochinchina*, to seek out the depos'd King *Langara*, and restore him to his Throne. They found he was dead, but had a Son living, who being told how they had kill'd the Usurper,

The depos'd King's Son restor'd.

Usurper, his Uncle and Enemy; he set forward immediately for his Kingdom with *Velloso* and *Ruiz*, and 10000 Men, the King of the *Laos*, contrary to all Expectation furnish'd him. He attack'd *Camboxa*, where *Ruiz* and *Velloso* faithfully stuck to him during the War, and afterwards in his Government. Then he sent another Embassy to the *Philippine* Island, asking Supplies of Men to quell the Troubles in his Country, and that he and his Subjects might receive the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*; promising a considerable Part of his Dominions to the *Spaniards*, to subsist them. This Embassy came to *Manila*, when *Don Lewis* had quitted the Government, and resign'd it up to *Don Francis Tello*, which gave Occasion to *Ternate* to grow more settled in its Tyranny.

D. Pedro de Acunna *fortifies* Carthagena.

Don Pedro de Acunna, who govern'd *Carthagena* in the *West-Indies*, in this Year 1595, either because it was his natural Inclination, or the Necessity of the Times requiring it, fortify'd the Place with Fascines, Planks, Piles, and Ditches, working at it himself in Person. Thus he oblig'd the Bishop, Clergy and Religious Men, to put their Hands to the Work; the very Ladies of Quality, their Daughters and Maids, did not refuse to follow such an Example. It was wonderful to see with what Expedition and Zeal the Work was brought to Perfection, of such Force is a good Example. Soon after came to *Puerto Rico*, the Ship call'd *Pandorga*, or *Borgonna*, that was Admiral of *Tierra Firme*, and *New Spain*, with three Millions in her. The whole under the Care of the General *Sancho Pardo*.

56 English *Sail sent to rob the West-Indies.*

At this Time there came into the *West-Indies* a Fleet of 56 Sail, sent by the Queen of *England* to plunder them, under the Command of *John Hawkins* and *Francis Drake*. Captain *Peter Tello* defended the three Millions so bravely with the *Spanish* Frigots, that he sav'd the Prize. *Hawkins* was wounded in the Fight, and dy'd of it before he could come to the Firm Land. *Drake*, with that Fleet, enter'd *Rio de la Hacha* and *Santa Marta*; and being one Night in Sight of *Carthagena*, took a Frigate belonging to that Coast, by which he was inform'd, how well the Governour had fortifi'd it; therefore making a Compliment of Necessity, he sent *Don Pedro* a Message by the Men of the Frigot, whom he therefore set at Liberty, saying, He did not attack his Works and City out of Respect to him, and because he honour'd his Valour. The Truth of the Matter was, That *Drake* call'd together his Captains to consult what was to be done, and they all advis'd him to attack the City, promising to do their utmost, and be answerable for the Success; alledging it ought to be attempted, for being a Place of vast Wealth and Consequence. Only *Drake* oppos'd it, strength'ning his Opinion by saying, His Mind did not give him, that the Enterprize could have the Success they would assure him, because they were to have to do with a Knight of *Malta*, a Batchelor, nothing weakned with Womanish Affection, or the Care of Children; but watchful, and intent upon defending the Place, and so Resolute, that he would dye on the Spot before he would lose it. This Opinion prevail'd, and the *English* standing in Awe of *Don Pedro*'s Reputation, went away to the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, and took it. *Drake* afterwards designing to do the same at *Panama*, was disappointed, meeting Opposition by the Way, which had been provided upon the Advice sent by *Don Pedro*, that the *English* were moving against that City.

Drake's *Actions there.*

But

But let us return into *Asia*. Still the People of *Camboxa* persisted to ask Succours at the *Philipine* Islands, upon the usual Promise of Conversion and Vassalage. *Don Lewis de las Marinhas* undertook the Enterprize in Person, and at his own Cost. He set out from *Manila* with *Don James Jordan*, an *Italian*, *Don Pedro de Figueroa*, *Peter Villestil*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios Coronel*, *Spanish* Commanders, the last of them then a Priest, who had also been in the first War of *Camboxa*. A Storm took them out at Sea, which lasted three Days, with the usual Fury. The Shipwrack was miserable, two Ships were stav'd in Pieces, and the Sea swallow'd up all the Men, Provisions and Ammunition. Of all the Soldiers and Seamen on Board the Vice-Admiral, only five swam ashore on the Coast of *China*. Some Soldiers were also sav'd out of the Admiral, and among them Captain *Ferdinand de los Rios*, the Vessel remaining founder'd under the Waves. The other Ship got to *Camboxa* almost shatter'd to Pieces after many Dangers. She found in the River of *Camboxa*, eight Juncks of *Malayes*, and the *Spaniards* seeing they design'd to carry away some Slaves of the King of *Camboxa*, to whose Assistance they came, inconsiderately boarded the *Malayes*, who being well furnish'd with more than ordinary Fire-works, soon burnt our Ship, and most of the *Spaniards* perish'd in the Flames or Smoke. *Blaze Ruiz*, nor *Velloso* were not there at that Time, but soon after in the Country, where they were attending the King, being beset in the House where they lodg'd, were barbarously murder'd. Those few *Spaniards* that escap'd, got into the Kingdom of *Siam*, and thence to *Manila*. Heaven was pleas'd this should be the End of all those mighty Preparations made for the Recovery of *Ternate*, and the other *Molucco* Islands, whose Tyrant triumph'd at the News, concluding it was the Effect of his good Fortune, and looking on it as a Testimony of the Justice of his Cause, and accordingly he confederated a new with our Enemies.

D. Lewis de las Marinhas *goes to relieve* Camboxa.

Is cast away.

Spanish *Ships burnt.*

Don Francisco Tello, a Gentleman of *Andaluzia*, succeeded *Gomez Perez* in the Government of the *Philippine* Islands, and came to *Manila* in the Year 1596. His first Care was to inform himself of the Condition his Predecessor had left them in, and to supply the Garrisons; because the Emperor of *Japan*, having in the Year 1595, executed those glorious Martyrdoms, the Memory whereof is still fresh, on the Religious Men of the Order of *S. Francis*, it gave him Jealousy, that he might have a Design against the *Philippine* Islands.

D. Fran. Tello *Governor of the* Phil.

The Natives of the Islands of *Mindanao*, hate our Nation as much as those of *Ternate*, and upon any Occasion take Arms against it, as they did in the last, at the said Island of *Ternate*. For this Reason, *Stephen Rodriguez de Figueroa* enter'd into Articles with the new Governour, *Don Francisco Tello*, by Virtue whereof he made War on the People of *Mindanao* and *Ternate*, at his own Expence. *Stephen Rodriguez* was so rich, that he might safely undertake this Affair. He liv'd at *Arevalo*, a Town on the Island *Panaz*, one of the *Philippines*, and set out with some Galleys, Frigots, Champanes, and one Ship, in which there were some *Spaniards*, and above 1500 of the Painted Natives, call'd *Pintados*, who were to serve as Pioneers. He arriv'd at the River of *Mindanao*, on the 20th of *April*, 1596. and as soon as the Inhabitants of the Town, peculiarly call'd *Mindanao*, saw such a sightly Company, they fled up the Side of the

People of Mindanao *hate the* Spaniards.

Stephen Rodriguez *makes War on* Mindanao, *at his own Expence.*

the River, abandoning the Place, to the Fury of the Soldiers. Most of them resorted to the Town of *Buyahen*, then the Residence of *Raxamura*, King of *Mindanao*, who being under Age, had yet no Charge of the Government, which was wholly in the Hands of *Silonga*, a Soldier, and Commander of Reputation. Our Men following up the River, came to *Tampacan*, five Leagues from the first. That Place was govern'd by *Dinguilibot*, Uncle to *Monao*, the true Proprietor, who was then also young.

The Natives fly, and he pursues.

These two were naturally well affected to the *Spaniards*, and therefore, as soon as they discover'd their Arms, came out, in peaceable Manner, to meet, and offer them their Assistance. They inform'd them, that the Enemies, for they were so to those of *Buyahen*, had retir'd into the Fort they had there. *Stephen Rodriguez* hearing the News, and having made much of those Princes, order'd the Fleet to weigh Anchor, and continue the Pursuit, four Leagues farther, still along the River, to *Buyahen*. Being come thither, he landed his Men on *S. Mark*'s Day; which was done by the Col. *John de Xara*, but without any Order, because having had no Engagement at *Mindanao*, they thought they should have little to do there; as if this, or any other Pretence ought to be an Excuse for not observing Martial Discipline. *Stephen Rodriguez* would land to rectify that Disorder by his Presence. He went out in such Armour of Proof, that a Shot of a small Drake would scarce pierce it. Only his Head unarm'd, but cover'd with a Cap and Feather, a black carrying his Helmet, and five Soldiers well arm'd attending him. He had scarce march'd fifty Paces, before an *Indian*, whose Name was *Ubal*, suddenly rush'd out of a close and topping Thicket, and running at him, with his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, clove his Head. *Ubal* was Brother to *Silonga*, and Owner of one only Cow there was in all that Country. He kill'd her three Days before this Accident, and inviting his Friends to her, promis'd in that War to kill the most noted Man among the *Spaniards*. He was as good as his Word, for *Stephen Rodriguez* dropt down of the Wound, and dy'd three Days after, without answering one Word to the Questions that were made him, tho' he did it by Signs. The five *Spaniards*, seeing their Commander so suddenly wounded, that the Slayer appeared, and the Stroke was heard the same Moment, fell upon *Ubal* and cut him in Pieces. They acquainted Colonel *Xara* with their General's Death; and he suppressing his Concern, drew back the Men, and threw up a Fortification in the most convenient Place, near the River, where he orderly founded his Colony, to be inhabited by our Men. He appointed Aldermen, and Magistrates, calling it *New Murcia*, in Honour of the old one in *Spain*, where he was born. Afterwards, designing to marry *Donna Ana de Ofeguera*, Widow to *Stephen Rodriguez*, he left Things unsettled, and arriv'd at the Island *Luzon* about the Beginning of *June*.

Is kill'd.

A Fort erected in Mindanao *and call'd New* Murcia.

Cap. Miranda *sent to* Mindanao.

The Governor *Don Francis Tello*, who was then at the Place call'd *El Embocadero*, an hundred Leagues from *Manila*, being inform'd of what had happen'd, and told upon what design the Colonel *Xara* came, seiz'd him immediately, sending Captain *Toribio de Miranda*, to the War in *Mindanao*. He found his Men were retir'd to the Port *de la Caldera*, in the same Island but 36 Leagues from the Mouth of the River. There he maintain'd himself, till about *August Don Francis Tello* appointed *Don John Ronquillo*, who was Commander of the Galleys, to succeed in that Post. He also commission'd

commiſſion'd *Peter Arceo Covarrubias*, and others, as Captains, to go with him; *James Chaves Cannizares*, Collonel; *Garcia Guerrero*, Major; and *Chriſtopher Villagra* and *Cervan Gutierrez*, Captains of Foot. *Don John Ronquillo* came with his Recruit to preſs upon the Enemy, and did it ſo effectually, that being diſtreſs'd, they crav'd Aid of the King of *Ternate*, to whom the People of *Mindanao* pay an Acknowledgement, which is little leſs, or the ſame as Tribute. *Buizan*, Brother to *Silonga*, went on this Embaſſy; and ſucceeded ſo well, that the King of *Ternate* ſent with him ſeven *Carcoas*, x heavy Pieces of Cannon, two ſmaller, ſome Falconets, and ſix hundred Men. They ſailing up the River of *Mindanao*, deſign'd to paſs on as far as *Buyahen*; but met with great Difficulties at the Reaches; becauſe at one of them they were threatned by the *Spaniards* chief Fort, the Galleys, and other Veſſels; and the other was a narrow Channel, with a Point running out into it, on which was erected a Baſtion, defended by forty Men. From thence our Men had artificially laid a ſtrong wooden Bridge over to the other Side of the River, cloſe to which a Galliot ply'd up and down.

Ternates Succour Mindanao.

The *Ternates* ſeeing both Sides ſo well Guarded, reſolv'd to fortify themſelves at the Mouth of the River. They accordingly erected a ſmall Fort, and put themſelves into it, with an equal Number of *Mindanao* Soldiers. The News hereof mov'd the General *Ronquillo* to diſlodge them; and in Order to it, came down with the Galleys and other Veſſels, and 140 Men well appointed. He landed with 116, and the Captains *Ruy Gomez Arellano*, *Garcia Guerrero*, *Chriſtopher Villagra*, and *Alonſo de Palma*, facing the Enemy, at about eighty Paces Diſtance, on the Bank of the River. The *Ternates* and *Mindanaos* had levell'd all the Front of their Fort, and deſignedly left a Spot of Buſhes and Brambles on one Side, where 300 *Ternates* lay in Ambuſh, the reſt being in the Fort. Both their Parties perceiving how few of our Men came to attack them, were aſham'd to be ſhut up within Fortifications, and lye in Ambuſh, and accordingly making Show of haughty Threats, came out and met the *Spaniards*. They found ſuch Oppoſition, that without the Help of any Stratagem, or other Cauſe but their natural Valour, at the very firſt onſet, almoſt all the *Ternates* were kill'd, and the reſt fled. Our Men follow'd the Chace, till they made an End of them. The people of *Tampaca*, who till then had been Neuters, to ſee which Side Fortune would favour, perceiving ſhe declar'd for us, took up Arms for our Part. Only ſeventy ſeven eſcap'd dangerouſly wounded, whereof fifty were drown'd in the River leaping into it in Deſpair: Of the other twenty ſeven, only three ſurviv'd, who carry'd the News to their King. The *Spaniards* poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Shipping, Cannon, and Plunder of the vanquiſh'd, and were encourag'd to proſecute the War.

They build a Fort on the River.

Slaughter of Ternates.

Only three eſcape.

Don Francis Tello did not neglect other Affais of this Nature. He underſtood by his Spyes, and it was bruited abroad, that the Emperor of *Japan* was gathering a mighty Army, and fitted out a Fleet for it, with Arms and Proviſions. It was alſo known, that he was in Treaty to ſecure himſelf againſt the *Chineſes*, of whom the *Japoneſes* are naturally Jealous. Hence it was inferr'd, that he arm'd to carry the War out of his own Dominions. He had already enter'd into Allyance with the King of *Ternate*, and other Neighbours, who were Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*. All

Warlike preparations in Japan.

these Particulars gave vehement Cause to conjecture, that the Storm threatned the *Philippine* Islands, and more especially *Manila*, the Head of them. The Governour strengthned himself, and sent Captain *Alderete* to discover the whole Truth, under Colour of complimenting that Emperour, and carrying him a Present. The Embassador set out for *Japan* in *July*, and at the same Time *Don Francisco* dispatch'd the Galeon *S. Philip* for *New Spain*, with Advice of those Reports. These two Ships, viz. that *Alderete* went in, and the *S. Philip*, were together in *Japan*, which the Natives were jealous of. *Alderete* got full Information of the Strength and Designs of the *Japoneses*, and his Industry was of Use, for the taking of right Measures in *Manila*, and to prevent their fearing without Cause. He brought back another noble Present to the Governour; and both Sides stood upon their Guard, to be ready upon all Occasions.

A Spanish Embassy thither.

In the Year 1598, the sovereign Court was again erected at *Manila*, King *Philip* prudently conferring Dignity on that Province. It was compos'd of the Judges *Zambrano*, *Mezcoa*, *Tellez de Almazan*, and the Kings Attorney *Jerome Salazar*, *y Salcedo*. That great King never allow'd of any Intermission in his weighty Cares, which extended to all the known Parts of the World; having a watchful Eye upon the Designs of other Princes, whether well, or ill affected to the Propagation of the Gospel, which was his main Design, Therefore, about this Time, he made Haste to rid himself of his neighbouring Enemies, that he might have Leasure to attend the remotest Rebels against the Church and his Monarchy. And in Respect that as Age came on, its Distempers grew heavier, he concluded a Peace with *France*, which was proclaim'd at *Madrid*, with Martial Solemnity, after he had withdrawn himself to the Monastery of *S. Laurence*, at the *Escurial*, a Work of his Piety and Magnificence, where he dy'd on the thirteenth of *September* 1598, with singular Tokens of Sanctity. He frequented the Sacrament of Confession, receiv'd the divine Viaticum, and extreme Unction, the last Remedy for temporal, and eternal Health. His Death was in all Respects answerable to the wonderful Course of his Life.

Sovereign Court at Manila.

Peace between France & Spain.

K. Philip *the 2d dies.*

King *Philip* the Third, our sovereign Lord, succeeded him, having been before sworn in all his Kingoms, who, amidst the Tears and Funeral Solemnities, Commanded the Will to be open'd, and what his Father had order'd to be fulfill'd. His Instructions, and the Mysteries of State, whereof he was so great a Master, and which he communicated to his Son till the last Gasp, produc'd the Peace which attended his most happy Succession, which was his Due by Natural Right, the Law of Nations, and his own innate Virtues; the general Submission of his Subjects, and the Fidelity of the Armies that serv'd in the Northern Provinces in *Italy*, *Africk*, *Asia*, the *Indies*, and in Garrisons, were a Curb to other Nations. Many of them presented the new King with Protestations of Loyalty, before they had receiv'd Letters and Advice of his being upon the Throne. The same Unanimity was found in the Fleet, and Naval Power, wherein the Treasures and Commodities are transported; a rare Tranquility upon the Change of Princes, The *Roman* Legions in *Germany*, and *Illyricum*, did not show such Respect to *Tyberius*, after the Death of *Augustus*. And tho' the *Spanish* Monarchy is of so great an Extent, that it borders on the unknown World, and it is never Night in all Parts of it, because the Sun

K. Philip *the 3d.*

Greatness of the Spanish *Monarchy.*

Sun encompaſſes and continually diſplays his Light over it, yet it obey'd without any Commotion, or rather with Pride, as if it knew and were ſenſible of the new Hand that took up the Reins of Government. Excellent Princes have ſeldom fail'd to employ extraordinary Miniſters about their Perſons, to manage and ſuſtain the Burden their Fortune lays upon their Shoulders; ſo *Alexander* the Grear had *Hepheſtion*; the two *Scipios*, the two *Lelij*; *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Marcus Agrippa*; the Princes of the Auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria*, other Perſons of ſingular Virtue; for all moral Wiſdom, and Experience it ſelf teaches us, that the Difficulties of weighty Affairs are not to be duly manag'd, and ſurmounted, by any but Perſons of a more than ordinary Capacity; becauſe Nature has not left any of its Works deſtitute of a proportionable Miniſtry. And conſidering, that it is of great Importance to the publick Welfare, to contrive, that what is neceſſary for the Uſe and Commerce of Mankind may appear eminent in Dignity, for the ſtrengthning of the common Advantage with Authority: The King, I ſay, following thoſe ancient Examples, made Choice of *Don Franciſco de Rojas y Sandoval*, then Marques of *Denia*, and ſince firſt Duke of *Lerma*, a moſt able Miniſter, privately to conſult with him about fundamental Matters and Concerns, for which he had been prepar'd with ſingular Affection in thoſe Times: Beſides the great Antiquity of his Family, which has ally'd him to all the nobleſt of the *Grandees* of *Spain*, all Men own him endow'd with the neceſſary Virtues, that belong to a Perſon in ſo great a Poſt; which ſhine through that pleaſing Gravity of his Countenance, with a ſtay'd Gayity that teſtifies his Capacity, and provokes Reſpect at the ſame Time that it gains Affections. He conſtituted him the firſt of his Council of State, and all the Orders for Peace and War began to run through his Hands. All the Opinions of Councels, which he found ſeal'd, for King *Philip* the 2d to give his Deciſion thereupon, he reſtor'd, without opening them, to the Preſidents of the ſaid Councels they came from, being, perhaps, calculated out of Reſpect, that they might again debate upon them with more Liberty, and ſend them back enlarg'd or reform'd.

Duke of Lerma *Prime Miniſter.*

Heaven was now haſtening the Reduction of the *Molucco* Iſlands, and the puniſhing the Perſecution of the faithfull, tho the Tyrants appear'd never ſo haughty; however the Talk of it was diſcontinu'd for ſome Time; becauſe the Enterprize was to be concerted, and carry'd on in the *Philippine* Iſlands, and to be reſolv'd on, and encourag'd in the ſupreme Council of the *Indies*, and it was requiſite that the Preſident and Councellors ſhould be well affected to the Cauſe, which had then no Body to ſupport it, as being deſpair'd of by Reaſon of ſo many unfortunate Attempts: and therefore the Papers of Reflections, and Informations relating to it, lay by, forgotten, in Heaps. This was the Poſture of thoſe Affairs till Providence diſpos'd the Means for bringing it about, that a Matter which was difficult on ſo many ſeveral Accounts, might fall into the Hands of a Sovereign, who being well affected, might with ſpecial Zeal bring it to Perfection.

Neglect of the Moluccos *in* Spain.

No Body now diſturb'd the King of *Ternate*. The *Engliſh* ſettled on his Lands, and Trade enrich'd the Sovereign and the Subjects. He, tho' he had many Sons, and the Prince his Succeſſor was of Age to bear Arms, did not ceaſe equally to increaſe his Wives and Concubines. Luſt was never circumſcrib'd by any Laws among thoſe People. The Relations of curious Perſons inform us, That among the reſt of this Kings Wives, there was

Queen of Ternate in Love with the Kings Son.

one very young, and singular for Beauty, with whom the Prince her Son-in-Law, whose Nams was *Gariolano* fell in Love, and she rejected not his Courtship tho' she was Wife to his Father: But that Nearness of Blood secur'd their Familiarity, and under the Shelter, and Cover of it, she admitted both Father and Son.

Sangiack of Sabubu *Father to her.*

This Queen was Daughter to the *Sangiack* of *Sabubu*, a potent Prince in the great Island *Batochina*, who came to *Ternate*, upon some slight Occasion. He being lodged in the Palace, and entertain'd as a Father, and Father-in-Law, easily saw into the Incestuous Life of his Daughter. He resolv'd to be thoroughly convinc'd, yet concealing his Jealousy from both the Lovers, he was satisfy'd of the Truth, learnt who were the Parties privy to it, abhorr'd the Baseness, and condemn'd his own Blood. He pretended one day he would Dine in private, and sent only for his Daughter; who being free from all Jealousy or Suspition, swallow'd a Poison, which soon took away her Life, in that Food which she us'd most to delight in. Endeavours were us'd to help the unhappy Queen, and compose the Father; but he angrily obstructing that last act of Compassion, put away the Physitians, and Women, and being left alone with the King, who, upon hearing the News, was come to give his Assistance, said, *This Woman, whom Nature gave to me for a Daughter, and I to you for a Wife, has, with her Life, satisfy'd a Debt she had contracted by her inordinate Passions. Do not Lament her, or believe she dy'd of any Natural Distemper. I killd her, taking the Revenge off your Hands. The Prince, your Son, had a Love Intrigue with her? Being in your House I had full Proof of it, and not being able to endure, that my Blood should wrong you, I could lay aside all Fatherly Affection, and take away the Stain that on my Side is laid upon the Law of Nature, and your Honour. I have honourably finisht the first Part of this Example. Now, if you think your self wrong'd by your Son, he is in your Power, and I have no Right to deliver him up to you, as I do this false Body. It lies upon you to finish this Work upon the Offender, for I have perform'd all that was my Duty, in giving you this Information, and depriving my self of the Daughter I lov'd best.*

He Poisons her.

The King was astonish'd, without knowing how to return Thanks, or perform any other Act becoming a King; and having lamented the Misfortune for some time, order'd Prince *Gariolano* to be secur'd; but he, who was no less below'd by the Guards than his Father, Guessing at the Consequences, which might certainly be deduc'd from the Queens violent Death, sparing no Horse-flesh, made to the Sea-Port, where he withdrew, with some of his Relations, from his Fathers Presence and Anger, till it naturally cool'd. It happen'd as he expected, for he was appeased before a Year expir'd, and the Prince was restor'd to his Favour; the King then making a Jest of the Stains of his Honour, and saying, *He well knew his ill Luck in Wives and Concubines.* But what Laws does he observe, who is guided by his Appetite? And how can he weigh the Duties of Honour, who Thinks that only the common Actions of the Sense have any solid being?

The Prince Flies.

Is Restor'd to Favour.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK VII.

THE Governour *Don Francis Tello*, to attend other Neighbouring Provinces, where greater Commotions were threatned, turn'd his Arms that Way; sending some inconsiderable Part, at several Times to the *Moluccos*; for he never went seriously about recovering those Islands, either because he apprehended, or had Intelligence of Dangers threatned by the haughty *Japoneses*, *Mindanaos* and *Chineses*, or that he would not tread in the Track of those who ruin'd themselves in the Expeditions against *Ternate*. Yet our Men fought that Nation in other Parts; for being the most Warlike, and averse to the very Name of *Spaniards*, it never let pass any Opportunity of doing them Harm.

D. Francis Tello *neglects the* Moluccos.

We have already mention'd the first coming of the *English* into those Seas, and the Care that was taken to obliterate the Example set by their Voyage, by fortifying the Streights of *Magellan*. It could not be effected, nor did our Fleet succeed in punishing, as was intended, those who had the Boldness to attempt that unthought-of Passage. Since then, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, supported by Rebellion and Disobedience, have sail'd into *India*, possess'd themselves of strong Holds, and erected Factories, transporting the Drugs, Precious Stones and Silks of *Asia*; and what is worse, possessing themselves of several Places, and rending the *Spanish* Monarchy. They have made several Voyages. What Island have they not pry'd into? What Barbarous Nation have they not encourag'd to Rebellion and Tyranny;

Dutch *at the* Moluccos.

Tyranny; especially since *Maurice* of *Nassau* is possess'd of those Provinces, by the Title of Governour.

Philippines *fill'd with* Chinoses.

The *Philippine* Islands were now appointed for the Place of Arms, considering the great Delays Experience had shown there were towards Recovering of the *Molucco* Islands. In the mean while, notwithstanding that *Don Francis Tello* was warn'd, how pernicious Inhabitants he was like to have in the *Sangleyes*, or *Chineses*, by whom the Islands of his Province began to be much peopled and fill'd, yet he allow'd them greater Liberty than was convenient; and the Municipal Laws which provided against this Disorder being forgotten or contemn'd, in a very short Time there were additional Towns of *Chineses*, *Chincheos*, and other such like Monsters, who were no better than Pyrates, or Incendiaries in that Country, which ought to have taken sufficient Warning by, and been well provided on Account of past Accidents, to shut up all Passages against such Enemy Nations. *Don Francisco* excus'd their Resort, alledging, That they imported Abundance of Provisions and Merchandise, which is what usually enriches all Places; That no Men have such a consummate Mechanick Genius as they; That they are more assiduous and constant at the Works and Buildings than the Natives of the *Philippines*. He said, That all the Jealousy generally conceiv'd of them vanishes, if the Governour administers Justice impartially, and permits no private Cabals. All these are, or appear'd to be frivolous Reasons, without any Force; and the admitting of such an Inundation of those People, prov'd very dangerous, as may be seen in the Sequel of this Work, by what happen'd to the Governour *Gomez Perez*. It was a particular Providence of Heaven, that other Nations did not go about to League with this, or the *Dutch*, who have so strongly fix'd themselves in the *Archipelago*; for they might, without much Difficulty, have given us more Trouble than has been occasion'd by the Rebellion of the Kings of the *Moluccos*; to whose Country, and all others in *India*, great Fleets of *Dutch* resort, ever since the Year 1585, whereof *Dutch* Writers give an Account, and lay down in Cuts, even the smallest Plants they produce.

It does not belong to us to give an Account of the *English*, *Dutch*, or other Nations of *India* and *Asia*, or their Expeditions and Voyages; but only such as relate to the Conquest of *Ternate* and the *Molucco* Islands, or may have some Dependance on this Subject; but be it known, once for all, that every Year, some Northern Fleets appear'd, coming either thro' *New Streights*, still unknown to our Discoverers, or those before frequented and laid down. But before we enter upon this Relation, it seems requisite to say something of *Holland*, the Head of the Neighbouring Islands, as that which is become most outrageous in *India*, and most covets the *Moluccos*. The Province of *Holland* is almost on all Sides encompass'd by the Sea, and the Ports of the *Maese* and *Rhine*, for about 60 Leagues in Compass. Within it are contain'd 29 wall'd Towns, whose Names and Situation does not belong to us to speak of, nor of those of *Zealand*, or the other Provinces subject to them. The Curious may read *Lambert*, *Hortensius*, and *Montefortius*. The Natives are descended from the Ancient *Catti*; and forasmuch as *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, which is in *Holland*, describes it in his *Chiliades*, we will abridge what he there delivers at large,

Account of Holland.

large, out of Affection to his Country. The Learned, says he, agree, and it is a probable Conjecture, that the Island *Tacitus* mentions, lying from the *Rhine* to the Ocean, is that we call *Holland*; which I am oblig'd to Honour, as owing my first Breath to it; and would to God we could honour it as it deserves. *Martial* charges it with being rude, or unpolished; and *Lucan* with Cruelty. Either these Things do not belong to us, but to our Ancestors, or we may value our selves upon them both. What Nation is now known, whose first Fathers were not more uncouth than their Posterity? Or when was *Rome* more highly commended, than when its People knew no other Arts but Tillage and Warfare? *Erasmus* spends Time in proving, that it is the Nature of *Holland*, not to relish *Martial*'s Wit; and that this is not the Effect of Rudeness, but a Gravity worthy Imitation. Then he makes an Exclamation, saying, Would to God all Christians had *Dutch* Ears! And that if still any one shall contend, the Nation is in the Wrong, in having stopp'd theirs to all Poetical Delights and Allurements, and arm'd it self against them; the *Dutch* valu'd themselves upon being comprehended in that Reflection, which did not displease the Ancient *Sabines*, the Perfect *Lacedemonians*, and the Severe *Catos*. *Lucan* call'd the *Batavi*, that is the *Dutch*, Cruel, as *Virgil* did the *Romans*, Vehement. *Erasmus* adds, That the Customs of these Nations are Familiar, inclining to Meekness and Benignity, and not to Fierceness; because Nature endow'd them with a sincere Disposition, free from Fraud and Double-Dealing, and did not make them subject to extraordinary Vices, except the Love of Pleasure, and Excess in Entertainments. This is caus'd by the Multitude of Beauties, which are Incentives, by the several Sea-Ports on the Ocean, the Mouths of the two Rivers, *Rhine* and *Maese*; the perpetual Felicity of the Soil, water'd by other Navigable Rivers; and the Fish and Foul in the Ponds and Woods. No Province of so small a Compass, contains so many Cities of a considerable Magnitude, and so Populous, excellently govern'd; so full of Commodities, Arts and Trade. It abounds in Men indifferently learn'd. *Erasmus* himself, in Conclusion, owns that none of them arrives to singular Erudition. This Account, which in all that is natural must be own'd not to exceed, affords Arguments to condemn and convince the Author of it, and the Nation it self. All that Part of the World where Religion and Politeness flourish, is acquainted with the Diversity of Opinions all those Nations espouse, of *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Calvinists*, these the most Numerous; *Huguenots*, *Lutherans*, and all other Sorts, too long to enumerate, and not to our Purpose. Since *Erasmus* confesses that his Country does not produce any Persons of eminent Learning, why do they take upon them to decide Controversies in Religion? Why do they incroach upon Councils? If they are of such an excellent Disposition, and have such a modest Genius, Why do they cast off that Piety, whereof there are such ancient Testimonies in our first Fathers, so much honour'd by the primitive Charity of the true Church? It is true, as *Erasmus* says, that they are of a kind Temper, but Tenacious of whatsoever they once espouse; the same moves us to pity them the more, for the Difficulty of dealing with Positiveness in Minds that are not given to change. Let no Man believe but that under that seeming Meekness in Behaviour, the highest Degree of Pride lies couch'd.

Tacitus *l.* 20.

Erasmus *of the Manners of* Hollanders.

The Authors Reflections on them.

couch'd. What greater Pride than to scoff at the most ancient Church? At its Apostolical Traditions? At her universal Agreement? At the Miracles God has wrought, to approve the Catholick Doctrine? And what Error can be more inexcusable, than to follow the New Opinions of unlearned and vicious Men, such as the Arch-Hereticks were; and to live under a Necessity of not laying down their seditious Arms only to defend Impiety grounded on Ignorance, and the Extravagancies of their Passions? What House is there in those Cities which *Erasmus* extols, wherein all the Inhabitants profess and follow the same Way of spiritual Salvation? When the Father is a *Calvinist*, the Mother is often a *Huguenot*, the Son a *Lutheran*, the Servant a *Hussite*, and the Daughter a *Protestant*. All the Family is divided, or rather every particular Person's Soul is so, and at best doubts of all. Wherein does this differ from Atheism? It is positive Atheism. This Division, unworthy of wild Beasts, is the Occasion, and a Sort of Mathematical Necessity, that these People cannot be united among themselves in true Peace. For those Things are the same to one another, that they are to a Third; so that almost all these having different Notions, as to God, they cannot of Necessity be united among themselves, as differing in the most essential Part, which is the having an uniform Notion of God in Religion. Let no Man believe, that because they are not at War among themselves, it is Love that is the Occasion of it. The Ground of their false Tranquility is to be call'd a Cessation, and not Peace. These are the People who have unhing'd Loyalty and the Christian Religion, before settled in the Islands, and remotest Parts of *Asia*, making Excursions from their own Country, as far as *China*, their raging Avarice being grounded on the Advice given them by the Queen of *England*, and on Malice, because King *Philip* the IId had shut up the other Ports of his Kingdoms against them; so to endeavour to reduce them to to the Truth and Submission, by taking from them the Advantages of Trade.

A Spanish Author cannot forbear these Reflections.

See the latter part of the Preface.

The first *Dutch* Fleet that came to the *Molucco* Islands, after the *English*, in the Year 1598, shall be here spoken of. Some prime Men, for the Sake of their Country, as they said, and to gain Reputation, met in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and fitted out six Ships and two Brigantines, to sail into *India*. The first Ship they call'd the *Maurice*, the Admiral in her being *Jacob Cornelius Neck*, born at *Roterdam*, and the Master *Gonaert Jansk*; the second was the *Amsterdam*, and in her the Vice-Admiral *Vibrant Darkik*; the other Ships were the *Holland*, the *Zealand*, the *Guelder*, and the *Utrecht*; The bigger Brigantine the *Friezland*, and the smaller the *Overissel*. They carry'd 160 Soldiers, besides Mariners, and sailed from *Roterdam* on the 13th of *March*. Off from *Sluys*, on the 4th of *April*, they had such a dreadful Storm, as might have discourag'd them from Proceeding, and the Ship the *Holland* was almost disabled; but still they were drove on by the Weather to the *Texel*, and thence to *Debenter*, and in Conclusion they got into the Ocean. They met another Ship returning to the *Low Countries*, which presented them with 10000 Oranges, and having distributed them among the Men, they made a general Rejoycing, for the baptizing of 25 Men, aboard the Ship the *Guelder*, on the 10th of *May*. On the 11th they anchor'd at *Barrels*, and on the 15th at the Island *Madera*,

Dutch *first sail to the* Moluccos.

25 Dutch *baptized.*

Barrels *must be a Mistake.*

Madera, and again on the 17th at the *Canaries*, *Gomera*, and *Palma*, paſſing by thoſe of *Sal* and *Santiago*, which are thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, they furl'd all their Sails, and drove in a Storm, in 29 Degrees Latitude. On the firſt of *June* they took a Sea Tortoiſe which weigh'd 143 Pounds. On the 15th of the ſame Month, *Gerrit Jans*, either provok'd by Wine or a worſe Spirit, caſt himſelf into the Sea, from the higheſt Part of the greater Brigantine. The next Day, aboard the Ship *Guelder*, in which the new baptiſed Men were, they ſaw a large flying-Fiſh, which clapping too its Wings, fell into the ſaid Ship; but they ſaw the ſame Sort of Fiſhes fall upon their Veſſels at other Times. On the Eighth they croſs'd the Line, and began to diſtribute a Pot of Wine to every ſix Men; but on the 25th of the ſame Month, for Joy of having paſs'd the Ridges of Rocks before *Brazil*, which run to the Southward in 18 Degrees of South Latitude, they allow'd three Pots to every ſeven Men. Such a thick Fog fell that they loſt Sight of the ſmaller Brigantine; the *Zealand* ſoon found her again, and diſcover'd many Cranes ſtanding on the Tops of the Reeds, or Canes, that grew out Tall and of an equal Height above the Water. On the 24th of *July*, they came to an Anchor at the Cape of *Good Hope*, whence they ſail'd again on the 15th of *Auguſt* with Stormy Weather, all the eight Veſſels together, the Sea there boiling up as a Pot does upon the Fire. This Motion, like boiling, was ſeen for about a Muſket Shot in Length, and the Breadth of a Ship, and all this Space was cover'd thick with Weeds, which they paſs'd over by main Force, without any Danger.

The Sea ſeems to boil up.

On the 24th they reach'd the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, or of *S. Laurence*, and ſaw abundance of Whales. Here the plentiful Diſtribution of Wine ceas'd, and it began to be given out more ſparingly, to lament by this Abſtinence, the Death of *John Pomer*, a ſkilful Sailor. On the 27th they paſs'd Cape *S. Sebaſtian*, and on the 30th Cape *S. Julian*. On the 4th of *September*, it was debated whether they ſhould make for the Iſland of *Banda*, or put into the Bay of *Anton Gill*. They came to no Reſolution at that Time, tho' they afterwards arriv'd ſeparately at *Banda*, and at ſeveral Times. On the 17th they diſcover'd, at a great Diſtance, the Iſland of *Cerne*, by others call'd the *Iſle of Swans*, which is high and mountainous, and for Joy of the Water they expected to take in there, they gave every Man three Cups of Wine. Before that, the Vice-Admiral went aſhore with five Men, in another little Iſland, and taking a View of it, found a Noble Spacious Harbour, well land-lock'd, into which a Rivulet of freſh Water fell. They put in and refitted their ſhatter'd Veſſels, finding 14 Fathom Water. They had not Landed in four Months, and therefore in Thankſgiving, and becauſe it was then Fair Time in *Holland*, they made a Sort of Chappel, on the Bodies of Trees, and covering it with Leaves, preach'd there twice a Day, in Honour of the Fair. They eat Abundance of Fowl, which they could almoſt take with their Hands, and drank Wine more plentifully. A Native of *Madagaſcar*, who came along with them, and had been taken in a former Voyage, was, by the Inſtruction of thoſe Sermons, made a Chriſtian, and baptiz'd, taking the Name of *Laurence*. They found no Inhabitants in the Iſland though it was Delightful.

Madagaſcar.

They land in a ſmall Iſland.

Clear Water in the Sea. On the 28th and 29th, they observ'd they were upon a very Christalline Water, without any other Tokens of their being near Land, and those same Days at Noon, they had the Sun in the *Zenith*, directly over their Heads, which had happen'd to them at other Times. Here a Storm separated the Ships; the *Maurice*, which was Admiral, by them in *Latin* call'd *Prætoria*, the *Holland* and the *Overissel*, tho' they endeavour'd to make *Java*, were drove by Stress of Weather to *Banda*; and the other five to the Island *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, leaving six other smaller on the Right Hand. They enter'd the Port with ten Fathom Water, between two Mountains, which contract the Mouth of it. The Situation of it is in 21 Degrees of South Latitude, and is five Leagues in Compass. The Port is Spacious enough to contain 50 Ships, and shelter'd against all Winds. They were so well pleas'd with the Island, that they chang'd its ancient Name of *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, for that of *Maurice*, in Honour of Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Bastard Son to the Prince of *Orange*, so well known in our Days. Discoverers were sent about it, and return'd without finding any humane Track, nor Signs of any Habitation. They had a doubtful Proof hereof in the Birds and Beasts; for they ran into their Hands and alighted on their Heads, as they might have done on the Branches of Trees, or had they been bred Tame; which Boldness proceeded either from their having never seen Men, or being grown very familiar with them. Among the rest, there are Bats, which have Heads as big, and like Apes, and these sleep considerable Numbers of them together, and hanging on the Trees, with their Legs and Wings extended. The Air and Soil are so healthy and fit to be inhabited, that as soon as the Sick were landed, they recovered. The Land is high and mountainous, full of Woods, and not being inhabited, there are no Tracts or Paths through them. There is an infinite Quantity of Ebony Trees, as black as Pitch, and as smooth as Ivory; the Trunks being cover'd with a rough Bark, preserve the Body solid. There are other Plants, whose Trunks are Red, and others Pale as Wax; delicious Coco-Nuts, vast Numbers of Palm-Trees, and some of them of such Sort, that one of their Leaves covers all a Man's Body, and defends it against the Rain. They spread their Nets, and among the other Multitude of Fishes, took a Thornback so large, that it afforded two Meals for all the Men in the Ships. They saw Land Tortoises, so big, that one of them walk'd with four Soldiers sitting on its Back; and ten of them din'd upon the Shell of another, as if it had been a round Table. In a very short Time they kill'd Abundance of Turtle-Doves, and another Sort of white Birds, bigger than our Swans, but as round as a Ball, and have only two or three curl'd Feathers in the Tail. There were so many blew Parrots, that they might have loaded their Ships with them. *Indian* Crows, twice as big as the *European*, of three several colour'd Feathers.

Cerne *Island.*

Tame Birds and Beasts.

Strange Bats.

Ebony

Monstrous Thornback.

Tortoises.

Penguins.

They erected Forges, dress'd all their Tools, and built another Vessel, to supply the Place of the *Utrecht*, which with the other two, had directed her Course for *Madagascar*. They again took a View of their *Maurice* Island, and towards the Inland Part of it, tho' there were no Signs of any humane Habitation, found about three hundred Pounds weight of Wax, on which there were plain *Greek* Letters and Characters. They also saw Oars, Nets, and Pieces of Timber, being the Wreck of Ships. The Vice-Admiral, providing

Wax found with Greek *Characters.*

providing a smooth square Board, carv'd on it the Arms of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Amsterdam*, and nail'd it on the Top of a Tree, as a Memorial of his being there, and giving the Name of *MAURICE* to the Island, with this Inscription, which being in *Spanish*, denotes their Hatred to the Ancient Faith of our Nation, and being couch'd in one Line over their Arms, was, *THE REFORM'D CHRISTIANS*. Then they plow'd up a large Field, and sow'd it with Wheat, and other *European* Grain; turning loose some Hens, to see what Improvement they should find another Time. They again, for some Days, visited the Hills and Plains, and found no Track of Man.

Whilst these refresh'd themselves at the Island *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, being fourteen Days, the other three Ships arriv'd at *S. Mary's*, a barren Island, tho' some Orange and Lemon Trees grow in it, as also Sugar Canes, and there are Hens. About it, and in Sight of Land, there are monstrous Whales. They landed, but not without Opposition from the Natives, with whom they fought, and took their King; but he was easily ransom'd, a Cow and a Calf being given them in Exchange for him. They saw the Manner of the Whale Fishery, which is very easy there. The *Indians* make up close to them in their Canoes, and stick them with a Harping-Iron they dart, being ty'd to Ropes made of the Barks of Trees. They stor'd their Ship with their Flesh and Oil, and some Oranges, and went over to the Bay of *Anton Gil*, where the *Madagascar Indian*, would not stay, as he had desired before, being now well affected to the Habit and Drunkenness of his Companions. They were tost'd backwards and forwards for five Days, between certain Islands, destitute of Provisions, and unsafe, by Reason they were in War among themselves.

S. Mary *Island.*

Strange Ransom for a King.

They set forward with a fair Gale towards *Java*, and on the 26th of *December*, 1598, arriv'd at *Banda*, which is eight Leagues from *Amboina*. This Island is shap'd like a Horse-shooe, and lies in four Degrees of South Latitude. It is most fruitful, with little or no Improvement, in Nutmegs, and their precious Mace; as also Provisions and Medicines for Men, beyond all other Parts of the known World. It is divided into three Parts, each of them three Leagues in Compass. The Capital City is called *Nera*. As soon as they arriv'd, they contracted Friendship with the Islanders; tho' a foreign Ship, to secure the Trade to herself, gave them to understand, that the *Dutch* were certain Pirates who fled the Year before, and had lain conceal'd at Sea, to come again and rob the Island, and therefore they did not fully credit them. This Notion was back'd by Trading *Portuguese*, and others settled there; but the *Dutch* sending their *Abdol*, that is the *Indian* Interpreter, with some Soldiers, and Gifts to present the King, according to the Custom of Merchants that come into his Country, they before him clear'd that Imputation, and defended their Innocence. The King was an Infant, and govern'd by his *Cephates*, that is his Vice-Roy, Tutor, or Protector, who set all right. They gave the King the Present before him, which he receiv'd very graciously. It consisted of certain valuable gilt Vessels, admirably ingrav'd, Christal Glasses, Looking-Glasses in gilt Frames, and Pieces of Velvet and Taffety. They deliver'd him Letters and Commissions of the States of *Holland*, *Zealand*,

Banda *Island.*

The Dutch *settle Trade there.*

and Count *Maurice*, with their Seals hanging to them in Form. All was accepted, and they lay down flat on the Ground to receive and read the Letters, with profound Reverence. The King promis'd to answer them, as he did, and immediately gave leave to Trade; whereupon the *Dutch* built Factories in the Island. They then expos'd in publick Shops great Store of Arms, Silks, Linnen and Cloth; as did the Natives their Spice, *China* Ware, and Pearls, and other Commodities the Neighbouring Islanders and *Chineses* bring hither to barter, and sell to one another. Five Weeks after, the other three Ships arriv'd, and the People of the City hearing the Discharges of the Cannon, and seeing the Auncients spread abroad, for Joy of the Ships meeting again, came down to the Port, and encompass'd the Ships in Boats, offering them Plenty of Fowl, Eggs, Coco Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and Cakes made of Rice-Flower. This dainty Feeding continu'd every Day, and they gave them a Weeks Provision for a *Dutch* Man for one Pewter Spoon. However they rais'd the Price of Pepper; but they pay'd for all with Pins and Needles, Knives, Spoons, Looking-Glasses, and little Tabors; and with those same Commodities, they purchas'd more valuable Goods at *Sumatra*, as also Provisions; when four of these eight Ships return'd Homewards, the others sailing for *Ternate* and the *Moluccos*.

All their Ships meet again.

The greatest Quantity, and best Commodity they took in here, was of Mace. Nutmegs grow also in *Ternate* and the adjacent Islands, but they are few and weak; but in *Banda* there is a plentiful Crop, and they have much more Virtue. Nature has cloath'd its Mountains and Plains, with Woods and Groves of these Plants. They are like the *European* Pear-Trees, and their Fruit resembles Pairs, or rather in Roundness the *Melocotones*. When the Nutmegs blosom, they spread a cordial Fragrancy; by degrees they lose their Native Green, which is original in all Vegetables; and then succeeds a Blew, intermix'd with Grey, Cherry-Colour, and a pale Gold Colour, as we see in the Rainbow, tho' not in that regular Division, but in Spots like the Jaspar Stone. Infinite Numbers of Parrots, and other Birds of various Plumage, most delightful to behold, come to sit upon the Branches, attracted by the sweet Odour. The Nuts, when dry, cast off the Shell it grows cover'd with, and is the Mace, within which is a white Kernel, not so sharp in Taste as the Nut, and when dry is converted into its Substance. Of this Mace, which is hot and dry in the second Degree, and within the third, the *Bandeses* make a most precious Oil to cure all Distempers in the Nerves, and Aches caus'd by cold. Of these Nuts they choose the freshest, weightiest, fattest, juiciest, and without any Hole. With them they cure, or correct stinking Breath, clear the Eyes, comfort the Stomach, Liver, and Spleen, and digest Meat. They are a Remedy against many other Distempers, and serve to add outward Lustre to the Face. The *Bandeses* call the Mace of their Aromatick Nuts, *Buna Pala*. It was not known to the *Greeks* nor to *Pliny*, according to *Averrois*; tho' *Serapion*, whether the true, or the supposititious, when he describes it, alledges *Gallen*'s Authority. It is true the *Chrisabolans* he treated of, agree well enough with the Nutmegs in Colour and Shape.

The Nutmeg Tree.

Oil of Nutmeg.

Virtues of Nutmeg.

The

The *Javaneſes*, *Chineſes*, and Natives of the *Moluccos* reſort to the City *Mera*, to barter for this precious Fruit, and load their Ships with it; and this is the Trade of that People, as is that of Clove to *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and the other *Moluccos*. The Merchants arriving in this Iſland, many of them contribute to make up a Sum, wherewith they purchaſe a Woman, to dreſs their Meat, and attend them. The *Dutch* did ſo from this firſt Time. When they go away ſhe is left free, till they return the next Year; ſo that her Slavery commences with the Return of her Maſters, and their Abſence gives it an Intermiſſion. Some of the Natives are Idolaters; but the greater Part *Mahometans*, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that the very Soldiers do not mount the Guard, till they have pray'd in the Moſques, ſo loud, that all the Neighbourhood can hear them. Nor muſt any Man go into them without waſhing his Feet, in great Veſſels of Water, provided at the Door, by the publick. Their Prayers conſiſt in theſe Words, *Eſtagfer Al'lah Eſtagfer Al'lah, Aſgiv'd Al'lahe, Aſgiv'd Al'lahe, La Il'lahe Inla Al'lah, Muhamed reſul Al'labi.* When they utter theſe laſt Words, they ſtroke their Faces with their Hands, a Ceremony denoting much Devotion. The Words in *Engliſh* are, Pardon O God, Pardon O God. I proſtrate my ſelf to God. I proſtrate my ſelf to God. There is no other God but God, and *Mahomet* his Meſſenger: By thoſe Words, There is no other God but God, they deny the eneffable Myſtery of the moſt bleſſed Trinity. Then they proceed to ſeveral Blaſphemies. They ſay other Prayers, at which they ſcarce move their Lips; when they do this they ſtand three and three upon a Mat, lifting up their Eyes to Heaven three Times, and bowing down their Heads to the Ground. The *Dutch* Author, who gives this Account, does not mention any other Religion in this Iſland, nor in any of the others their Fleets touch'd at; tho' it is ſo well known, that the Catholick Faith of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* has been preach'd many Years before, throughout them all, with the Glory of Martyrdom; but thoſe People conceal it, to what Intent is well known.

Merchants way of living at Banda.

Religion of Banda.

The *Bandeſes* aſſemble in the Streets, and publick Places, where they feaſt themſelves. It is frequent among them to eat in the Temples and Woods, an hundred in a Parcel; eſpecially when they conſult together about the publick Weal, or any Danger. There are ſeven Cities in the Iſland, which are Enemies to one another. *Nera* is averſe to the *Lambethans*, *Combers* and *Veierans*, and maintains Friendſhip with the Inhabitants of *Lontoor*, which is on the other Side of the Iſland, and thoſe of two other little Cities call'd *Poleruija* and *Poelvay*. When they are to fight, they always repair firſt to *Nera*, to concert Affairs. *Banda* provides their Entertainments on the Ground, in the Streets. The Diſhes are made of the Trunks and Leaves of *Bananas*, and other Plants. Every one has a Piece of *Sagu* brought him on them, and a Plate of Rice boil'd in the Broth of Fleſh. This they devour, carrying it to their Mouths with both Hands, and eat it with ſuch a Reliſh, as if they had *Jove*'s Brains dreſs'd ſet before them; ſo the *Dutch* Relation of *Paludanus* and *Hugo* expreſſes it. Whilſt the Meat laſts, till the Multitude are ſatisfy'd, the Nobles by two and two, take up their Cymiters and Shields, and fight to the ſound of Bells, and the Clattering of their Baſons. When weary of this Exerciſe, they deliver the Weapons to others, which continue it. The Cauſe of their Wars, is

Feaſting in Banda.

Enmity among their Cities.

is for that the Inhabitants of *Labetaca*, many Years since, set some Plants in the Territory of *Nera*. The People of this City affronted at this Presumption, made the first War upon them; which is as bloodily prosecuted, as if their Religion, or Honour, depended on it. They attack one another by Day and Night in their Territories, and by Sea in their *Carcoas*.

Banda *Tar*. In these they do not, like us, fill up the Seams of the Boards with Pitch and Tar, but with Shells of *Indian* Nuts, which they call *Clappos*. They pound those Shells and Rhinds, till they become like a Bitumen, or Mass, wherein there remain certain Threads, which resemble Hemp. with this they knit their Seams, and fill up the Crannyes and cover them in such Sort that it resists the Force of the Water. They carry two, and sometimes four Pieces of Cannon. The Men use small Fire-locks, Bucklers, and large Cymiters, which they call *Padang*, and Lances of a more solid Wood than our Box. They exercise all these Weapons from their Child-hood, as they do in casting a sort of Hooks with sharp Points and Edges, which they dart at the Enemies Bodies, and then draw back the Lines they are made fast to. Their Heads they arm with Helmets; and on their Crests wear Birds of Paradise, both for Ornament, and a superstitious Defence. They have Breast and Back Pieces, and call'd them as we did Corselets. When they are to fight at Sea, as soon as the War-like Instruments begin to sound, the Soldiers fall a leaping, and skipping on the Benches, which run round the *Carcoas* from Stem to Stern. The Slaves ply the Oars, which are like wooden Shovels, make the Vessel fly by main Force, and serve to lade out the Water, when there is Occasion. They are so revengeful, that having been in those Days vanquish'd on Land by the *Labetans*, many of them being kill'd and wounded, those of *Nera* assembled the next Day in five *Carcoas*, and attacking the little Island *Bayjer*, the Natives whereof had assisted the *Labetans* they slew all they found, without sparing any but a few Women, whom they carry'd Captives to *Nera*, with the Heads of their Enemies before them on Spears; and for four Days, to the Amazement of Forreigners, and particularly the *Dutch*, they show'd their Cymiters embrew'd in Gore, about the Streets. Nay, a Soldier among them, in the Sight of Abundance, took a Fancy to try his Cymiter, he carry'd naked, and with it clove down one of the Captive Women, from the Shoulder to the Breast.

Their Weapons.

Oars like Shovels.

Cruelty of Bandeses.

Burial of Enemies. Heads.

They shew'd themselves Merciful in burying those Heads, assembling together in the House of the *Shabander*, that is the Governor, in the Presence of all the People, which uses to meet to see such Spectacles, every Soldier, as a Testimony of his Valour, laid all the Heads he had cut off on a very large Stone, under a Tree: They wrapp'd them up in Cotton Cloths, and carrying them in Dishes bury'd them in a Grove, with much Smoke of Frankincense, whereof they have great Plenty. Had those dead Persons been Natives, their Kindred and Friends would have come immediately to lament with loud Cries, as they use to do, over their Graves, which they dig like us, wrap up the Bodies in Shrouds of white Cotton, and carry them to be bury'd on their Shoulders. They are great Observers, that the Funerals of Men should go before those of Women; place Lamps over the Graves of all, and by their Light pray for them. They cry out furiously, calling the Dead, as if they hop'd they should come to Life at their Call; and perceiving they do not rise again, the Kindred and Friends meet about the

Their Funerals.

the most splendid Entertainment they are able to provide. Being ask'd by the *Dutch*, what it was they ask'd of God in the Prayers they mutter'd over the Graves, they answer'd. *We pray that the Dead may not rise again.* So that the Want of the true Light of Faith, does not hinder them from seeing, how much Mankind suffers from the first Moment of his Life, till the last; but it is rather to be concluded, that they look upon it as a Misfortune to have been born. They were much amaz'd to hear, that the *Dutch* did not use the same Ceremony towards their dead.

Foot-Ball. They play at Foot-Ball, which is made of *Spanish* Reeds. They that Play make a Ring one standing in the Center, who tosses the Ball to those about him, and they with a Kick throw it so high that it is almost out of Sight. If any one misses it, they hiss, and hoot, to shame him for his Unskilfulness. *Life long in* Banda. Men live in this Island longer than in any other Parts of the World. The *Dutch* saw several, who exceed 130 Years of Age. They live upon the Product of their Country; and tho' there is continual War, yet the greater Number lives Idle; and it is very remarkable that those People, who are so much addicted to Sloath, should be such Enemies to Quietness. A useless Life does not deserve much Age; and that which is dedicated to Idleness seldom attains to it. *Women Till the Land.* The Women Plow and Till the Land, and follow other manly Professions. They seldom go abroad with Men; they have all the Charge of Houshold Affairs, and their greatest Employment within Doors, is usually uncasing and drying of Nutmegs.

Dutch *depart from* Banda. The *Dutch* having loaded with Spice, Purcelane, and some Rubies, and settled Factories, and Amity, sail'd from *Banda*, on the 14th of *July*, with great firing of Cannon. They stood towards the Island *Noesselau*, the Natives whereof are *Anthropophagi*, so the *Greeks* call Man-Eaters. They proceeded towards that of *Amboyna*, whose Western Point they discover'd, yet did not touch at it then, but went on to the greater *Java*, notwithstanding *Come to* Java. their Admiral was at *Amboyna*. They arriv'd at *Java* and the City *Tuban*, sent two Boats thither to Discover, and know whither they might be allow'd to take in Provisions. Those who return'd with the Answer, brought along with them a *Portuguese*, who, at the Perswasion of the Natives, had renounc'd the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, as was known, and call'd among them by the name of the *Renegado*, as a proper Appellative, and not dishonourable. This Man inform'd the Admiral, That if he would stay there three or four Months, he might enrich his Ships to his Hearts Content. They sent by him to ask the King's Leave, with some Presents of Copper, Glass, and Silk. The next day Merchants came down to the Harbour, with Abundance of Commodities; and from the King, in Return for their insignificant Present, they brought the *Dutch* 19 great Sacks of Rice. The Trade being settled, they went up to the City, where they saw several Horsemen, well Arm'd, Horses well Accouter'd, on which they value themselves very much, Shops well stor'd, and a free Trade for all Nations. The Vice-Admiral went to kiss the King's Hand, who receiv'd him Graciously; promis'd to go Aboard the Ships in Person, and perform'd it, having first order'd them to be show'd all his Royal Apartments, even to his Womens private Lodgings; his Elephants; an infinite number of Birds in Cages, and his Stables full of excellent Horses, and many of them. Then the Prince came Aboare the Ships, and after him the King. The Cannon saluted them both, and they admir'd, and were pleas'd with the Noise.

Portuguese *Renegado.*

Presents to and from the King.

Tuban

Tuban *Capital of* Java.

Tuban is the King of *Java*'s Court, the strongest of all the Cities in that Island, encompass'd with a high Wall, divided by several Gates with Towers on them, contains stately Structures, and Squares appointed for the publick Resort of Traders, the King is extraordinary rich, and in a few Hours can gather a great Number of Horse and Foot. His Palace is truly Royal, his Family consists of the Prime Nobility, and he is very powerful at Sea. They call their Ships Juncks; which being loaded with Pepper, and other Product of the Country, as Silks and Cloths, the Manufactures of his People, are sent to *Balim*; where bartering them for Cloaths, they transport those to other Kingdoms, as those of *Banda*, the *Moluccos*, and *Philippines*. Whence, and from other Islands, having improv'd their Commodities, they bring Mastick, Nutmegs, Cloves, and other Spice. All the Country abounds in Cattle, which graze all Day in the Woods, and are hous'd at Night. Their Habit is the same as at *Banda*, and covers their Bodies from the Waste downwards, the rest upwards remaining naked. They all wear Daggers, call'd *Crises*, and the Nobles stately long Vests, the Fullness whereof waves in the Air magnificently. None of them goes abroad attended by less than ten or twelve Servants, one of which always carries for his Master a little Basket full of the Leaves of a certain Plant they call *Betele*, which they chew with green Nuts, and a little Lime. This Composition they call *Ledon*; in chewing, it yields a Juice, which they swallow, and then spit out the green Substance, after the Virtue has been extracted in their Mouths.

Trade of that City.

Habit.

The Kings Dress.

They were so overjoy'd at the coming of the *Dutch*, that the next Day they invited them to see their Diversions. The King was present a Horse-Back, clad in several Sorts of rich Silks, but all Girt about him. To his Belt hung a Cymiter, in a Scabard adorn'd with precious Stones; the Hilt of beaten Gold, with a Devils Head form'd on it. On his Turbant he had abundance of Feathers. All the Nobility follow'd him, Dress'd much after the same manner, mounted on stately prancing Horses, but smaller than ours, with rich Furnitures of *Spanish* Leather, studded, and plated with Gold, and Figures of Serpents; and in some of the Bridles they had Stones, so white that they look'd like Alabaster. Sometimes they ran streight forwards, and sometimes in a Ring, casting their Darts. When the Sport was over, they attended the King, by whose Orders they carry'd aboard the Ships, and to the *Dutch* Men's Lodgings, a great quantity of Rice, Sheep, Goats, Hens, Eggs, Fish, and Fruit, as Coco-Nuts, Mangos, Lemons, and delicious Bananas. Then they fell to treating of Trade, and Amity, and thought every Thing cheap except the Pepper, for they not liking the Commodities the *Dutch* offer'd in Exchange for it, lifting up their Hands cry'd, *Lima*, which, in their Tongue, signifies five Pieces of Eight. So much they demanded for a Measure of theirs. They were well receiv'd in all Respects, except in Relation to admitting of their Sect.

Commerce settled between the Dutch *and* Javaneses.

Madura *Island.*

They had deliver'd Letters to the King from Count *Maurice*, which he answer'd in the *Persian* Tongue, and the *Dutch* having receiv'd them, left *Tuban*, on the 24th of the same Month, with fair Weather, and well furnish'd with valuable Commodities and Provisions. Passing by the Island *Sidago*, they anchor'd between *Java* and *Madura*; sounded the Depth, and notwithstanding the Current, and that the Ground was a stiff Muddy Hill, they

they visited *Madura*, landing on the East-side; but remov'd presently to the City *Arosbay*, on the West, and afterwards thence to *Jorta*, to get Guides, or Pilots to conduct them to the rest of the *Moluccos*. They sent to Compliment the King of *Madura*, who presently after the Audience, sent the Vice-Admiral a Sheep, with which went the Renegado, who had brought him a Dagger, they call *Criz*, from the King of *Tuban*, richly adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, and the King's Head engrav'd on the Pommel. They found a *German* settled in the Country, rich in Spice, and understood by him, that at *Arosbay* they had seiz'd 40 of their Companions. The Island of *Madura*, next to *Java*, inclines to the Northward. They wear the same Habit as in the other; but are sharper Witted. It is most fruitful in Rice, but both in Reaping and Plowing, the Peasants and Buffalos are mir'd up to the Knees, the continual Inundations keeping the Ground so wet. Few Ships come to it, by reason of its inaccessible Shoales. They have the same common use of Weapons, Elephants, Horses, Spears, Campilanes, or Cymiters, and Shields. The *Crizes*, or Daggers, worn by the King's Guards are of Silver. The City *Arosbay* is Populous, and well Wall'd. The *Hollanders* main Design in coming to it, was, as has been said, to take in Pilots, and other Necessaries to proceed to the *Molucco* Islands; to which Purpose, and to avoid the Shoals lying betwixt *Java* and *Madura*, they divided their Ships. The Vice-Admiral, with the *Guelder* and *Zealand*, pass'd the Chanels of *Madura*, in order to joyn, at *Jorta*, the Junks that sail for *Ternate*, and thence to the other *Molucco* Islands.

Madura *Described.*

Arosbay *City.*

The Admiral *Sticht Utrecht*, running along the length of *Madura*, came to an Anchor before *Arosbay*. He sent out a Number of his Men in the Boat, to bring Rice, and other Provisions from Shore. No sooner were they landed, then seiz'd, disarm'd, stripp'd, and carry'd before the King. Those staying long, another Boat was sent with only three Men, and the same befell them. The Prisoners intreated the King to give leave, that those three, or any others, might go to give the Admiral an Account. He granted it, but upon Condition, That as soon as they had deliver'd the Message, they should return to Prison. They gave Notice of their Misfortune, and the Admiral sent away a Boat to carry immediate Advice to his Countrymen at the City *Jorta*, writing several Letters to procure the Prisoners Liberty. The Vice-Admiral came with his Ships, and joyn'd those at *Arosbay*. The King demanded the two biggest Brass Guns aboard the Admiral, many Pieces of Silk, and one thousand Pieces of Eight for the Ransom of the Prisoners. The Admiral answer'd, That the Cannon was not his own, but belong'd to all his Nation, and therefore he desir'd him to moderate the Ransom, and turn it into Money, or take it out in such Commodities as he brought. Six Days were spent in Treating, and the Delay made the Conclusion more Difficult; and therefore the Admiral believing, that his Men were kept Prisoners in their own Boats, or near the Sea, without any considerable Guard, he order'd all his Men to land at once, and to Rescue them by Force. An hundred and fifty *Dutchmen* attempted it, but saw a great Number of People gathering on the Shore, led by the *Portugueses*, who carry'd white Colours, in token of Peace, giving out that they came to treat of an Accommodation, which, as *Hugo* affirms, was a Stratagem to gain Time for the Citizens to Arm. The *Dutch* either suspected, or had Notice

Dutch *taken by the King of* Madura.

His Demands for their Ransom.

Attempt to Rescue them by Force.

of it, and forming a small Body with about 20 Musquetiers, contriv'd to have their other Boats draw nearer, that so the Seamen and Officers might come to Fight, according to the appointed Order. More Men came out of the City, at another Gate, to enclose them unawares in the Port. The *Dutch* saw into the Policy, and were sensible of the Danger, and therefore sent two other Boats to guard the Port. This Precaution was the saving of their Lives; but they could not escape a Shower of Arrows, wherewith the *Arosbayans* thought to subdue them, not so much by their Force, and the Harm receiv'd, as by keeping the Enemy in Play, that so they might spend their Powder, and be oblig'd to retire to their Ships. Nor would they have been safe there, for now the Wind and Sea threatned them, and thirty six Men belonging to the Admiral, and thirteen to the *Zealand* were Drown'd, and the Boats cast away. Some few escap'd, whom they did not kill, at the Request of the Renegado of *Tuban*, but they were made Prisoners. These kneeling down, to move Compassion, with their dismal Looks, and Tears, the Conquerors laid a Handful of Earth on their Heads, a Ceremony they use towards the vanquish'd, whose Lives they grant. Perhaps they themselves know not the Reason, and Original of this Custom. Five and Twenty were lost in this Encounter, fifteen of the Admirals, one of *John Marts*, and nine of the *Zealand*. The Prisoners were carry'd to a Country Cottage; three Men dangerously wounded, one Trumpeter, and a Herald put into Chains, the others only their Hands bound. The rest were carry'd far from these, and put into a deep Cellar. The Herald being brought into the King's Prefence, he ask'd him, whether he would stay in his Country, promising, among other Favours, that he would marry him to two of his own Wives. The *Dutchman* answer'd, returning Thanks, but with Freedom in his Looks, That with his good leave he had rather return to his Companions. He was therefore carry'd, with the Trumpeter, about the City, and at his going out at the Gate saw all the Prisoners, being fifty one, who were conducting, under a Guard, to another Island.

Dutch *Defeated.*

Ceremony in giving Quarter.

Prisoners Ransom'd.

In fine, the Agreement was concluded, and the King discharg'd them for 2000 *Florines*. So they return'd to their Ships, except two, who hid themselves, taking a liking to that barbarous Way of living. The Governour *Jacob Marts* Dy'd, his Body was cast into the Sea, and the rest sailing to the Northward, directed their Course for the Island of *Celebes*. They pass'd by *Combay*, six Leagues from it, and beyond that of *Bouton*, and escap'd the Ridges of Rocks of *Cebessa*, which are not mark'd down, nor taken Notice of in Maps. There fell mighty Rains, and they steer'd North East for the Island of *Amboyna*, and in sight of *Boora*. A Boy dy'd aboard the *Zealand*; another falling off a Yard, into the Sea, held a Rope's End in his Mouth, that his Arms might be at Liberty to swim, and quitted it not, till he had Help, and was sav'd. The next Day they lay by, and their Preacher made a long Spiritual Discourse upon the Sacraments, to celebrate the solemnity of Baptizing two Boys, whom he had already Catechis'd. On the first of *March*, not far from *Blau*, to the Eastward of *Boora*, they saw three other smaller Islands, call'd *Atypoti*, *Maniba*, and *Gita*, which are not far from *Amboyna*. They pass'd by them, and arriv'd at *Amboyna* on the third of the same Month.

Dutch *Depart.*

Come to Amboyna.

The Port is small, and at the Mouth of it, they were receiv'd by three Boats,

Boats, belonging to the Town of *Matel*, ſeated on the Mountains. Thence they went on to that of *Ito*. *Amboyna* is about eight Leagues from *Banda*, to the Northward, in the Way to *Ternate*. The compaſs of it is fifteen Leagues, moſt fruitful in Cloves, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, Coco-Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and other ſuch like Product. The Natives are more open Hearted, and ſincere, than thoſe of the *Moluccos* or *Banda*; wear the ſame Habit; live upon the Trade of Spice; are temperate and abſtemious, and great Sufferers of Hardſhip. Their Weapons, are Spears with Sharp twiſted Ends; theſe they dart ſo dexterouſly, that they will hit the ſmalleſt Mark at a great Diſtance. They alſo uſe Cymiters and Shields, and now Muſkets. They make great Maſſes of Sugar, Rice, and Almonds, like our Sugar-Loaves, and value themſelves upon being able Seamen. Their *Carcoas* are like great Dragons, did theſe ſwim with their Bodies extended on the Water, and lifting up their two Ends of Head and Tail, which are gilt, and well Carv'd, and ſerve for Prow and Poop. At both of them hang Standards of ſeveral Sorts of Silk, and Colours, which are born up by the Wind, when they do not reach to the Water. The Admiral of *Amboyna* came with three of theſe Veſſels full of arm'd Men, to ſee the *Dutch*, with a Noiſe of Kittle-Drums, and Braſs Baſons hanging on the Muſitian's Left-Shoulder, and ſtriking them with the Right-Hand, as they do the Tabors in *Spain*. They ſang their ſet Airs, underſtood by none but the Native *Amboyneſes*, tho' attentively liſten'd to by the *Dutch*, for their Strangeneſs. The Slaves alſo ſang to the Noiſe of their Oars. They fir'd the three Guns every *Carcoa* carry'd, being a Salute, in Honour of their Gueſts; who relying on that Reception, dropt their Anchors, poſting many Sentinels, becauſe they obſerv'd the Natives had done the ſame in all Parts, and there were conſtant Fires in many Places.

Their Weapons.

Carcoas.

Muſick.

The *Amboyneſe* Admiral aſk'd them, What they came for, and who they were, and having heard their Anſwer, gave them leave to go aſhore, and expoſe their Commodities, allowing them free Commerce, contrary to his Majeſty's Prohibition, which us'd to be more punctually obſerv'd in this Iſland. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral went aſhore, where he was well received, and conducted to a Seat cover'd with Sails of Ships, ſupported by Trees, full of Fruit not known in *Europe*. He eaſily prevail'd with the Governors, to allow him full Liberty to Trade. Their Succeſs was forwarded by *Cachil Azude*, Brother to the King of *Ternate*, who happen'd to be there then, celebrating his Nuptials, being newly come with his Bride, who was the Daughter of a *Sangiack* of *Batochina*. He had long courted, and deſir'd to be marry'd to her, but was oppos'd by the Father, who had promiſed her to the King of *Bachian*. We ſhall ſay no more of their Love, nor of what became of the Prince, becauſe it is no eſſential Part of this Hiſtory. He preſently repair'd to the *Dutch*, and order'd them to be furniſh'd with thoſe Loaves made of Sugar, Almonds and Rice, with Coco-Nuts, Bananas, and Wine made of Rice, and this ſo laviſhly, that the *Dutch* Relations own they had ſcarce Room to lay up ſuch Plenty of Proviſions. The ſame would have been, had they bought them, for they had ſo much for a Pewter Spoon, that they knew not what to do with it. The *Amboyneſe* Admiral went aboard the Ships again, was pleas'd to ſee the great Guns, and the Variety and Plenty of Merchandiſe. The Prince of *Ternate*

Dutch *permitted to Trade at* Amboyna.

King of Ternate's *Brother aſſiſts the* Dutch.

Plenty of Proviſions.

did the same, and both of them at their coming and going were saluted by the Cannon. They had private Conferences with him, and other Noblemen of the *Moluccos*, who attended him. They erected Factories in several Parts of *Amboyna*, and agreed that the two Ships, *Guelder* and *Zealand*, should Sail for *Banda*, whilst the other two lay two Months to load and rest at *Amboyna*. We shall mention hereafter what befel these in *Ternate*, let us now return to the other two.

Two Dutch *Ships sail for* Banda.

They sail'd with a fair Wind, but one of them stuck in the Flats of *Ceru*, so that she could scarce be got off. Below *Jealau*, they met a *Portuguese* Ship at *Naesau*, the Inhabitants of which Place eat Mans Flesh. They pass'd on merrily by *Poelsetton*, two Leagues short of *Banda*, on that Side. It is desert, and uninhabited, infamous, for stronger Reasons, than the *Greeks* alledge against the *Acroceraunian* Rocks. There are Cryes, Whistles, and Roarings heard in it at all Times, and dreadful Apparitions are seen, with Fires ascending through the Air; and long Experience has shown, that it is inhabited by Devils. Therefore Sailors, when they pass in Sight of it, which seldom happens without Storms, make all the Sail they can to get far off, from the very Wind that blows on it. The *Dutch* chief Pilot knowing so much, furiously took such fast hold of the Helm, that all the rest could not put him from it; He drew it to him violently, thinking that Force drove on the Ship; his Face grew fiery, and his Breast not being able to contain his Wind, he breath'd fast, and groan'd, till being past the Island, the grew merry, and whistling loud, scoff'd at the Devil, because he could not cast away the Ship; yet soon after he was in Disorder again, and dropt the Helm; they recover'd him, and made all fail to go forward. They arriv'd at *Banda*, near the River, on the fifteenth of the Mouth. Several *Bandese* Boats came out, offering their Spice. The *Dutch* landed, carrying with them sundry Commodities, which they expos'd in Shops. A rich *Turk*, who was in Esteem, entertain'd them. They built Houses on the Island, and a few Days after hear'd News of their Admiral, by some *Chinese* Ships, that came from *Amboyna*; and were inform'd, that the *Portugueses* were already at War with the Natives, for entertaining and allowing them Factories.

Island of Devils.

Dutch *Pilot frighted by the Devil.*

Trade at Banda.

Return thence.

On the fourth of *July*, having settled Trade at *Banda*, they sail'd thence towards *Noesetau*, along the Channels of *Zeru*, without regarding their Admiral, who was promoting, and fomenting the War at *Amboyna*. They sail'd in Sight of *Routon*, which is in five Degrees of South Latitude, and of the Island *Cobayna*. On the twelfth they pass'd the Coast of *Celebes*, and on the seventeenth, by that of *Madura*, and again discover'd *Arosbay*, where the Misfortune we have spoken of befel them. They ran along the Coast of *Java*, and in the Evening came to *Iacatra*, where they cast Anchor, sent to visit the King, and their Compliment was return'd by him with a Present of Rice, Fowl, and Coco-Nuts, and a Buffalo for the Vice-Admiral. The *Zealanders*, who had been left at *Banda* in their Houses and Factories, in the Cities of *Montelongo*, and *Soleparvo*, by Letters of the first of *August*, acquainted them, how the new Friendship was establish'd. From this Time the *Dutch* began, without any Opposition, to possess themselves of the Provinces belonging to the Crown of *Spain* in *Asia*.

They took Leave of that King, and return'd to *Banda*, with the Natives of

of which Place they had now contracted such Familiarity, that some Ships belonging to *Bandese* Merchants, which they met by the Way, presented them with a considerable Quantity of Porcelane. At their Arrival the Governour came out to meet them, with 400 Men, inviting them to take some Refreshment ashore, which they refus'd, but made presents to each other, and drank out great Vessels of Wine made of Rice, which is a powerful and strong Liquor. Continuing their Voyage on the tenth of *September*, towards the South West, they thought they were under the Tropick of *Capricorn*. On the thirtieth, they were in 28 Degrees, with the Wind at West, somewhat Northerly, and ran thirty Leagues beyond Cape *S. Roman*, after they had been tost'd among many Islands, in thirty two Degrees and a half South. Next they discover'd Cape *Ploemera*, of the Southern *Ethiopia*, or Land of the *Cafres*. A Storm dispers'd the Ships, but they met again when it ceas'd, at Cape *Anquillos*. On the seventh of *September* they arriv'd at the Island *S. Helena*; the Master went ashore, kill'd many wild Beasts; and furnish'd the Ships with Fruit, there being Plenty of both. The Sick recover'd there: They went into the solitary Church, and on the first of *January*, 1600, they sail'd thence, and being come into five Degrees of North Latitude, on the Thirtieth of the same Month, observ'd an Eclypse. Then they began to discover the North Pole, which had been out of their Sight so long. On the thirteenth of *February* they had Sight of the Island *Mayo*, or *May*, one of those of *Cabo Verde*, and about the End of *March* discover'd the *English* Hills. In fine, they arriv'd at the *Texel*, and thence to *Amsterdam*, where they unladed that spicy Wealth, the like, for Quality and Newness, had never yet been brought to *Lisbon*; at least *Hugo's* Relations tell us, there might have been as precious Oyl drawn from these, as when they were just gather'd.

S. Helena *Island.*

Whilst these two Ships, *Zealand* and *Guelder*, were sailing Home, the other two, *Amsterdam* and *Utretcht*, being almost naturaliz'd at *Amboyna*, departed thence for *Ternate*, on the eigth of *March*, 1599, in the Company of three *Junks*, full of *Javanese* Soldiers, well arm'd, and hir'd to attack a Fort that was defended by *Portugueses*. Before their Departute, some of them went ashore, and among other Game, took Abundance of green Pigeons, as big as our Ducks. They loaded with Clove, because it is sold in that Island for thirty five Royals a Bar, which is there 150 Pounds. They were inform'd, that the *Dutch*, who had been left at *Banda*, would soon come to joyn them. The *Portugueses* attacking a Fort with ill Success, the *Dutch*, who were before agreed with the Prince of *Ternate*, arm'd, and mix'd with his Men. This was the first Time they ever fought with the Subjects of *Spain*, in those Parts; and the *Dutch* Author, who gives an Account of this Action, says, the Islanders look'd upon it as a Prodigy.

The other Dutch *Ships depart the* Moluccos.

Green Pigeons.

Having settled Commerce at *Amboyna*, they sail'd away for the Islands of *Ternate*, taking for their Guide, a Captain, who pretended to them, that he was Brother to the King of an Island; and to magnify his Grand-Father, boasted he had kept seventy lawful Wives, besides Concubines; and that his Son, to vye with him, had forty Wives, besides Mistresses. So says the Journal of that Voyage, writ by them who perform'd it. They discover'd the Islands of *Tydore* and *Ternate* on the twenty sixth, and coming to an Anchor at the latter, in fifteen Fathom Water, put out their Colours,

Dutch *at* Ternate.

Colours, fired their Cannon, and spar'd for no real or vain Ostentation. The King of *Ternate*, whose deep known Sagacity is such, that he trusts no other but himself to observe what Dangers may threaten, went into his own *Carcoa*, attended by many others, on the 28th of *May*, and sail'd to the Place, where the *Dutch* lay at Anchor. He drew near and inclos'd the Ships, call'd to the Admiral, and ask'd him, who he was, whence his Ships, and other Particulars. These Questions and Answers held some Hours, by Means of the *Naguatato*'s who interprered the Discourse. The Admiral intreated the King that he would please to come aboard his Ship. He excus'd himself, first alledging, that he did not like those Ladders they show'd him to go up to them, tho' they had purposely cover'd them with fine Cloth; and afterwards, that the Sun was setting, and it was Time for him to repair to his Devotions. Having made this godly Excuse, he sail'd towards the City, the Air resounding with the Noise of his Brass Basons, Flat Tabors, Guns, Shouts, and *Persian* Songs.

The King goes to view the Ships.

The 29th he drew near to the new Comers again, with 23 *Carcoas*; in which he had 100 Brass Guns for his Defence, and firing them all at once, to the clattering of Bells, made show of his Warlike Preparation. The Confusion of it being over, tho' they sang Verses, as they do to denote Peace, in the *Malay* Tongue, so they call the Language of *Malaca*, whence it was convey'd to the *Moluccos*; yet the *Dutch* made ready their great Guns, Muskets, and half Pikes. They plac'd some arm'd Men out of Sight in every Ship, as also where they might be taken Notice of, showing, or at least not concealing their Jealousy, that so no sudden Surprize might find them unprovided. The King's *Carcoa* drew near alone, and those who were in it spoke to the *Dutch* Admiral, by Means of the *Naguatato*, without showing themselves.

He returns.

The King was satisfy'd with only talking to them, and withdrew; after Noon he return'd with only two *Carcoas*, one of which tow'd a Boat after her. Being come up to the *Dutch*, he began to talk to the Vice-Admiral; enquir'd after their Guns, and order'd the other *Carcoa* to stand further off, and the Captain going too far, the Boat, either accidentally, or by Design, broke loose from the Stern, and was over-set by the Waves; the King then desired the Admiral to fire at it with a Ball, that he might see whether they could hit or sink it. They fir'd immediately, the King being well pleas'd to see that the Shot had shav'd the Boat in Pieces. The Admiral laying hold of this Opportunity, took Care, whilst they were commending the Shot, which serv'd to disguise the Threat, to let him know that he could with as much Ease sink the *Carcoas*. This Tryal satisfy'd the King, who soon after gave leave for that Nation to Trade in his Dominions, and barter Cloves, Spice, precious Stones, and Pearls, all which is there to be found, by reason of the Resort of the *Japonese*, *Camboxa* and *Chinese* Ships. Of these last they then saw some all made of Wood alone, even to their Anchors, and the Sails of Cane. They came to an Anchor at *Ternate*, where the first Thing they did, was burying of *Reynart Reymarts*, a *Dutch* Soldier, scarce worthy of that Buryal, Idolaters and *Mahometans* resorting to the Funeral. The King the next Day sent a *Carcoa* to acquaint the *Dutch*, that he would go aboard their Ships, and a Boat came

Talks with the Dutch.

Gives them leave to Trade.

came to the Admiral's Side, with only four *Ternates* in a private Habit, who, by their Queſtions, Curioſity, and Solicitude, ſeem'd to be Spyes, as they did by all their Diſcourſe, which was on ſundry Subjects, and very full of ſolid Reflection; which was held on, and liſten'd to, with Attention and Diſſimulation.

The King viſits the Dutch. in Diſguiſe.

When the *Dutch* expected the King would come, they underſtood he was one of the four then talking to them from the Boat. They ſignify'd to him that they knew him, and he did not deny it. They pay'd him the Reſpect due to a King; but then he refus'd to return to the Ship. Notwithſtanding theſe Jealouſies, he approved of the Behaviour of that People. On the ſecond of *June* Embaſſadors went aſhore, who carry'd the King a Preſent, which he accepted of, and treated them courteouſly. They return'd, full of Admiration of the infinite Quantity of Cloves, and the wonderful Woods of them; and bringing the News, that the *Ternates* would ſoon come to view and buy the *Dutch* Commodities.

Concourſe of People to the Dutch.

The next Day they came in great Numbers, *Sangiacks*, *Cachiles*, and Commons, Barbarian Ladies, and all Sorts of Women, with Variety of Attendance. The Shores were cover'd with ſundry Sorts of People; differing in Habit, Colour, and great Diverſity of Feathers; among them many naked, and of various Countenances, for all flock'd out, as if it had been ſome publick Feſtival. Tho' they admir'd the Wealth of the Ships, yet they rais'd the Price of the Bars of Clove ſo high, that they could not come to any Agreement, becauſe that was to be their main Loading. They went aſhore on the 10th and 11th, to ſee whether they abated any Thing of the Price, and to ſome other Purpoſes, which do not concern us, tho' they might be ſome Ornament, but ſhall be left in the Originals where they were writ. They could not conclude any Thing with the King, or his Subjects, becauſe they were celebrating a Feſtival, and the *Dutch* were preſent at the Shews.

Indian Gladiators.

A Sort of Combatants, like the *Roman Pugiles*, and *Gladiators*, tho' differing in ſome Reſpects, fought in a large ſpacious Square. Theſe *Ternates* did not move from one Place to another, nor hurt one another, but ſtood continually upon one Foot, without changing or eaſing it, on any Account; but the Foot that was lifted up, mov'd about and ſtretch'd in the Air, without being put to the Ground. Their Miſtreſſes, Wives, or Siſters attended in the Field, with Branches of Flowers, and *China* Diſhes full of *Aromatick* Liquors, to refreſh thoſe that were tyr'd; but moſt of them attended the Conqueror. The Sport being ended, the next Day the King repair'd to the Ships, but went not aboard. Diſcourſing with the Admiral, he ask'd him for a gilt Musket, which he preſented him, and the King did not think fit to receive Gratis, becauſe he had ask'd for it; he therefore order'd, that when the *Dutch* paid the Tithe of the Spice, which is the Duty he has from Merchants, they ſhould have two Bars and a half diſcounted for the Price of the Musket, and that they ſhould be furniſh'd with every Thing they had Occaſion for beſides. He was well pleas'd one Day, that the *Dutch* ſhould ſee how a Boy of eleven Years of Age, was led about the Streets, with his Hands bound, becauſe he had ſtolen a *Tubac*, that is, a Leaf of a Frail, with as many Cloves as it would carry; becauſe this was an Inſtance of their Severity in puniſhing that Offence.

The King asks a Musket, and pays for it.

Severe Puniſhment of petty Larceny.

The

The other Boys, shouted and sham'd him, proclaiming the Theft with loud Voices.

Triumph of Ternates.

About this Time some *Ternate* Troops return'd Home victorious, having plunder'd and destroy'd a Town in the Island of *Tydore*. They march'd into the City on the 20th of *July*, the King being present, with their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters drawn, and bloody, with half Heads, Ears, and Hair of those they had conquer'd, or slain, sticking to them. They shew'd the Shields and Weapons they had taken from them, their Cloaths and Feathers, and 43 Prisoners, who follow'd dragging Chains, some about their Necks, and some at their Heels. Among them was a brave Youth, 21 Years of Age, who was a *Sangiack* of Note, and Kinsman to the King of *Tydore*; as also a very beautiful *Portuguese* Lady, Wife to a Captain in that Fort. They walk'd about the City, with all this State and Plunder, till they came to the King's Palace; there the Captives were sacrific'd, and the *Portuguese* Lady sold for a Slave, a rare Piece of Mercy, and purchas'd by her Tears. The King of *Ternate* honour'd the Chief of the *Tydores*, smiling and lovingly encouraging him, as Kinsman to a King. The Youth excusing himself, and pleading Innocence, to gain the Victor's Favour, he return'd a favourable Answer, and bid him wash himself. Sweet Water was brought to wash their Hands, and it was poured over the King's Hands and his, at the same Time, out of one Ewer. Then the Captive thus assur'd, letting fall his Hands with the Water, which, perhaps, is a Ceremony to denote Peace, and bowing his Head by way of Civility, a Soldier struck him on the Neck with a sharp *Campilane*, or Cymiter, so furiously, that the Head dropt at some Distance from the Body half alive; then they cut both the Head and Body into small Pieces, all which, to exercise their utmost Rage, they put into a *Prau*, which is a little Boat, and then sunk all together in the Sea.

Prisoners sacrific'd.

Barbarous Perfidiousness.

More of their Cruelty.

Four Days after another Parcel of *Ternates* came with several *Tydore* Prisoners, whose Heads they cut off in the Port, as they did that of a Stranger, who came peaceably to the Island with Merchandize. All these Spectacles the *Dutch* beheld. Such good Use do those Barbarians make of Victory. Friendship being now establish'd with the *Dutch*, and the King well assur'd of it, he resolv'd to go aboard their Ships. He went aboard the Admiral on the 25th of *July*, with all his Guard, where nothing escap'd being narrowly view'd and observ'd by him, with a seeming willingness to buy it. He desired the Admiral to leave some of his Men at *Ternate*, which was refus'd at that Time. He view'd the Ship over again, and going into the Cook-Room, very much admir'd a Pair of Bellows, wherewith they kindled the Fire in his Presence, and seeing the Use they were put to, took them into his own Hands, and was a considerable Time opening and shutting of them; then biting and pressing the Nozle with his Lips, he began to swallow the Wind it blow'd out, swelling himself up, not without much Laughter and Astonishment of the *Dutch*, who write, they Thought the King was either running Mad, or had no Sense before. He begg'd those Bellows, and being presented with them, was highly pleas'd. He return'd several Times after to the Ships, with a greater Design in his Head, which was to try whether he could by any Means contrive to seize them. He was pleas'd to see how affectionately his Subjects traded

The King aboard the Dutch *Ships.*

Foolish Behaviour of his.

traded and truſted them with their Spice. At length they prevail'd upon the Admiral to leave ſome of his Men, with a good Sum of Money, to buy up Cloves the next gathering. The firſt *Dutch* Factors left at *Ternate*, were *Francis Verdoes*, Father to *William*; *Diricht Floris*, *Jacob Lamberts*, *John Jans*, of *Grol*; *Cornelius Adrians*, and a Boy of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Name was *Henry Jans*. Theſe laid the Ground for the ſecond Enmity, with the firſt Rebells of that Nation, who conſpir'd with the *Ternates*, and were afterwards the Occaſion of other Fleets and Succours coming into thoſe Parts, againſt their Natural Sovereign. Dutch Factors at Ternate.

Theſe Men being left at *Ternate*, and having receiv'd Intelligence that the Brigantines were returning from the Iſland of *Banda*, the Ships ſail'd from *Ternate*, on the 19th of *Auguſt*, paſſing by the Iſland *Maca*, among the other *Moluccos*, and that of *Oba*, to the Northward. Then in two Degrees and a half Latitude, they diſcover'd ſo many Iſlands, that they could not count them; others they ſaw, not ſet down in the Maps, and learnt their Names from ſome Sailors. Among them was that of *Banquore*, and its Neighbour *Sabobe*, whoſe King reſides in that of *Mitara*, and has 30 more within a very ſmall Compaſs. He furniſh'd them with Proviſions, and gave Notice of Dangerous Ridges of Rocks; to avoid which, they return'd the ſame Way they came, in Sight of *Amboyna* and *Celebes*. On the 13th of *November*, they were inform'd at *Jaqueira*, that the Vice-Admiral was already gone from *Banda*; and had there a great Quantity of Rice, brought but juſt before by *Chineſe* Veſſels. Dutch depart Ternate.

On the 17th they came to *Banda*, where at *Montelongo*, and *Soleparvo*, they found the two *Zealand* Ships, which having traded about eight Months with little Profit, deſign'd to return. On the 15th of *January* 1600, the Admiral made the Governour of *Banda* ſome *European* Preſents, and among them a ſmall Boat, all cover'd with fine Scarlet. All the Merchants met and ſet ſail for *Holland*, on the 21th of the ſame Month, and ſail'd all *February*, with ſtormy Winds, and loſs of ſome of their Men, till the Weather mended on the third of *March*. On the 13th of *April*, in the Latitude of 34 Degrees and a half, they found themſelves ſomewhat above 20 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. On the 16th of *May*, they reach'd the Iſland of St. *Helena*, where, at ſome Diſtance, they diſcover'd other Ships. Some Men landed, and admir'd its ſtrange Fertility among thoſe Mountains. They ſaw another Iſland, whoſe bare Rocks, without Trees or Graſs, look as if they were made of Coals; and among them are Abundance of monſtrous wild Boars, yet nothing could be ſeen to grow, or any living Creatures they could feed upon. There were alſo large Tortoiſes, ſome of them weighing 400 Weight. On the laſt of *May* they made for the *Texel*, and thence to *Amſterdam*, where they were receiv'd with publick Rejoycing; and they again prepar'd to return to *India*, and continuing their Trade with thoſe barbarous Kings, who are Maſters of the Spice, Metals, precious Stones, Pearls, and other foreign Wealth, have at length converted the Friendſhip they kindly offer'd at firſt, into Slavery, and Subjection to the Tyranny of *Holland* and *Zealand*. And in the Year 1600, with more Expedition, they ſail'd into *Guinea*, and to *S. George de la Mina*, with only two Ships, the firſt Time, and ran through the ſame Ports and Iſlands, throughout our Seas in Safety. They Come to Banda. At the Cape of Good Hope. S. Helena. Deſart Iſland.

took particular Accounts of all Things, whether Natural, or Political, relating to that vast extended Country of *Asia*, which is almost opposite to *Europe*, and under other Stars, and another Pole. The same Year, being in search of the *North-Passage*, in 80 Degrees of Latitude, they discover'd *Nova Zembla*, where they found nothing but monstrous white and grey Bears, which did not run, but rather took little Notice of the Noise of Cannon, and devour'd Men; there were also white Crows, no less undaunted; and in short, most of that Part of the World was desart, and they found not the Passage they expected into the South-Sea. Yet they now sail'd all those Southern Parts, at all Seasons, making a Jest of the *Monsons*, the *Portugueses* so mightily observe, as if they had them shut up in Skins, like the Fable in *Ulysses*. Perhaps they buy fair and stormy Winds, as is said to be done in *Lapland*, at settled Rates, of Witches that deal in them.

Nova Zembla.

The King of *Ternate* was so puff'd up with the Friendship, and Support of the Northern Nations, that he durst boldly flatter himself with the Hope of becoming absolute Master of *Tydore*. Accordingly he streightned that King, and the *Portuguese* Garrison, without allowing them the least Respite. Other *Dutch* Ships had come since the former to that Island, on Account of Trade, by the Way of *India*, with Arms and several Commodities. The *Ternate* Embassadors were treating in *England* and *Holland*, for settling of perpetual Peace and Commerce. The King had already received Answers to these Embassies, and very speedily expected an *English* Fleet, and many *Dutch* Ships, with whose Assistance he promis'd himself to destroy *Tydore*, and thence to stretch out to the *Philippines*. In the mean while, some *Dutch* and *English* remain'd at his Court, like Hostages, with a Factor, whose Business was to attend the Bartering, or buying up of Spice; to purchase which they brought him Abundance of curious Arms. This being known to the King of *Tydore*, and *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander of the Fort, who every Year writ to the Governour of the *Philippines* about it; they now sent a particular Embassy to *Don Francisco Tello*, giving him an Account of the Condition of those Places; of the Fort; of the Succours, and how vain it was to expect them from *India*. That an Affair of such Consequence might sort the desired Event, they appointed *Cachil Cota*, the King of *Tydore*'s Brother, a notable Soldier, and most renowned Commander of the *Moluccos*, to go Embassador. He came to *Manila*, well attended, with Letters from the King, and the Commander in Chief. Those, and he, in a set Speech, (for the People of the *Moluccos* do not want Rhetorick to perswade) return'd the Governour Thanks for the Supplies he had at several Times sent them of Provisions, and Ammunition. *But what we come to desire*, said *Cachil Cota*, *is that this Work be now effectually taken in Hand, before the* English and Dutch *with their Fleets strengthen* Ternate, *and render it impregnable. We cannot but admire, that whereas the* Portuguese *Arms obtain such signal Victories, as are those of* Calicut; *over the* Turks, *at* Diu; *over the* Egyptians; *over the People of* Cananor, *of* Ceylon, *the* Javas, Sumatra, *and other Nations on that Side; and the* Spaniards *on this, against those of* Camboxa, Mindanao, Japan, Cochinchina, *and* China, *yet only we of the* Moluccos, *who lie amidst the Dominions of one only Monarch, should be left expos'd*

Vanity of the King of Ternate.

Embassy from Tydore *to the* Philippines.

The King's Brother Embassador.

expos'd to the utmoſt Fury of a Parcel of Rebellious Iſlands. If the King of Spain *allows, or rather commands, we ſhould be reliev'd by the Way of the* Philippine *Iſlands, Why is he not obey'd? What does it avail to carry on a cool War, againſt a hot and watchful Enemy?* The Governour anſwer'd to every Point, and having entertain'd him, and given Hopes of greater Supplies, when he could be ſecure againſt the mighty Preparations then making at *Japan*, he diſmiſs'd him, with a conſiderable Recruit of Artillery and Ammunition, and ſome experienced Soldiers. However theſe Succours being ſo much inferior to the Power of the Enemy, and their own Fear, which made them expect much greater, they could not put them out of Care. This made them ſend Captain *Marcos Dias de Febra*, their laſt Embaſſador to the *Philippines*, during the Government of *Don Francis Tello*. He carry'd Letters from the King and *Ruy Gonzalez*, to the Governour and Council, which being almoſt all of them much of the ſame Purport, we will here inſert one of them, directed to Doctor *Antony Morga*, one of that Council, writ with the King's own Hand, and in the *Portugueſe* Language. *Another Embaſſy.*

I was wonderfully pleas'd with your Letter of the 8*th of* November *laſt, becauſe by it I underſtood how very ſincere you were in remembring of me; God reward you for it with much Proſperity in this Life, that you may do Service to the King, my Sovereign, for I underſtand you are by his Order in thoſe Iſlands, and deſirous to improve them; which I am not ignorant will be no leſs Advantageous to this Fort and Iſland of* Tydore. *I write to the Governour, and to that Council, concerning the Succours I deſire, and have ask'd ſo often, the Neceſſity of it being great, to prevent thoſe Miſchiefs which may afterwards put my Sovereign, the King, to much Trouble and Charge. God grant you long Life. From this Iſland of* Tydore, March *the* 8th 1601. The King of *Tydore*, *in* Arabick *Characters; and then what follows in* Portugueſe. *The Bearer is* Marcos Diaz, *he will deliver you a Powder Flask, with a Charger of fine* Mooriſh *Braſs. I ſend it you, that you may remember this Friend.* *The King of* Tydores *Letter.*

The Embaſſador return'd to *Tydore* with the firſt *Monſon*, at the Beginning of the Year 1602, well pleas'd with the Anſwer he brought, the Supplies of Proviſions and Ammunition he had demanded, and ſome Soldiers; but much better ſatisfy'd with the Hopes given him, that as ſoon as an Opportunity offer'd, that Expedition ſhould be undertaken from *Manila* for *Ternate*, with the neceſſary Preparations, and Force to ſecure the Succeſs. *Embaſſador returns well ſatisfy'd.*

At this Time King *James* of *England*, writ to *Sultan Zayde*, of *Ternate*, deſiring him to continue his former Friendſhip, and that the *Engliſh* might build Colonies and Factories in the *Molucco* Iſlands. The *Sultan* would not grant it, and complain'd in harſh Terms, that *England* had never aſſiſted him againſt *Portugal*; and that ſo little Account ſhould be there made of the firſt Alliance concluded by Means of Sir *Francis Drake*, when King *Babu* ſent the Queen of *England* a Ring in Token of Confederacy, by the ſaid *Drake*. He ſaid, he could not admit the *Engliſh*, contrary to the ſolemn Engagement he had made to Prince *Maurice* and the *K.* James *of* England *Writes to the King of* Ternate

His Anſwer

Dutch Nation, to whom he had made a Promise, that none but they should buy up and lade the Product of his Country. All this appears by the Copy of a Letter in the *Portuguese* Tongue, found among the King of *Ternate*'s Papers, when our Men possess'd themselves of his Palace. Where we may observe the perfect Hatred he shows for the *Portuguese* Government, since he never Names those People without adding the Epithet of *Mortal Enemies*; and in speaking of the *Dutch*, *My Friends and Deliverers*; adding, That he expects their Fleets with great Satisfaction. This Answer he sent King *James* by *Henry Middleton*, then Admiral of the *English* Fleet, on the eighteenth of *July*, 1605. The Truth of the Fact is, that this King admitted, and invited to his Dominions, and the Product of them, all other Nations, to arm against the *Spaniards*, and oppose Christianity; and tho' he then boasted of the Succours he receiv'd, and expected from the *Dutch*, had he seen the Power of their Fleets and Arms decline, he would have excluded them the Trade. All his Religion and Hopes were subservient to the present Circumstances of Times, and his Faith depended on the Advantages he could make.

The End of the Seventh Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK. VIII.

ALL the Contents of the Letters, and other Papers, that came from the *Molucco* Islands to *India* and the *Philippines*, for the following Years, amount to nothing but Complaints, asking Relief, and giving Intelligence, not altogether below the Dignity of History, were we not come so near the last Period of it. Particularly there are Letters of the Commander of *Tydore*, *Ruy Gontalez de Sequeyra*, to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands, wherein he complains, That whereas he had sent 400 Men, Ships, and Warlike Stores to *Camboxa*, where his Majesty had nothing to Recover, he had furnish'd him with only twenty Soldiers. He represents to him many pressing Wants, without any Hopes of Relief from the Viceroy, by the way of *Malaca*; urging the scarcity of Provisions, Arms, and all other Necessaries. He informs him, That through his Means *Cachil Mole* had been sworn King of *Tydore*; and how faithful a Friend he approves himself to the Crown of *Sian*, and an Enemy to the *Ternates*, and that he is always sollicitous for recovering of that Fort. He desires him to send the King a Present of great Guns, and other Gifts, and to do the same by the King of *Sian*, who is a Christian, and our Friend. He acquaints him how frequently the *English* and *Dutch* Ships resort to those Seas, and that he had taken some of them. *Complaints from* Tydore, *and other Advice.*

The Success of a very great and rich Ship of *Zealand*, is most particularly Remarkable: This Vessel putting into *Ternate*, and Trading with that

Villany of the King of Ternate.

that Wicked Faithless King, he consented that *Ruy Gonzalez* should contrive to cut her Cables, provided the Booty might be his: He agreed to it, exacting an Exorbitant price for the Villany. The Bargain made, and the Bribe receiv'd, they who had cut the Cables leap'd over-board, and immediately the King's Officers appear'd, who seiz'd all the Loading, the Ship being beaten to pieces, to no purpose. He assures him, That the Enterprize on *Ternate* might be effected with 400 *Spaniards*; and promises to send him a great piece of Amber, as an extraordinary Rarity, from the Isles of *Mava*, which are 60 Leagues from the *Moluccos*. He again gives Advice of Northern Galeons, and that one of them, in four Hours, had batter'd that Fort, shot into it 261 Bullets; one of which he sent him; and that they had beaten down a large Curtin of the Wall, which was then Repairing.

English *Infest the* West-Indies.

In the mean while *England* infested the *West-Indies*; where the Towns and Ships suffer'd by their Invasions, Robberies, and Burnings. Only that Part, which was the District belonging to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, defended it self, through the Bravery of its Governor, and for the same Reason the Enemy had Regard to it. *William Park*, the *English* Admiral, appear'd upon the strong and garrison'd Coasts of *America*, in the Year 1601. They defended themselves well, yet he prevail'd in some Places. On the Coast of *Cartagena* he took one *Julio*, a Fisherman, whom he afterwards set at Liberty, that he might carry the following Letter, writ in broken *Spanish* to *Don Pedro*.

Admiral Parke's *Letter to* DonPedro.

Being inform'd by Fame, with how much Generosity and Kindness your Lordship entertains Strangers, especially those of my Nation, I would not forbear expressing the Gratitude due to your Lordship for that Magnificence, on my own Part, and returning Thanks, wishing you as long a Life, and as much Health, as to my self. I would not omit writing these few Lines to your Lordship, not only on the aforesaid Account, but to acquaint you with what has happen'd to me during this Expedition. It pleas'd God to make me Master of one of the Kings Ports, call'd Porto Belo, *which I was possess'd of a whole Day and Part of the Night, where I found some Gentlemen, particularly Captain* Melendez, *and some other Soldiers of the Garrison; and plundering the Place had very little Booty. The said Captain* Melendez, *fought like a resolute Soldier, and faithful Servant of his King, and therefore I order'd him to be dress'd by my Surgeon, and to be carry'd out of the House where he was wounded, having laid Wood in all the Houses to fire them, and consume the Town. I do assure your Lordship, and declare on the Word of a Soldier, that being inform'd of your Valour and Renown, by certain Prisoners I took, as Captain* Rolon, *and several others, and at* Porto Belo *by the King's Factor,* Funes, *and other Soldiers, that were my Prisoners, and aboard my Ship, I gave them all their Liberty, and forbore firing the City, only on Account of your Reputation, and the Fame of your good Usage to such Prisoners as fall into your Hands. So that those I set at Liberty, as also the Town, may be thankful to your Lordship for so great an Obligation, as is the Value of the said Town, and their Lives. The Castle, and the Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour, and the Port it self, so well fortify'd and furnish'd with Artillery, and all other Necessaries, did not deter, fright, or daunt me, for I went out with six Ships, and the Castles did me no Harm. Really the Commanders and*

and Guners were very honeſt Men. I give your Lordſhip Notice of two Engliſh *Men, who landed at* Santa Marta, *near ten Months ſince, their Names are* Abraham Collins, *and* Thomas Hall. *Theſe are both Spies upon* Cartagena. *I like the Treaſon, but drown the Traitor; I ſend you ſome poor Men aſhore, whom I took upon this Coaſt, your Lordſhip will favour them as is due, and according to your Cuſtom. And having Nothing elſe, at preſent, to acquaint your Lordſhip with, pray to God to lengthen your Life, with much Health, and Proſperity, and to give me good Luck, as is in his divine Power, is convenient for us, and I wiſh. From aboard my Ship,* February *the twenty eigth,* 1601, *our Stile. Your Lordſhips,* William Park.

Don Pedro anſwer'd in few Words, yet ſo as his Brevity might not exclude Civility, and the Pyrate being ſatisfy'd, proceeded on his Voyage. The King had at this Time appointed *Don Pedro* to ſucceed *Don Francis Tello* in the Government of the *Philippine* Iſlands, deſigning him for thoſe Enteprizes he afterwards perform'd. This his Majeſty judg'd a proper Reſolution, and ſafe in the Execution; for what Perſon is fit to be pitch'd upon to Govern the utmoſt Limits of ſo far extended a Dominion, but ſuch a one as is endu'd with both Valour and Loyalty, two neceſſary Qualifications to ſecure the Reſpect and Submiſſion due to an abſent Prince; a Matter of much Difficulty in remote Governments?

Don Pedro *appointed Governor of the* Philippines.

Since this Gentleman's own Actions, and the great Opinion his very Enemies had conceiv'd of them, are ſufficient Teſtimonies of his Valour, let us proceed to ſay ſomething of his Quality. *Don Pedro* had the Surname of *Bravo*, as being Son to *Don Lewis Bravo*, who ſerving under the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, on the Day the Prince of *Orange* dy'd, aſk'd Leave to aſſault *S. Deſir*, a ſtrong Town in the *Low Countries*, on the Banks of the River *Matrone*. The Hiſtory of that War informs us, that ſome Friends of his Father's, hearing of it, endeavour'd to obſtruct it, either by diſſwading the Son, or prevailing with the Emperor not to grant him Leave. His Father was *Sancho Bravo de Lagunas*, a Gentleman of Quality by Birth, and no leſs by his own Actions, at that Time Inſpector General of the Emperor's Forces by Sea and Land, and one of his Council of War. All Men honour'd, and lov'd him entirely. They conſider'd he had no other Son but *Don Lewis*, and the manifeſt Danger he expos'd himſelf to; but he perceiving what his Fathers Friends were contriving, took upon him to lead the Van, before they could have Time to prevent his gaining the Honour he expected; and aſſaulted the Place with Succeſs, tho' not without ſome Imputation of Raſhneſs. His Son *Don Pedro* did not degenerate, for the Brave are the Off-ſpring of the Brave, and the Eagle does not breed Doves.

Don Pedro's *Father.*

The Name of *Acunna* he took from his Mother, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, where noble Families, to keep up the Honour of the Quality they acquire by Matrimony, uſe to revive the Names of their Progenitors even in the Grand-Children. *Don Lewis Bravo*, marry'd *Donna Iſabel de Acunna*, Daughter to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, call'd in thoſe Days *el Cabezudo*, ſignifying, either the Head-ſtrong, or Great-Headed, great Grand-Son to the firſt Earl of *Buendia*, a Family of known Antiquity. Among his Sons, *Don Sancho Bravo*, the eldeſt, is now

His Mother.

now, when this History was writ, *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Ternate*, and Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*; *Don Garcia*, is Knight of *Santiago*; *Don Lewis*, of *Calatrava*; *Don John*, bred in the principal College of *Alcala*, went thence to be Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the most serene Arch-Duke *Albertus*, and is since Cannon of the Holy Church of *Toledo*, besides other Church Affairs he is always employ'd in. Our *Don Pedro* was Knight of *Malta*, and Commendary of *Salamanca*.

Don Pedro *Knight of* Malta.

He departed *Cartagena*, leaving that Government disconsolate, and full of the Desire of his Continuance among them. He had a good Passage, and being come to *Mexico*, and entertain'd by the Viceroy, *Don Gaspar De Zunnigay Azevedo*, Earl of *Monterey*, consulted with him about the Expedition and Recovery of the *Molucco* Islands, beginning with *Ternate*, the Head of them. They admitted to their Consultations some experienc'd Commanders in those Countries. The Result was, the Viceroy's being well affected to the Expedition, and to the Governour, who was going to undertake it, which was of no small Consequence, towards rend'ring the Preparations made in *New Spain* effective. *Don Pedro* writ to the King, to his Confessor, to the Duke of *Lerma*, and to other Ministers of State, especially the supreme Councellors of the *Indies*, very largely, in Relation to this War, showing how difficult it was, and how great a Dishonour, to permit a Tyrant to reign so long, he being so near a Neighbour. He said, he could not secure any Ships, nor even the Provinces, against the *Moluccos*; and that, had he not been promis'd to be enabled to recover them, he would never have accepted of the Government of the *Philippine* Islands. He sent Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, a *Jesuit*, with these Letters into *Spain*, And set out himself from *Mexico*, for *Acapulco*, the Sea-Port-Town of that Kingdom. Thence he proceeded, with four Ships of *New Spain*, to the Islands *de los Ladrones*, that is of Thieves, otherwise call'd *de las Velas*, or of Sails, from the great Multitude of Little Sails seen about them, belonging to Abundance of Boats that come out to meet the Ships.

Comes to Mexico.

Arrives at the Islands Ladrones.

Rich Ships lost.

He directed his Course to the Isles of *Carpana*, and that of *Guan*, that no Time might be lost without doing good to others. His Design was to bring off from among those barbarous People, such Men as had escap'd of the Ship *Margarita*, cast away there the Year before, with above 120000 Ducats; and as true Virtue never wants Matter to work on, he deliver'd twenty five Men of the many that suffer'd Shipwrack in that Place. Having perform'd this good Work, in twenty six Days he came to the Mouth of the Streight of the *Philippines*, and anchor'd at *Cabite*, three Leagues from *Manila*; where he was receiv'd with incredible, and universal Joy. His first Care was to be inform'd of the Condition his Predecessor left the Government in. He view'd every Part, and cast off the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, as thinking they exceeded the large Number allowed of by the King's Order. Some interpreted the Exclusion of those People, was only to condemn the extravagant Liberties they took; but Time soon show'd, that there were other great Advantages reap'd by it. In *Don Pedro* all Men believ'd the Security of the *Philippine* Islands was come; for the Governour's Reputation was equal to the Necessities of his Province; which requir'd the Government of an experienc'd Commander, of great Name, and so vigilant as he was.

Twenty five Men save'd.

Don Pedro *at* Manila.

Don

Don Francis Tello resign'd up the Power into his Hands, and staying there to give an Account of his Administration, dyed in *April*, the following Year. The new Governour was much concern'd to find the King's Treasury empty, and himself lett under an Obligation of supporting the King's and his own Credit. To this Consideration belong'd the *Moluccos*, the reducing whereof he had in Charge. However he took Courage, believing he might with Industry and Labour, make amends for the Want of Cash. He attended all the Works in Person, as he had been wont to do, both at *Manila* and in the Country about, building Galleys, and other Vessels, whereof there was then a great Want, to secure the Sea, at that Time infested by the Neighbouring Pirates and Enemies, especially those of *Mindanao*. Next he visited the Provinces of the *Pintados*, and supply'd the Wants he found in those Parts. In these Passages betwixt the Islands, besides the Storms, his little Vessel, which had only three Soldiers in it, escap'd, he fell into another notable Danger. Two and twenty *English* Vessels enrich'd with the Booty they had taken in the Islands belonging to that Government, attempted to inclose and take him, but the Tide failing them, they stuck on Ground, and could not get off. *Don Pedro* saw them throw over-board above 2000 *Spaniards*, and Natives they had made Prisoners, to lighten their Vessels. They also cast into the Sea a beautiful *Spanish* Maid, about 17 Years of Age. Afterwards the Fleet from *Manila* sail'd in quest of them, and chastis'd some, tho' the Punishment was inferior to their Cruelty.

Don Francis Tello *dyes.*

Don Pedro *visits his Government.*

Cruelty of English.

Don Pedro would fain have remov'd all Obstacles that lay in the Way to the Enterprize he had in Hand; but was oblig'd to put off for some Months that which he was most intent upon, and to dispatch the Affairs of *Xolo* and *Japan*. *Chiquiro*, a *Japonese* Embassador, was newly arriv'd at *Manila*, with a Present of the Product and Manufactures of that Island, and orders to treat with the Governour, and settle Amity and Commerce, between the Subjects of the Emperor of *Japan*, whose Name was *Dayfusama*, and the *Philippines* and *New-Spain*. The Neighbourhood of those Provinces, the Power of the *Japonese* Kings, their natural Disposition, and other Considerations, which Experience had shown to be of great Moment, made against refusing of that Commerce; and yet there were Opinions to the contrary, for those very Reasons. However that barbarous Prince having once espous'd that Affair, it was not easy to find out an Expedient to settle it, without any Jealousy or Disgust. *Dayfusama* demanded, that the *Spaniards* should trade to *Quanto*, a Port in one of his Provinces, and that such Friendship might be establish'd, that the *Japoneses* might go over to *New-Spain*. That the Governour should send him Shipwrights, and Workmen to build Ships in *Japan*, for performing of that Voyage, upon which *Dayfusama* was very intent, being perswaded to it by a Religious Man of ours, of the Order of St. *Francis*, whose Name was *F. Jerome* of *JESUS*, and for whom that Monarch had a great Esteem.

Japonese *Embassador at* Manila.

His Propofals.

This was a Matter of great Weight, and on several Accounts most prejudicial to the *Philippine* Islands, whose greatest Security for so many Years, has consisted in the *Japonese*'s wanting of Ships and Pilots, and being ignorant in the Art of Navigation. Men of Experience observ'd, that when-

Objections to them.

whensoever the said haughty barbarous Prince has attempted to arm against *Manila*, he has still been obstructed by this Want. They said, that to send him Ship-Wrights, and Men to build him Ships after the *Spanish* Manner, would be no other than arming him against the *Spaniards* themselves; and that their Voyages would be destructive to the *Philippines* and *New-Spain*; for that the making the *Japoneses* capable of Trading far off, was not only inconvenient, but unsafe. The Governour *Don Pedro de Acunna* seriously weighing all these Reasons, order'd the Embassador *Chiquiro* to be magnificently entertain'd, made him some Presents for his King and for himself, and sent a Ship with another moderate Present, lest it should be interpreted to proceed from Fear, if it had been too considerable. This Ship sail'd with *Dayfusama* and his Embassador, both of them loaded with Commodities to barter. *Don Pedro*'s Letters contain'd many Compliments, and Thanks for the good Will he shew'd towards establishing more solid Friendship; but that, tho' he had ample Commission for all Things relating to the Government of the *Philippine* Islands, yet he could not satisfy that Part of his Embassy, which concern'd the furnishing of him with Sailors and Workmen to build *Spanish* Ships, without acquainting the Viceroy of *New-Spain*, nor could the Viceroy do it, without special Orders from the King of *Spain*. That he promis'd to write to them about it, for promoting the Accomplishment of his reasonable Demands; but that he must consider, it would be above three Years before they had an Answer, because of the great Length, and many Accidents of such Voyages. It was order'd that the aforesaid *F. Jerome* should himself deliver these Letters, to *Dayfusama*. The Fryar himself had a private Letter sent him with a Reproof for what he had done, and Instructions how to mend it; and that he should signify to the *Japonese* Monarch, how highly the Governour valu'd the Inclination he shew'd to settle Peace and Commerce with the *Spaniards*, and his Kindness to them; and at the same Time perswade him to continue that good Correspondence, which the Governour would inviolably observe; but that he should endeavour to divert the King's Thoughts from such Designs, and never go about to facilitate the Execution of them; because, tho' perhaps the Emperor then reigning entertain'd no sinister Meaning, nor had any farther Thought than promoting a sincere Friendship, yet that might be very prejudicial in the Days of a more mischievous Successor; who might make an ill Use of his Skill in Navigation, and improve it against the Persons that taught it him. The Governour promis'd he would soon send another Ship with Commodities to barter; and he might put the King in Hopes it would carry over some *Spanish* Ship-Carpenters to build Ships after their Manner. That he should desire *Dayfusama* to wait with Patience, and consider how heinously he would be offended himself, if any of his Governours should presume to make any new Settlements in Trade without his Privity or Order.

Instructions to F. Jerome.

Chiquiro return'd for *Japan* with this Answer; but when he was off the Head of the Island *Formosa*, such a dreadful Storm overtook him, that he was swallow'd up, and neither Men, Goods, nor Arms sav'd; and this happen'd in so remote a Place, that it was not known till many Days after. *Dayfusama*, at the Request of *F. Jerome*, had granted Leave for Preaching of the Gospel, throughout his Dominions, building of Churches, and such as would

Japonese *Embassador cast away.*

would profeſſing Chriſtianity by publick Authority. *Don Pedro* the Governour took the neceſſary Meaſures, that ſo favourable an Indulgence might not be loſt, and that not only barefoot *Franciſcans*, but alſo Religious Men of other Orders ſhould go over thither. They made uſe of the *Japoneſe* Captains and Ships, newly come to *Manila* with Meal. The *Dominicans* ſent over to the Kingdom of *Zazuma* four Fryars, and *F. Francis de Morales*, Prior of *Manila* for their Superior, ſaying the King of that Province ſent for them, being the only one, who had not yet ſubmitted to *Dayfuſama*. The Order of *S. Auguſtin* ſent two Religious Men, and *F. James de Guevara*, Prior alſo of *Manila* for their Superior, and theſe went to the Kingdom of *Firando*. Thoſe of the Order of *S. Francis*, ſent *F. Auguſtin Rodriguez*, who had been Witneſs to the Martyrdom of his Companions in *Japan*, to *Nangaſaqui*, for him to go thence with a Lay-Brother to *Miaco*, and bear *F. Jerome* of *Jeſus* Company. Many perſwaded *Don Pedro*, not to ſend away theſe Religious Men; but tho' thoſe Perſwaſions were well grounded, and ſome Difficulties occur'd againſt their Departure, he reſolv'd to diſmiſs them. The Zeal of true Glory overcomes all Oppoſition. Theſe Religious Men found no Signs of thoſe Deſires that had been ſignify'd to them in the Provinces they went to. Very few *Japoneſes* were converted, and there was leſs Diſpoſition to advance, becauſe the Kings, and *Tonos*, which are Princes had no Affection for our Religion, nor were any Way diſguſted with their Idols. They only aſpir'd to ſettle Commerce, and to trade with the *Spaniards*, for their private Intereſt.

Religious allow'd to Preach in Japan.

Don Pedro ſent the Ship he had promis'd to *Japan*, well ſtor'd with Cannon, and call'd it *S. James* the Leſs. The Captain, Officers, and Sailors were all Men of Experience; and ſhe was laden with Commodities to barter, Red-Wood, Deer's-Skins, raw Silk, and ſeveral other Sorts. The Govenour order'd them to diſpoſe of what they carry'd at the Port of *Quanto*, and to furniſh the Religious Men they found there, and then return with the Produce and *Dayfuſama's* Leave. Thus Proviſion was made for all the Affairs of *Japan*, according to the preſent Exigences. The Ship-Wrack of the Embaſſador *Chiquiro* was known, and by the good Management of *F. Jerome*, *Dayfuſama* was acquainted with the Anſwer he carry'd, and reſted ſatisfy'd; ſo that the preaching of the Goſpel went on in his Dominions.

Another Ship to Japan.

Don Pedro's Thoughts were all bent upon Recovering of the *Molucco* Iſlands, and his other Buſineſs did not make him neglect that Enterprize. *Andrew Furtado de Mendoza*, Admiral of thoſe Seas for the Crown of *Portugal* had writ him Word, that he had Orders from his Majeſty to repair to *Ternate*; but that he did not expect the Viceroy would ſet him out, as was requiſite for that Expedition. *Don Pedro* anſwer'd him, to his Content, with Aſſurance, that he ſhould be ſupported. Theſe Letters came to the Hands of the *Portugueſe* Admiral at *Malaca*, when he was ready to ſet out. He preſently anſwer'd both thoſe of the 22d of *September*, and the 22d of *December*, ſignifying how acceptable they were to him. *Becauſe*, ſays he, *I love your Lordſhip entirely, tho' I have never ſeen you, on Account of your being a brave Commander, and ſo zealous for his Majeſty's Service; not to mention other Reaſons for which I am yours. I was much troubled for the Loſs of the Ship, and the ill Fortune of the other, for*

Furtado's *Letter to* Don Pedro *concerning the Expedition.*

the want you will find of the Return you expected by them: But it is to be suppos'd, that the Viceroy of New-Spain, *seeing how long those Ships were missing, would impute it to some very considerable Causes, and therefore will Assist you Powerfully, for nothing less can be expected from such a Viceroy, who, I am told, is a very worthy Gentleman. I am experimentally sensible of what your Lordship writes to me; for after being in those Parts five Years, without receiving any Succours from* India, *when I expected these Disorders should end, and considerable Supplies would be sent me, the Viceroy furnish'd me so poorly, as will appear to your Lordship by the List of what he sends, and thence you may infer, how his Majesty is serv'd in those Parts, that your Lordship may acquaint him with it, and we may joyntly so order it, that all this may not be overthrown in one Hour.*

Then he complains, That they have not sent him his Majesty's Letter, nor the Archbishop of *Goa* had not receiv'd his; and says, *He had rather be at Plow in* Old Castile, *than a Witness to the ill Disposition of what is committed to his Charge:* And proceeding, says thus, *Your Lordship tells me, That as soon as I draw near the* Moluccos, *you will do me the favour to have in readiness for me* 300 *Soldiers, with Captain* Gallinato, *and another Captain, and two Galleys, four Brigantines, and all the* Carcoas *that shall be requisite. I know not what his Majesty appoints for me; but, for the Sins of these Dominions, Time has put Things into such a Posture, that I must be forc'd to repair to the* Moluccos, *as well to recover what is Lost, as to save what is Gain'd, which cannot be done, unless both Powers, from hence and thence, be United. Twelve* Dutch *Ships anchor'd this Year at the Bar of* Goa: *They took the Viceroy so unprovided, that they lay at Anchor a Month at the said Bar, without any Attempt made to remove them. They made great Havock amongst the Merchants Ships on the Coast of* India, *without any Opposition. They came from the other Sea, by the Back of* Sumatra, *to the Streight of* Sunda. *Seven of them arriv'd at* Amboyna, *the others being then parted from them. When they enter'd over the Bar, the Governour sent two Men, to ask, whether* Don Emanuel *was aboard. The Ships hearing of it, went and Anchor'd under the Fort. Then the Governor sent three or four other Men, who made the Agreement for the surrendering of the Fort. When it was sign'd the* Dutch *drew near; the Gates were open'd to them, and they admitted without standing one Musket Shot, or firing a Cannon. They took an Oath of Fidelity to Prince* Maurice, *and the Governor after committing the Treason, commanded a Black of his own to put him into Irons, saying,* The People of the Town had done it. *Since that he came hither, and skulks about the Mountains, and I am very earnest to take him, that I may make an Example of him. I have already secur'd some of the Marry'd Men that came hither, being fully convinc'd that the Governor and they are Enemies and Traytors. When the* Dutch *were possess'd of the Fort, they put more Connon into it, with a Garrison of* 140 *Men, and Provisions for two Years. I have also received Intelligence, That they sent five Ships against* Tydore, *and I am very jealous of that Place, because of the Divisions there; wherefore I immediately sent away two Galiots, well Man'd, Arm'd, and Provided. God grant they find that Fort in the King's Possession. Thus, if his Majesty well send hither the Galeons he writes of, and commands me to serve him in these Southern Parts, I must of necessity go over that way; for since*

More of the Letter.

Baseness of a Portuguse Governour.

Amboyna

Amboyna *is in the Poſſeſſion of the* Dutch, *we may conclude* Tydore *will ſoon follow. If they extend their Dominion, from that Port, which God avert, they will thence put an End to the Affairs of the* Moluccos, *and of* China, *and with the Aſſiſtance of the* Ternates *muſt of neceſſity Infeſt thoſe Parts about* Manila; *and therefore we are all oblig'd, as Chriſtians, and his Majeſty's Subjects, to Oppoſe ſuch a mighty Misfortune. And ſince the Lot has fallen between your Lordſhip, and this Soldier of yours, we ſeem to be in ſome meaſure both of us under an Obligation to ſpare no Pains for the Recovering of thoſe Parts of the* Moluccо *Iſlands. For my part I will labour for the Succeſs, tho' I were to loſe ten Lives, if I had ſo many. But becauſe I ſhall not have an Opportunity to ſend your Lordſhip Intelligence, till a Year hence, I now intreat you to have what Soldiers you can in Readineſs, and the greateſt Number of Natives, that we may not fail ſhort when the work is half done, and be forced, for want of them, to put our ſelves into the Hands, and expect the Aſſiſtance of Traytors. The ſame I beg, as to Proviſions; for there are none where I am at preſent. But ſince Captain* Gallinato *has ſeen all, and knows what is Neceſſary in thoſe Parts, whereof he has before now given your Lordſhip ample Information, it will be needleſs to repeat it in this, being your Lordſhip tells me in yours, you do me the Favour to appoint him for my Companion; and he is ſo able a Commander, that when your Lordſhip orders him to prepare for this Expedition, he will take with him all he thinks proper for it. Tho' his Majeſty ſhould ſend ſeveral Galeons, and many Men, I ſhall not be able to do any thing with them in thoſe Parts, becauſe the main Thing there, is to have Veſſels that Row, and Men that have Serv'd, whereof I am very deſtitute. From* India *none can come, tho' the Viceroy were never ſo willing to furniſh me. However, confiding in your Lordſhips Worth, and in what you have ſignify'd to me by Letter, I will undertake this Expedition, believing I ſhall find all Things in ſuch Readineſs, that they will ſet out from thence the Moment your Lordſhip receives Advice from me. I am told your Lordſhip expects a Gentleman in thoſe Parts, who comes to Conquer* Camboxa. *If he happens to come, I muſt put your Lordſhip in Mind, that the beſt Conqueſt is that of the* Moluccos, *where his Majeſty's Forts will be reſtor'd, and there the ſaid Gentleman may ſhew his Valour, and merit a conſiderable Reward from the King. Before the* Dutch *came to* Amboyna, *two* Engliſh *Ships paſſed by that Iſland, which ſent a Letter to the Governor of the Fort, to acquaint him, that the* Dutch *were coming after them, with a Deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſaid Fort, and therefore they adviſed him to behave himſelf well, becauſe the* Dutch *they ſpoke of, were a poor faint-hearted People. That, if they had Occaſion for Powder, Ball, and all other Neceſſaries, they were ready to ſupply him, becauſe they were then at Peace with* Spain, *and the Conſtable of* Caſtile *was already ſent into* England, *by his Majeſty, to Ratify it: And the Poſt-Maſter-General was Embaſſador in Ordinary. This Intelligence leaves the Rebels no pretence to any Excuſe. Furtado's* Letter goes on, to other Particulars, recommending Religious Men, and Commanders and he concludes with Abundance of Compliments, and Courteous Expreſſions.

Don Pedro having receiv'd theſe Letters, order'd and haſten'd all neceſſary Preparations, with the utmoſt Diligence, preſſing the Buſineſs in *Spain*, and with the Viceroy at *Mexico*, and thought all Delays tedious; but the

Approbation

Approbation of his Advice, and the Supplies to put it in Execution, being to come from a Center so remote, and where there lay an Obligation of being no less attentive to all Parts of the Circumference, the Expedition could not possibly be brought about sooner. Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, whose Intelligence in this Affair, was always very material, had presently Intimation of what had been resolv'd on, by Letters from *Don Pedro*; and he was so diligent in promoting it, that to advance this Cause, he cross'd the greatest Oceans as readily, as if they had been the Narrow-Seas, which part those Islands; having solicited the Viceroy at *Mexico*, and then the Counsellors, and Ministers of State in *Spain*. His Arguments and Motives were the same we have several Times mention'd in this Work. Dividing the Wealth of the South into three fixt Kinds, precious Stones, and Pearls, Metals, and Spice, and Drugs; all which were distributed among Enemies, *English* and *Dutch*. That the King had no Spice left, but only that of *Tydore*, which must be lost, unless speedily and powerfully supported, and the same Forces would recover *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and what had been held in *Celebes*, *Batochina*, and the Places wrested by the Tyrants of *Sumatra*. All this the Jesuit made out by Demonstration, for he grounded not the least Information upon any thing less than Experience.

Brother Gaspar Gomez forwards the Expedition.

He was heard in the Council of the *Indies*, and the Council of State for the Crown of *Portugal*, and dispatch'd for the *Philippines*, by the way of *New-Spain*. By the other Way, the King order'd, that the Captain General *Furtado*, taking with him the necessary Fleet from *Goa*, should sail for the *Moluccos*, by special Commission, by Virtue whereof he afterward sent to ask Assistance at the *Philippine* Islands, as we have seen, and such Supplies were to be furnish'd on both Sides, as being united, might secure the Conquest of the *Moluccos*. However the Event must of Necessity be tedious, the *Dutch* being already possess'd of all the King's Forts in the *Archipelago*; and their numerous Fleets of all the Ports, Fairs, and Trade, with Factories conveniently settled for their Intercourse between *India* and their own Country. We shall not enter upon the Account of those Affairs, because no more of them than have been already mention'd, as yet related to the *Moluccos*. Much Time, and many Precautions were requisite, for these two Commanders to joyn, amidst so many Obstacles: They sent frequent Advice backward and forward, and neither Part was idle in the mean while.

Succeeds in his Negociation.

At length, notwithstanding all Difficulties, *Furtado* sail'd from *Goa* with six Galeons, eighteen Galiots, and one Galley, with the King's Orders, and in his Name those of the Viceroy *Arias de Saldania*, to fight the *Dutch*, and any other Enemy, and to proceed to *Sunda*, to chastize that King, and the Rebels in *Java*. He was directed to place Garrisons there, and having settled the Affairs of *India*, to proceed to the *Moluccos*. They went out with good Hearts to undertake that Work, but were hinder'd by Storms and Tempests. In the Gulph of *Ceylon*, he lost the Galley, and seventeen Galiots that were under the Conduct of *Francis de Sousa*, and *Andrew Roiz*, and in them the greatest Strength he had to compass his Designs. He was three whole Years without any Succours to proceed on his Enterprize. At *Malaca* he recruited the best he could; and in *December*, 1601, Steering his Course for *Sunda*, relying on the Succours he expected from the King of *Palimbam*

Furtado *Sails from* Goa.

Disabled by Storms.

Palimbam, in *Java*, suppos'd to be our Friend and Confederate; but he was deceived, for that Infidel was so far from espousing our Party, that he had taken up with the King of *Sunda*, whom he intended, and afterwards actually did succour with 30000 Men. This did not dismay *Furtado*, but he sail'd on towards *Sunda*, referring the Punishment of the King of *Palimbam* to another Time: There, on the Bar, he discover'd seven *Dutch* Ships, which he pursu'd, tho' to little purpose, they being excellent Sailers. However the Galeon Commanded by *Thomas de Souſa Aronches*, fought five of them, killing many *Dutch*, without losing one Man; but her Rigging was torn, and she could not board the Enemy, who fled, drawing our Ships after them in such manner, that *Furtado* could not possibly recover the Bar, tho' he anchor'd in a Road, from whence he might have return'd to the Port. *Sails for* Sunda.

This was a special Providence, for the Enemy did not seem disposed to stand, and they had already been upon both Bars; and therefore reflecting on the Tears, and Groans of the Commanders, and Christians at *Amboyna*, he directed his Course towards those Islands, where he arriv'd on the 10th of *February* without being detain'd by some Victories he gain'd in his Way. The Natives and those in the Fort were alarm'd, believing they had been Enemies, but the Admiral giving a Signal, they knew the Christian Fleet. The Joy spread abroad, and the Shore was cover'd with People expressing it. *Furtado* first apply'd himself to repair the Fort, and refit the Ships. He also built four Ships, two Galiots, and twelve *Carcoas*. Then he set out, without losing Time, to make War on the *Itos*, and other Towns that had rebell'd against the Fort, sending *Joseph Pinto*, with 200 *Portugueses* by Land. The Fleet sail'd round the Island, and lay a Month in the Bay call'd *Bacaccio*. *Texeyra*, Commander in Chief of the Fort, went before, with a good Number of *Carcoas*, to reduce some rebellious Towns, especially those which are on the Mountains call'd *Gunos*, where there are excellent sweet Waters, and large Woods of Orange Trees. These Towns acknowledge their Fault, and came to make their Submission. Seven or Eight of the principal Men came from each Town. Every Town brought a Flag, and three large valuable Basons of bright Metal, and in them a little Earth, with Branches of Clove-Trees in Blossom, in Token that they deliver'd up the Land, with the most precious of its Product. Some brought Goats, and Hens, and such Fruit as their Country afforded to denote the same. *Arrives at* Amboyna. *Subdues the* Itos. *The* Gunos *submit.*

Furtado knew there was a private Alliance between the Rebels of *Amboyna* and the *Dutch*, and that ten Ships were to come to take that Fort, and the other we had left us at *Amboyna*. They were so deeply engag'd in this Contract, that those at *Sunda*, seeing *Furtado* set sail towards those Parts, they did the same, and on the 10th of *March*, the ten Ships appear'd in Sight of the Islands, three of them coming on and treating with the Natives; yet for fear of us, they stood off to the Island *Burro*, and the other seven to *Banda*, to sail over to the *Moluccos*. All this was known to *Furtado* by good Intelligence, besides that he receiv'd from *F. Lewis Fernandez*, Rector of the Society of *JESUS*, who was newly come from *Tydore*, with Letters from that King, and the Christians residing there, bidding him welcome, and pressing that he would come to their Assistance; because *Ten* Dutch *Ships at* Amboyna. *Three of them at* Ternate.

A new Passage to the Molucco.

because three of the seven Ships that escap'd from him at *Sunda*, were together at *Ternate*. He was also inform'd, that those Ships, had found out a Way to relieve those Forts, passing between *Borneo* and *Macassar*, which is a shorter Cut by a Year; and that they were fortifying *Ternate* where they would not suffer the *Dutch* to leave them, but oblig'd them to stay and ingage in the War they expected. *Furtado* follow'd that in *Amboyna*, daily reducing some Towns that had revolted. The Inhabitants of *Rosatelo*, built on an Eminence, and well fortify'd discovering our Ships, and *Carcoas*, set fire to all their Goods, and then to their Houses, and fled to a high Mountain, where their Wives and Children were before. The Way up to it was by tying to the Trees certain *Rotas*, which are slender tough Canes, that may be knotted like Ropes, a slow and almost useless Hold, which render'd the Mountain never the less inaccessible. Yet our Men making their Way thro' Clefts, attain'd the Top two days after. The Rebels perceiving they were lost, came to receive the Conquerors with white Flags, but the King, not daring to trust to that Security, fled to remoter Parts.

People of Ro'atelo burn their Town.

Submit.

People of Ito fly to the mountain.

The Infidels of *Ito*, puff'd up with the *Dutch* Supplies they expected, made no Doubt of routing the Christians, as soon as they landed; but perceiving they were disappointed of the Succour of the ten Ships, which fail'd by without staying, and that *Rosatelo* was reduc'd; yet they were not quite dejected, but committed their Safety to the Strength and Tops of the Mountains. They abandon'd their chief City, properly call'd *Ito*, and the Fort there erected by the *Dutch*, retiring with all their Families to the highest and most impregnable Part of the Country call'd *Nao* and *Bemnao*, being two Rocks, one above another, like the Round-Tops in a Ship one over the other; whence the Shore appears near at Hand tho' half a League distant, by Reason of the Windings of the Ways. *Nao* is all encompass'd with upright Rocks, with pleasant Planes below. There are three Ways to get up to it, but all of them so difficult, that the very Lizards can scarce climb it. On these three Passes they threw up double Trenches, with strong Ramparts, and a good Number of Brass Sakers, and Demy-Falconets to secure them. At each of them was a considerable Number of Men, with their Colours flying, and all Sorts of offensive and defensive Arms, wherewith the *Dutch* have furnish'd those Southern Seas. The greatest Danger threatned was from a great Number of mighty Stones, or Pieces of Rocks, which being roul'd down from such a Height can bear down and destroy an Army. All the Enemy's Power was now reduc'd to this single Place, and the Town standing on the first of the two Rocks, being built on a large round Spot it forms, like an *European* City with good large Houses, after their Manner. All the Country about beautify'd with Clove Trees, like our Olive Trees, but with greater Heads. Among which there ran up Branches of the Male and Female Trees, and underneath all Sorts of thorny Plants, Orange, Lemmon, Citron and *Zamboa* Trees, with six, or eight Springs, each of them gushing out curious Streams of Water. All the Mountain look'd like a delicious pleasure House and Garden. On the Top of it appear'd the Town of *Bemnao*, which signifyes, the Son of *Nao*, exceeding the other in Number of Houses, and Extent of Woods.

Nao *strong place, whither the Rebels fled.*

Pleasant Country of Nao, *and* Bemnao.

The

The General came to this Place on *Palm-Sunday*, order'd a Trench to be caſt up, and Tents to be pitch'd, for a Defence againſt the Sun, and the Rain, which ſometimes falls unexpected. He commanded an Enemy *Amboyneſe*, that had fallen into his Hands, attended by ſome Chriſtians, to go enquire into the Deſigns of the People of *Ito*, and to guide the Way. When they were come within hearing, and had deliver'd their Meſſage, the Infidels anſwer'd, *That they were the King of* Ternate's *Subjects, and own'd none but him. That they would trade with the* Dutch, *and all other Nations they thought fit. That they would alſo ſell Clove to the* Spaniards; *but that the King of* Spain *had a very long Neck.* Having return'd this Anſwer, they began to fire the Cannon. Our Men were forc'd to put up the Affront, and paſs by their Fury; but the General regarding neither, order'd a Captain, on *Monday*, to view the Situation of the Place; becauſe his Soldiers had gone up diſorderly to their Trenches, and been repuls'd with Shot, and throwing of Stones, which made them retire down the Mountain with many wounded. The next Night he ſent 200 Men, to poſſeſs themſelves of a Mount that overlook'd the Enemies Trenches. They did ſo, and as ſoon as the Day appear'd, our Muſketiers pour'd in their Volleys of Shot, firing at the ſame Time with two Drakes, they had carry'd up with a Deſign to caſt up another Trench, and thus they put the Enemy to Rout. The Trench was thrown up, and the next Night they remov'd the Drakes to it, drawing nearer, to make the greater Slaughter. *Gonzalo Vaz de Caſtello-Branco* commanded at this Paſs. The Men here that Night talk'd with the beſieg'd, and aſſur'd them, they would take their Fort the next Night, as they actually did.

Furtado *encamps at* Bemnao.

Haughty Anſwer of the Itos.

Portugueſes *gain Ground.*

On *Wedneſday* Morning the General order'd the Drums to beat to Arms, to go up himſelf to the Hill where his Men were, leaving *Trajano Ruiz de Caſtello-Branco* below, with 50 Men, to guard the Camp; but without any Deſign of attacking the Fort that Day; but only to order the Men, and aſſign them their Poſts. Whilſt he was concerting this Affair with his Officers, *Gonzalo Vaz* came to them with a dangerous Shot in one of the Calves of his Legs, and five other Wounds running Blood. The Soldiers were incens'd, at the Sight of him, and ſignify'd they would fall on. It was given out, where the General was, that the Victorious Enemy was falling upon our Drakes, and Poſts; and he improving Neceſſity, cry'd out, with a loud Voice, *Santiago*, that is, *S. James*, the Cry given by the *Spaniards* when they fall on. The Soldiers were ſo encourag'd by this Cry, that they immediately gave the Aſſault, with much Fury and Alacrity, climbing thoſe ſmooth Rocks, upon their Hands and Feet: The Barbarians Drums and Bag-Pipes rattled in their Ears, and the Noiſe of their Cannon and ſmall Shot eccho'd among all the Rocks. The Enemy threw Stones, which wounded, and knock'd down our Men, and many tumbled, without being able to help themſelves: Some ſingle Stones carry'd two or three Men down the Side of a Hill, till they ſtopp'd at ſome Tree. A Captain was ſtunn'd with a Pebble, tho' he receiv'd it on a Steel Buckler; but he ſoon recover'd, and was ſeen upon the Enemies Works. The Cries and Shouts rent the Air. Many tumbling down forc'd out the ſharp Pointed Stakes that were drove into the Ground; and preſently after, as if they had flown, were ſeen Fighting above. Thoſe who were left to guard

They attack the Enemies Fort.

The Fort taken.

the Camp, look'd on with Emulation. Among them a Religious Man of the Order of *S. Dominick*, fell on his Knees to say the Litany, all the Men answering, and God heard him, for before it was ended, they saw our Colours display'd above, and the Enemies cast down, the Fort and Works being Demolish'd.

A brave Christian, who carry'd the foremost of our Colours, was laid hold of by an *Amboyneſe*, yet he, tho' shot thro' the Body with a Musket-Ball, whereof he soon after Dy'd, defended them bravely. However, notwithstanding his Resistance, and that his Captain came to his Succour, the Infidel carry'd off a Part of the Staff, which was recover'd when the Victory was gain'd.

Amboyneſes abandon their highest Fort.

The *Amboyneſes*, seeing their Works taken, and their Colours dragg'd about, withdrew to the upper-Part, leaving only three Men behind them, who dy'd Fighting, with honourable Obstinacy. They did not fortifie themselves in that Place, but abandoning their Town and Goods, and slipping down Precipices, and upright Heights with Ropes, made their Escapes; and though they burnt some of their Goods, yet many of value remain'd. The General gave Order for curing of the wounded Men, which were above 200, besides those run through by the sharp Stakes pitch'd all about the Field.

The Towns submit.

The gaining of this Victory did so discourage all the Islanders, that they refus'd to take up Arms, or hazard an Engagement. Nine Towns submitted at once, the next day, and the Territory about did the same. The General came down Victorious, and erected Arbours in those Delightful Woods, with an Altar, on which Mass was sung on Easter-Day, and all the Office of the Church, with much Solemnity, in Thanksgiving, assigning the Sovereignty to that Lord, who grants, or takes away Victory, according to his secret Judgements.

Dutch Fort raz'd

The *Dutch* Fort was raz'd, where, in several Places, were to be seen Escutcheons, with the Arms of Count *Maurice*. The King of *Ito* came and submitted himself; his Name, whilst an Idolater, was *Talere*, afterwards *Don Melchior*, for he was a Renegado Christian, and fled at the taking of *Rosatelo*. He deliver'd himself up, as also a famous *Caziz* he brought with him, who was a Man of much Reputation among them.

Veranula *City described.*

To this Victory *Furtado* resolv'd to add those he expected at *Veranula*, a large City, and Neighbouring Island. He sail'd from *Amboyna* with all the Fleet, and arriv'd at *Veranula*, and the City of the same Name, which is populous, and its Territory the most fruitful in Clove of any in those Parts. It is built along the shore on a high and upright Rock, which look'd like a Wall, with Towers, and Stories. The Houses are high Roof'd, with Galleries. There is a Mosque that has three Isles, with a stately Room to read the *Alcoran* in. Within the City was the *Dutch* Fort, conveniently seated, built of Stone, round, and cover'd. Beyond that was also another Stone Fort, with several salliant Angles, Ravelins, and Guerites. This belong'd to the King of *Ternate*, who was Tyrant of that Part of *Veranula*. As soon as our Fleet anchor'd before the City, the Prime Men of it came to acquaint the General, That they were willing to submit, but knew not how to do it, for Fear of the *Ternates*; and therefore desir'd he would let them assemble their Council, and they would return the next Day with their Answer. *Furtado* granted their Request, sending two *Amboyneſes*

Boyneſes of Note along with them. They return'd no Anſwer, but fled, not daring to ſtand the Fury of thoſe who came Victorious. They fir'd a Gun for a Signal of what they were doing, and the General being aſſur'd of their Flight, order'd the Men to land and plunder the City. The Inhabitants had before ſecur'd the beſt of their Effects, and yet in ſome Houſes they found above the value of 30000 Crowns, and in others leſs, beſides many Goods of value; abundance of Braſs Drakes and Muſkets; *China* Ware, and Silks; *Dutch* Glaſſes, and great Store of Royal-Cloves. After plundering the City, they ſet fire to it, and it burnt for ſome Days. The *Dutch* and *Ternateſe* Forts were raz'd. The General was inform'd by ſome Priſoners, that the People of *Veranula*, had expected mighty Succours againſt him from the *Dutch* Ships that were ſeen; and that there were aboard 100 Men to Garriſon *Viranula*, and 100 more for the Fort he had demoliſh'd at *Ito*. Some of our Men purſu'd the *Ternates* as far as *Lacidecavello*, a Town where they imbark'd on many Veſſels, for their own Iſland.

People of Veranula fly.

Veranula plunder'd and burnt.

After this, the City *Mamala* ſent to make its Submiſſion, and many others follow'd its Example. *Furtado* having concluded this Affair, reſolv'd to return to *Amboyna*, and being upon his Departure, *Francis de Souſa Teve* came to him, with ten *Portugueſes*, who had been, not long before, taken by the *Dutch* Ships. He had met at *Banda* the five Ships *Furtado* found at *Sunda*, and here gave him ſome important Intelligence, ſhowing how much he would find the Seas, in his Way to the *Moluccos*, infeſted by thoſe Northern Sailers. The Commander in Chief of the *Dutch* made very much of *Francis de Souſa*, diſmiſſing him with Arms and Proviſions for his Voyage, but at the Price of 500 Crowns, paid for him and his Companions, by ſome Heathen Towns in the Iſland; to whom *Furtado*, without any Delay, made good the whole Sum. The *Dutch* General writ very civilly to *Furtado*, deſiring he would uſe his Men well, as he would do by the *Spaniards* he met with. *Furtado* return'd an Anſwer, no leſs Courteous, and ſent him a *Dutch* Youth, who had been Priſoner at *Ternate*.

Mamala *City ſubmits with others.*

Having reduc'd theſe Iſlands, *Furtado* appointed a Day for the Governors of them to come and ſwear Fealty to our King, that he might ſave Time, and follow the Courſe of his Victories. They came with much State, and Submiſſion; and to ſecure their future Behaviour, and their new promis'd Fidelity, deliver'd to the General a conſiderable Number of Youths, being the Sons of the Prime Men, as Hoſtages. Peace, and the general Pardon, were celebrated with Rejoycings. The Preaching of the Goſpel was again exercis'd with entire Liberty, and many Idolaters, and *Mahometans* were converted. Other Provinces came to acknowledge the Conqueror; without expecting the Chance of War. *Furtado* at *Amboyna* prepar'd for the Expedition againſt the *Moluccos*.

The conquer'd ſubmit, and give Hoſtages.

Thoſe who fled to *Ternate*, gave an Account of the Loſs of the Towns and Forts that King had been poſſeſs'd of at *Amboyna*; and that the General *Furtado* openly declar'd he was making Preparations againſt thoſe Iſlands, and grew ſtronger upon his Succeſs. The King ſlighted not this Intelligence, but immediately ſtrengthened his Fleet, and his Forts, and call'd in the *Javaneſes* and *Mindanaos*, to be in

King of Ternate's Preparations.

readiness upon any Attack. Amidst the Noise of War, and his Treaties with the *Dutch* for maintaining of it, he found Leasure to seek his Satisfaction; concluding a Match with his Queen *Celicaya*, who follow'd him in all his Troubles, even when he last fled from his Kingdom. She was very Young, and so Beautiful, that all the *Indian* Kings courted her for their Wife, and sent to demand her of the *Sangiack* of *Motiel*, her Father; who gave her to him of *Ternate*, as the greatest, most potent, and respected.

His Marriage.

The Time for the Nuptials being come, when the Bride was brought to *Ternate*, attended by her Father, Kindred, Brothers-in-law, and many Troops of arm'd Men, she was receiv'd with the Noise of Cannon, Musick, and other Instruments us'd in their Festivals and Solemnities. These lasted many Days, with Profusion; but the most pleasing Object, was the Presence of *Celicaya*, her extradiordinary Grace, which drew the Eyes, and Affections of all Men, temper'd with a Sort of Affability, which encourag'd all that convers'd with her. This Quality very often gave Occasion to suspect her Husband's Reputation, and were not this History confined to such Things as really relate to the Conquest, it might afford us a large Field to treat of the Gentleness of her Disposition, her Love Intrigues, and uncontroulable Power over the Affections, even of those who were most wrong'd; which are spoken of at large in several Discourses and Relations.

Queen Celicaya's great Beauty.

Furtado *sends for Succours to the* Philippine *Islands.*

The Exigencies of the Time, and necessity oblig'd the General *Furtado* to press for the Succours, which were providing for him in the *Philippine* Islands. *Amboyna* is 200 Leagues from the neareſt of them, and that 200 more from *Manila*, he sent thither *F. Andrew Pereyra*, a Jesuit, and Captain *Antony Brito Fogaza*, in *May* 1602. They arriv'd at *Cebu* on the 25th of *July*, sail'd thence for *Manila* on the 6th of *August*, and came to that City on the 5th of *September*. *Don Pedro de Acunna* was well pleas'd to see them, asking particularly concerning all the Proceedings of the General *Furtado*, wherein he was very curious, or rather generously emulous, and he having in his Letters referr'd himself to their Relation, they gave it him at large, and perform'd the Duty of their Embassy, each according to his Profession. *Don Pedro* did not delay their Business; but call'd a Council of War, wherein it was resolv'd, that the Succours he desir'd should be sent *Furtado*, tho' they were forc'd to comply with the Difficulties the Country then labour'd under. Upon this Determination he sent away to the Provinces of the *Pintados*, ordering Capt. *John Xuarez Gallinato*, who commanded there, to furnish all Things necessary for the Enterprize; and that he, with the best disciplin'd Infantry, should leave *Cebu*, and repair to the Town of *Arevalo*, the place appointed for the Fleet to rendezvouz. *Gallinato* did so, and sent a Ship to *Oton*, to take in as much as it could of the Succours. It arriv'd at *Oton* on the 28th of *October*; and that same Day *Don Pedro* set out from *Manila* for the *Pintados*, in Order to hasten the fitting out of the Fleet by his Presence, tho' it was then almost ready at *Oton*, where he arriv'd on the 13th of *November*, and he was of such a mettled Temper, that never regarding the Expeditions of *Xolo* and *Mindanao*, or that the Natives of those Islands were spread about in Troops among those of the *Pintados*, robbing and murdering his Majesty's Subjects, he gather'd the Supplies, and deliver'd them to *John Xuarez Gallinato*,

Succours sent from the Philippines *to* Furtado.

Gallinato, appointing him General, and Commander in Chief for this Expedition.

As ſoon as the General *Furtado* had ſent away for Succours to *Manila*, after chaſtiſing and garriſoning of *Veranula* and *Amboyna*, he ſet ſail for the *Molucco* Iſlands, with five Galeons, four Galliots, and 12 *Carcoas*, carrying his Victorious Men; but in thoſe Seas Diſaſters are ſo frequent, that neither the Joy of their late Succeſſes, nor the Refreſhment receiv'd after their Victories, appear'd in their Countenances. He arriv'd at *Ternate* with this Fleet, on the 10th of *Auguſt*; but he only look'd on that Iſland, and proceeded to *Tydore*: There he view'd the Fort, encourag'd the Soldiers in it, and made uſe of that King's Perſon and Intereſt, as Prudence directed; for that Prince, tho' he labours by Words to convince us of his Friendſhip and Fidelity, does not confirm it by his Actions; but rather leaves us dubious, when he moſt endeavours to perſwade.

Furtado *fails by* Ternate *to* Tydore.

Furtado left the Galeons at *Tydore*, and with the other Veſſels that row'd, went ſix Leagues thence, to the Iſland of *Machian*, then Subject to the King of *Ternate*, but ſo weary of that Vaſſalage, that as ſoon as our Fleet appear'd, the Governours flock'd down to the Port, attended by the Natives, with their Wives and Children, and ſuch Gifts as came next to Hand, as alſo ſome Colours, which they laid at *Furtado*'s Feet, ſubmitting themſelves, and delivering up their Country. The Men landed in peaceable Manner, amidſt the uſual Noiſe of Bagpipes and Baſons; and the *Portugueſes* having in vain ſought after ſome *Dutch* Men, who choſe rather to ſecure themſelves by Flight, than to truſt to the General's good Nature, were inform'd that they were gone over to *Ternate*. A view having been taken of the Iſland, *Furtado* erected a Fort with all poſſible Expedition, in the moſt convenient Place. When finiſh'd according to the Rules of Fortification, he put into it a Captain with 50 Men, whom he left well arm'd and provided, and with them a light Veſſel, call'd a *Galizabra*. Then he return'd himſelf, with the Reſt of the Fleet, to *Tydore*, where he joyn'd all his Ships, repair'd them, and ſet out for *Ternate* to the Port of *Talangame*, where he anchor'd, and lay from the End of *October* to the middle of *February*, when the Succours from *Manila* came.

Machian *Iſland ſubmits to* Furtado.

Dutch *fly to* Ternate.

Some accuſe him of lying ſtill very long without attempting any thing; ſaying, he let ſlip the Opportunities, without cutting off the Enemies Proviſions, or ravaging their Country, when he might have ſubdu'd them by that Means alone, without firing a Shot. However, when we have before us the Actions of ſuch great Commanders, it is ſafer to judge they had ſome ſufficient unknown Reaſon for what they did, than to attribute it to their Fault. Moſt certain it is, That being inform'd of a Fleet of the Enemies of 22 *Carcoas*, which was not far from the Iſland *Machian*, he loſt no Time, but putting 172 *Portugueſes*, of the choſen Men of his Fleet, into 18 *Carcoas*, under an able Commander, he ſent them to find out the Infidels. But tho' the Soldiers were ſo haughty, that every one undertook to fight ſix *Carcoas*, yet every Officer was for commanding all the Reſt, and thus Want of Diſcipline ſnatch'd the Victory out of their Hands. The Enemy paſs'd by, and they look'd on, without firing a Gun. The Barbarian Fleet, obſerving their Diſorder, ſtood about nimbly, and pouring in a Volley

Furtado *accus'd.*

Portugueſes *baffled through their Pride.*

Volley upon the *Portugueses*, took a *Carcoa*, with fourteen Men in it, whom they slew, in Sight of their Companions, and it was good Fortune that they did not follow their Stroke. This occasion'd the General's erecting the Fort at *Machian*; whilst the King of *Ternate* strengthen'd his, with the Assistance of 20 *Hollanders*, making good Use of the Leisure of eight Months given him by *Furtado*. He then cast up Works, and provided Engines, as he did afterwards in the Sight of our Camp.

The Succours sent by Don Pedro de Acunna.

When the Fleet was all assembled at the *Philippine* Islands, the Ammunition and Provisions were deliver'd to *Gallinato*, by the Judges and King's Attorney of the Sovereign Court, being 1000 Bushels of clean Rice, 300 Bullocks for Flesh; 200 Jars of Wine; 80 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Nails, Hooks, Hinges, and other Iron Work; 40 of Powder; 300 *Ilocos* Blankets; 700 Yards of *Spanish* Woollen Cloth; 100 Needles for Sails; 30 Jars of Oil; and for the Complement of Men, 200 Soldiers, 165 of them heavy Harquebusiers, and the other, 35 light Musquetiers; 22 Seamen; some Pilots; one Master; three Gunners of S. *Potenciana*, and 26 Grummets. The whole Expence hereof amounting to 22260 Pieces of Eight a Month. The Governour and Sovereign Court having done thus much, they requir'd *F. Andrew Pereyra*, and Captain *Brito*, to go with that Supply, which was then in readiness, under *Gallinato*, with the Colours, and Captains *Christopher Villagra*, and *John Fernandes de Torres*. The Company belonging to Captain *Don Thomas Bravo*, the Governour's Nephew, and Son to his Brother *Don Garcia*, staid behind, but the Captain went himself, and serv'd honourably in the Expedition. The Foot embark'd on the Ship *S. Potenciana*, and the Frigats *S. Antony*, *S. Sebastian*, *S. Bonaventure*, and *S. Francis*. They set sail from the Port of *Iloilo*, on the 20th of *January*, 1603, and arriv'd at that of *Caldera*, in *Mindanao*, on the 25th; where receiving some Intelligence of the Enemy, they continu'd till the 28th. Then they sail'd towards the *Moluccos*, and on the 7th of *February* descry'd the Island of *Siao*, and the next Morning, by Break of Day, that of *Toalan*, four Leagues from it. There the Frigat *S. Antony* was cast away, on a Shoal of that Island, which discompos'd all the Squadron. *Gallinato* took Care to save the Men: He sent Captain *Villagra*, who brought them off, with the Arms and Guns; the rest was swallowed by the Sea.

S. Antony *Frigat cast away.*

Gallinato from Manila *joyns* Furtado.

They held on their Voyage, and on the 13th of *February* discover'd the Island of *Ternate*. On the 14th they arriv'd at *Tydore*, where they were inform'd of the coming of *Andrew Furtado*; and therefore stay'd but a short Time to refresh themselves, being earnest to joyn him. Setting forward with a fair Wind, they came to *Ternate*, and enter'd the Port of *Talangame*, a League from the Fort, on the 16th of the aforesaid Month. The Fleets saluted one another in friendly Manner, and the Generals did the like, giving one another an Account of their Strength, Transactions, and all other Particulars till that Time. The Discourse falling out of one Thing into another, came to contesting; for *Gallinato* affirm'd, That the Enemies Provisions ought to have been cut off, by ordering our *Carcoas* to sail round the Island, which was in great Want of them, and could be reliev'd by the Opportunity he had given. *Furtado* alledg'd other Reasons to defend himself. It was thought convenient before they landed, to take

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a View of the Enemies Fort, to which Purpose, the Captains, *Christopher Villagra*, and *Gonzalo Sequeyra* were appointed to make up to it in a *Carcoa*, with a white Flag, as if were to speak with the King, and propose Peace and Conditions.

Those two Officers drew near, the Enemy met them, and understanding what they came about, sent to acquaint the King. He answer'd he could not give them Audience that Day, but they might return the next. They returning accordingly, the Inhabitants of the City came out to meet them, and among them *Cachil Sugui*, *Cachil Gogo*, and *Cachil Quipate*, the King's Uncles, who went back to tell him, that those Captains were come by his Highness's Command. This Message was brought him at Nine a Clock in the Morning, and tho' he was close by the City, the Answer came not till four in the Afternoon, and was, That unless *Furtado*, or *Gallinato* came, he would not speak with any other; but that the Captains that were come might treat with his Officers, and he would stand by, and ratify what they should conclude. The *Spaniards* having receiv'd this Answer, and their Design being to view the Fort, Captain *Villagra* set his Resolution, and pretending some Occasion, went into the Thicket, whence he observ'd all that could be seen on that Side, more nicely than could have been expected in so short a Time. They return'd to the Fleet, and gave the General an Account of all they knew.

Two Captains sent to the City of Ternate.

Villagra *views the Fort.*

In fine, they landed, and then again *Gallinato* intreated *Furtado*, to send out the light Vessels a cruising, to cut off the Enemies Supplies; and those which went out upon his Request, sped so well, that they met a plentiful and strong Reinforcement of Men and Provisions, in two *Junks* and a large *Champan*, which they took, killing and taking the Men, who were Numerous and well arm'd. They continu'd to round the Island, encourag'd by this first Success, and by that Means cut off all Succours. The Enemy began to want, sicken and dye. They fed on Herbs, and other slight Dyet; and many, but particularly Women, not being able to endure Hunger, fled confidently, tho' compell'd by Necessity, to our Camp; and the rest would have done the same if they could.

The Forces land.

Famine at Ternate.

On the 27th of *February*, *Furtado* took a Review of his Men on the Enemies Shore, where our Ships were at Anchor. *Gallinato* said, he was much troubled to see it, because in his Opinion, they were not fit even to make that Show, most of them being Boys, sick of the Distemper they call *Berber*, unskillful at their Fire-arms, and very few of them had Muskets, but only little Fowling-Pieces; so that all seem'd to forebode ill Success. The whole Number of them was 420 Soldiers, divided into four Companies. The next Day, the *Spanish* Infantry of the *Philippine* Islands pass'd Muster, in the same Place, before *Furtado* and his Officers. *Don Thomas* led them in Armour, and with a Pike in his Hand, with all the Musquetiers in the Van. After him the other Companies in Order, according to Seniority. They all form'd three Bodies, being Men of Experience, well equipp'd, orderly, and of such Valour as soon after appear'd.

Christians review'd.

A Council was held, about landing, on the first of *March*, where the General declar'd by Word of Mouth, saying he never did it in Writing, That he had lain so long, almost idle, wholly depending on the Succour that was come, and that since *Don Pedro de Acunna* had sent it so compleat,

Consult about landing.

pleat, it was not reasonable to lose Time. *Gallinato* answer'd, representing the Greatness of the Enterprize, and that they had provided no Necessaries to begin the Work, hinting at some Home Particulars, which were signify'd to him by the *Portugueze* Commanders. The Votes being taken, it was finally resolv'd to land, because all Things were in readiness; perhaps they conceited that the Enemies Power was imaginary, and that they would submit at the Sight of our Army. *Gallinato* was always of the contrary Opinion; because that Weakness he was an Eye-witness to, could not deceive him; and therefore that nothing might be wanting on his Part, tho' he was under Command, but much respected, he writ a Role of the Things necessary for the Design in Hand, setting down in it even the Hand-Spikes for moving of the Artillery, which had not been provided in all that Time. By which may be seen, said *Gallinato*, how great a Defect there had been in the Rest. When the Council broke up, *Furtado* told *Gallinato*, he had order'd, that as soon as they landed, 200 *Portugueses* should mount the Guard, with one Company of *Spaniards*. *Gallinato* begg'd he would give him leave to lead the Van, saying, he would not go as Chief, but only as a Soldier, as being proud of serving under him. This he requested very earnestly; but *Furtado*, who knew how to value such Requests, answer'd, That if he went he must accept of his Company. *Gallinato* reply'd, That he should take the Post due to his Person, since it was of such Consequence, and do him the Favour to grant him the Van. He would not grant it at that Time, but the next Day, he and his Admiral spoke to him, saying, He assign'd him the Van, by the Advice of his Admiral, and therefore desired he would be content it might consist of the Number of Men he had appointed. *Gallinato* accepted the Command, and valu'd it as was due. They landed on the 3d of *March*, and as they were drawing up, *Furtado* would needs place two of his Colours, and one of the *Spanish* in the Van, with 300 Men; the other three in the Rear; and the Royal Standard, and himself to be in the main Body; *Gallinato* was of Opinion, that all the Colours should march with the main Body, but the General follow'd his own Way.

Gallinato *against it.*

He begs to lead the Van and obtains it.

They move towards the Enemy.

In this Order they began to move towards the Enemy, Captain *Don Thomas* marching by *Gallinato*, who afterwards, in a Letter to *Don Pedro*, said, *He this Day, and upon other Occasions, gave good Proof, that he was the Son of such a Father, and these grey Hairs of mine were sufficiently honour'd with the Assistance of such a Hand, and I was well defended and secure.* The Enemy being above 700, kept in a strong and safe Post, the Shore on which our Men march'd, being little or nothing, by Reason it was High-Water, and that on the Land Side there was a very high Bank, and above it a rising and close *Zacatal*, which could not be broke through. *Zacatal* is a Field overgrown with such deep Grass or Weeds, that many Men, and much Cattle may be hid among them. These are much thicker than the Fields of Sedge, or Sheer-Grass in *Spain*. They call it *Zacatal*, from the Word *Zacate*, signifying that Sort of Grass or Weed, which grows up almost as thick as a Reed. Along this narrow Slip of Shore, which was full of Rocks, and uneven, only three Men could march a-breast, he that was next the Sea, being partly in the Water. The Enemy was possess'd of this close Pass, and a great Tree cut down for that Pur-

Zacatal *what it is.*

pose,

poſe, and lying acroſs the Place, ſerv'd them inſtead of a Trench. Behind it, and upon the Bank, between it, and the *Zacatal*, appear'd all their Men, with Muſkets, Fire-Locks, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, *Bacacaes*, or burnt Staves, Darts, Hand Granadoes, and Stones which did not do us the leaſt Harm. They had alſo five Drakes in this Poſt, wherewith, upon ſome ſhort Attacks, they kill'd five *Spaniards*; and afterwards, as the Action grew hotter, wounded ten *Portugueſes*, in ſuch Sort that they dy'd in a few Days. *Gallinato* owns he was this Day in Danger of loſing his Honour; becauſe the Colours, and all the Reſt was in the utmoſt Peril. *Poſture of the* Ternates.

The Enemy fought in Safety, and did our Men ſo much Harm, that the firſt Charge *Gallinato* gave, the *Ternates* fell on ſo furiouſly, as to drive us from the Ground we had gain'd. *Gallinato* look'd behind him to ſee the Colours he had brought with him in the Van, with the 300 Men, and found them at his Back very thinly Guarded. Thus the ſecond Time the Shout was given to fall on, and he again oblig'd to retire, becauſe he had fewer Men every time, and the laſt they were ſcarce twenty. At length ſhaming thoſe that lagg'd, and as it were inſpiring new Vigour into them, he fell on ſo fiercely, that he gain'd the Poſt, and the five Drakes. The *Ternates* loſt all, or moſt of their beſt Men. *Gallinato* follow'd the Chace till he diſcover'd the Fort, then he halted, and order'd our Camp to be Intrenched. The work was begun, and the Enemy obſtructed it twice, ſending out Parties to prevent planting the Gabions, and divert the Workmen; but they retir'd both times with loſs. When the Trench was finiſhed, *Gallinato* ſent to the General to come to it. He came and took up his Quarters, with all his Men, bringing the Royal Standard, and all the Colours. Gallinato *repulſed.* *Gains the Paſs.* Spaniards *Intrench.*

The next Day he judg'd it convenient to carry the Lodgment forward. *Gallinato* undertook it, and with his Men finiſh'd the Trench, within 200 Paces of the Enemies Fort. There they continu'd ſome Days; and it being *Gallinato*'s Part only to obey, he ſometimes gave his Opinion, and always did what he was commanded. He did ſo, when the General told them it would be convenient to carry on a Trench farther, to plant the Cannon. On the Ninth of the ſame Month, before the Fort had been well view'd, he went to open the Trench, with his own Men, and 100 *Portugueſes*, a little above 100 Paces from the Walls, which being ſo near they all ſoon perceiv'd the danger of the Undertaking. It was the worſe for the Confuſion and Noiſe in filling the Gabions. The next Day the Cannon was brought thither, being four Guns, two thirteen, and two ſixteen Pounders. Theſe ſixteen Pounders, which the *Portugueſe* Soldiers call Camels, are ſhort Pieces, unfit for Battery; beſides that the Bullets were made of Stone, and broke as ſoon as they touch'd the Wall; being only fit to fire at the Houſes. *Gallinato* ſeeing this, told the General that ſince before they landed he ſaid, he had Cannon, he ſhould order it to be brought on, and planted in Battery, now he ſaw how ineffectual that they had prov'd. He anſwer'd, that there was all he had, having left the beſt in ſome Places he recover'd the foregoing Year; and could not bring any more ſuch, by Reaſon of the ſtormy Weather. *Trenches carry'd on nearer to the Fort.* *Stone Bullets unfit for Battery.*

This being mounted, the Battery began; but being ſo improper for this Purpoſe, it was canonading the Air; for the Enemy overlook'd, and was ſtrengthen'd by a Stone *Cavalier*, which is that of Our Lady, next the Sea, *The Enemies Strength.*

Sea. Under it was a Ravelin, with seven heavy Pieces of Cannon which did, and threatned greater Harm to our Camp. The *Cavalier* was all Rampard, four Fathom high, and a Fathom and a half broad; all which had been perform'd, and rais'd with Espauls, by the Contrivance of the *Dutch*, who forwarded it, ever since they traded with that Tyrant. On the Land Side ran the Curtin of the Wall, as far as the Stone Bullwark, call'd *Cachil Tulo*, fortify'd outwards with Massy Timbers, on which there were three large Guns, and two on the Wall from this Bullwark to that of our Lady. All these Works look'd towards that Part, where our Men had taken up their Quarters. These Forts had also a great Number of Falconets, and Drakes; and the *Cavalier* that was batter'd being the strongest Part, where there was more Noise than Effect, the General order'd the Battery to cease.

They Sally. On Sunday the sixteenth, between four and five in the Evening, the Enemy sally'd out of their Fort, with most of their Men to attack, and gain the Trench, where our Cannon was planted. They assaulted it in three Places, dividing their Men, next the Mountain in Front, and towards the Shore. From the Mountainward came above 800 *Ternates*, with *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, in the Van of them almost as many *Javaneses*, with Pikes 25 Spans long, all in close Order. The Leader of them was a gallant Youth, call'd *Cachil Amuxa*, the King's Cousin German, and Son to *Cachil Tulo*. Four hundred attack'd in Front, and many more next the Sea, each Body under its own Commander; who all fell on together with such Vigour, that had not they who defended it been in great Readiness, the Enemy could not miss of being Master of it. The Captains *Pinto* and *Villagra* commanded in it, who defended it bravely, but *Emanuel Andres*, Sergeant to *Villagra*, *Alonso Roldan*, a Corporal, and another *Portuguese*, who behav'd himself gallantly, dy'd fighting, being all run through with Pikes. The Advantage soon appear'd on the *Spanish* Side, which the Enemy perceiving, they turn'd their Backs, leaving the Commanders their King had the greatest Value for, dead in the Field, and retired to the Fort. This Success gave Occasion to draw another Trench nearer the Fort, to batter the Ravelin, whence they did us Harm, with seven Pieces, notwithstanding our Work, which was carry'd on by the Captains *Villagra*, and *Sebastian Suarez*. On *Thursday* the Trench was almost finish'd, and being near, made them so uneasy, that the Besieged began to batter it, with all their Cannon, but ineffectually, because the *Gabions*, and Rampart on the Inside, could bear much more. However, by this they perceiv'd the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and the Difficulty of the Undertaking.

Amuxa, the King's Nephew leads them.

He is Defeated.

Council of War held. On the twenty first of *March* the General came to the Trench, and calling together the Captains, *Gallinato*, *Villagra*, *Antony Andrea*, *John Fernandez de Torres*, *Gonzalo de Sequeyra*, *Sebastian Suarez de Albergueria*, *Stephen Texeira*, *Gaspar Pacheco*, the Admiral *Thomas de Souza Ronches*, *Lewis de Melo Sampayo*, *Jacome de Morales*, *Don Lope de Almeyda*, *Ruy Gonzalez*, *Trajan Rodriguez Castelbranco*, *Antony de Brito Fogaza*, *John Pinto de Moraes*, and *Don Thomas Bravo*, and taking out a Missal, in the first Place desir'd them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, that they would not speak of, nor any otherwise reveal, what he should there

there propose to them, and what should be resolv'd upon it, till effected. They all swore, and then he propos'd the Matter thus.

I have call'd you together, Gentlemen, to acquaint you with the Condition I am in at Present, and this Siege has brought me to. It is two Years since I came from Goa, *and during my Voyage, have spent a great Quantity of Ammunition, upon several Occasions; so that when we landed the other Day we had only ten Pipes of Powder, and 29 Barrels sent me from* Manila. *Since I landed, so much has been consum'd, as is visible, in Skirmishes, and Battery, that I have now much less than half that Quantity. The Dead, Wounded and Sick, of our Foot, now wanting in the Camp, are* 130; *and the rest, as daily Experience shows, fall Sick very fast of the Distemper call'd* Berber. *Our Provisions, tho' we took the Rice the Frigates brought from* Manila, *are so short, that they can not last beyond the beginning of* June. *The Ships and other Vessels of the Fleet, in the Opinion of the Pilots, run a great Hazard, where they now lie at Anchor; because, when this Moon is out, there can be no Safety for it, by reason of the high Winds and Storms, unless they remove to another Place, and there is no other but* Tydore. *We see how resolute, and well fortify'd the Enemy is, since all our Battery has produc'd so little Effect, and if they receive any Damage, it is soon made up by the Multitude of People. The Friendship the King of* Tydore *promis'd for advancing of his Majesty's Service, has prov'd so false, that he has perform'd nothing of what was concerted with him, tho' so reasonable, and beneficial to himself; having only been free in Words, but his Actions have not yet been seen. I have had sufficient Tryal of him. He has no other Design, but to deceive, and amuse us, that our Men may be destroy'd by Degrees, and so Time may consume us if the Enemy cannot. When I press'd him to do something, to show at this Time that he was a Friend, and his Majesty's Subject, he answer'd, he would; but that we must furnish Provisions for all his Men, because he had none. They demand Powder and Ball, for every trivial Undertaking, that so they may consume the little we have left; and when there is any Work to be done, there are no Men for it. Of the few* Amboyneses *I brought with me, for this Purpose, their Labour being great, some are return'd home, others gone to the Enemy. Those that remain are not sufficient, and most of what has been hitherto done is owing to the Infantry; which is so harrass'd, that it can do no Service. The Enemy expects* Dutch *Ships, and knows they are now at* Banda. *I have Intelligence that they have sent for them, and if they come they will be a great Obstacle to our Designs. Considering what I have discours'd of, I desire you, Gentlemen, and every one of you, still under the Obligation of the Oath, to give me your Opinions, that according to them I may resolve what to do, in pursuance of the great Duty incumbent on me.* Furtado's Speech to the Council.

Upon the Request of the Captains, the General *Furtado* gave in these Proposals in writing, tho' he oppos'd it at first. In short they were written, as were the Opinions of the Councellors, among whom the greater Part, even of the *Portugueses* oppos'd the General; and tho' I ought to give some Account of their Votes, because they had all different Views, yet, in Regard that most of them assented to *Gallinato*'s Opinion, it will suffice to set down his Answer.

John Xuarez Gallinato, *Commander of the Provinces of the* Pintados, *and*

Gallinato's *Answer to* Furtado.

the Officers attending me, do answer to the Proposal made by your Lordship, as follows. That as to the want of Powder you represent, we look upon it as essential, since we can not fight without it, and if that fails, our Cannon and small Fire-Arms, are rather Encumbrances, than Weapons, and therefore it is requisite to resolve and agree, where and when to employ, and how much of what we have may be spent, so as our Enterprize may succeed, since we see how ineffectual that hitherto spent has been; considering, at the same Time, that a great Quantity is to be reserv'd, to fight five Dutch *Galeons we expect; which, if they come, part of our Fleet must of necessity go out and ingage. For, if this be not done they will put Succours into the Place, which tho' never so inconsiderable, as but of* 100 *Muskets, would be very prejudicial to us; besides that, it will be a great Disreputation, not to meet them out at Sea.*

As to the Mens sickning, being kill'd and wounded, we say, those are Misfortunes always attending War; and that we are sensible how fast the Army grows weak, for which Reason, it will be necessary to be the more expeditious in the Work we have in Hand; yet so that neither too much Precipitation may expose it to Hazards, nor Delay give Time for all the Army to fall Sick. As for the Scarcity of Provisions, our Opinion is, that an Account be taken of what we have, how much is consum'd in a Month, and thus the necessary Distribution may be made in Time; for otherwise we shall fall short, when we least expect it; and Hunger will do us more Harm than the Enemy.

To the Danger of the Ships threatned by the Pilots, and their Advice to go over to Tydore, *we answer. That if the Fleet quits the Station where it is, it will be a manifest Detriment to the Army, which is supply'd from it with all it Wants, and must want every Thing upon its Absence. Besides, that if the Enemy see it once gone, they will take fresh Courage; and if the* Dutch *come and find the Harbour empty, it is plain they will possess themselves of it. Again, if the Fleet makes off, must not a considerable Number of the Soldiers go for its Security? Now how can it be proper to divide our Forces; especially considering they are so small, and the Men so sickly? Besides that here is no Place to lay up the Provisions, for the Waters destroy them by Day and Night. Whilst aboard the Fleet, the Soldiers have it daily brought fresh and wholesome. Farther, the Pilots, and Natives of* Tydore, *say the Ships are safe in the Harbour till after the Middle of* April.

We have had Tryal of the Enemies Power, and believe they have Men, Ammunition, and Cannon to spare, considering our Condition; and the Commanders, and Deserters from them confirm it. But neither can it be deny'd, that the very first Day we ingag'd, as we have been told by Prisoners, and wounded Men, 1000 *of the best Men they had in* Ternate *came out to stop our Passage with five Pieces of Cannon, and so posted, that only two of our Men could come up a Breast to charge them; and yet they with all these Odds, were beaten off with the Loss of many Men, as appear'd by the dead Bodies, scatter'd along the Shore, where they also lost their Artillery. The same Day we saw them sally upon the Fort of* Santiago, *where Captain* Villagra *commanded, and tho' our Men were surpriz'd, yet they repuls'd them and slew the Flower of their Commanders; so that they were certainly*

ly much weakned; and ſtreightned by Hunger and Sickneſs. And tho' with the Help of the Dutch, *and their own Hardineſs they repair the Breaches, and fortify themſelves with Artillery, Means may be found to ſurmount theſe Difficulties, for if there were none, it would be no War we are ingag'd in.*

We are ſenſible of the King of Tydore's *Want of Faith; but what diſcreet Commander has not made the beſt of ſuch Accidents, and wink'd at diſloyal, and unſteady Perſons till a more favourable Opportunity; Beſides, before we landed, Notice was taken of this Princes Indifferency, and that his Deſign is to protract the War, rather in Hatred to* Ternate, *than out of any Love to our Nation. We our ſelves will make amends for the Want of Labourers; we will be both Soldiers and Pioniers, as we have hitherto been; for the Sword and the Spade are equally honourable in ſo juſt a War; and we again offer our ſelves, and our Soldiers, to perform whatſoever ſhall be for the Service of God and the King.*

It is therefore our Opinion, that the Galeons remove immediately; that two of them Anchor between our Ladies Cavalier, *and* S. Paul, *and batter the inſide of the* Cavalier, *and the other two, the Houſe of* S. Paul, *the Fort, and the Town. Then of Neceſſity the Defendants within muſt fly, ſince the Defence of the Stone Parapet, is but a meer Show, except only where it looks upon the open Country. As ſoon as the Galeons begin to batter, we will alſo batter the Ravelin before the* Cavalier, *where the ſeven Pieces of Cannon are, which will certainly be ruin'd in two Hours, becauſe our Fort of* S. Chriſtopher *commands them, and the Thickneſs is not above a Fathom. To conclude, My Lord, the Want of Proviſions, and of Health, the coming of the* Dutch, *the Reſolution of the Beſieged, of all other Difficulties will be ſurmounted by Celerity. We are ready to perform all Things on our Part; it belongs to your Lordſhip to make Tryal of our Promiſe. It will not be reaſonable immediately to abandon the ſmall Remains of Chriſtianity in the* Moluccos, *and the Hopes of regaining what has been loſt, in vain endeavour'd for ſo many Years, at the Expence of ſo many Millions of Money, ſo many Lives, and the Honour of* European *Nations, by turning our Backs upon ſo holy an Undertaking.*

This Anſwer was ſent in a Paper ſigned by the Captains, to ſatisfy all his Doubts, for they anſwer'd others by Word of Mouth, which were ſtarted by the *Portugueſe* Commanders to perſwade drawing off; but the General Thanking both Parties for their Zeal in Adviſing, broke up the Council; and on *Saturday* the 22d, came to a Reſolution, which he left to be put in Execution the next Day. That Night he drew off the Cannon; and on *Sunday* Night, at the ſecond Watch, the Forces began to March towards the Shore, where the Ships lay to take in the Men. The Admiral, *Thomas de Souſa*, led the Van; the General and his Officers, the Main Body; and *John Xuarez Gallinato*, with the Captains *Don Thomas Bravo*, *John Fernandez de Torres*, and *Chriſtopher Villagra*, and the Muſketiers, brought up the Rear. In this Order the Foot were Shipp'd off, and got all aboard by the Morning. At the ſame time two *Dutch* Men, of thoſe that were in the Fort with the Enemy, fled from it, and came to the Ships. Among other Intelligence, they told the *Spaniards* how ſtrong the Enemy were in Men and Cannon: That they had 36 heavy Pieces mounted

Furtado *diſſolves the Council, and acts counter to it.*

The Forces Shipp'd off.

mounted on the Ravelin near our Ladies; seven on *Cachil Tulo*'s Bastion; three between them; and two on the *Cavalier*; three at S. *Paul*'s; eight in the Main Fort; three at *Limatao*; three more on that Bastion, and four more near it.

Furtado *refuses to supply* Tydore, *and other Places.*

This Day *Furtado* propos'd to sail away with the Fleet towards *Amboyna*, but wanting Water, put it off for four Days, and during that time *Gallinato* had leasure to Discourse him, since he was going away, about providing the Fort of *Tydore*, which could not be Maintain'd without Supplies. He Answer'd, He was very willing to do it, but could not; and therefore would send Succours from *Amboyna*. Application was made to him to provide for other Wants, which concern'd his Majesties Service, to which he return'd the same Answer. He press'd him to consider, in what Condition he left the Fort of *Machian*, whereto particular Regard ought to be had, because there were 50 Men and a Captain, with the small Vessel, call'd a *Galizabra*, and he must either Relieve, or Dismantle it. He said, He had already sent to Destroy it, and did believe it was then Raz'd.

Machian *Fort raz'd.*

Having taken this Order, and Leave of the Commanders, he set sail on *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, sending a Letter to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, the Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, with an Account of the Particulars of this Enterprize: A small Part of it will suffice to express the Thoughts and Intention of so Discreet a Commander as he has been prov'd by his former and later Actions; for it is not to be believ'd that he would quit the Attempt upon *Ternate*, without substantial Reasons: *The Succours your Lordship sent me*, says he, *by Gods Assistance, came in good Time; for it was Providence that furnished his Majesty with this Fleet, and sav'd the Lives of us, who still enjoy them. By what has happen'd in this Expedition, his Majesty will understand how much he is beholding to your Lordship, and how little to the Commander of* Malaca; *since it is his Fault, that his Majesty was not serv'd. When the Succours your Lordship sent me arriv'd, this Fleet had no Ammunition, as having been two Years out from* Goa, *and having spent it as Occasion offer'd. Wherefore, that it might not be thought I Obstructed his Majesties Service, I landed; and did it with the Loss of many of the Enemies. I carry'd up my last Trenches within* 100 *Paces of the Enemies Works, planted five heavy Battering-Pieces; and in ten Days Battery a great part of a Bastion, wherein the Enemies main Strength consisted, was ruin'd. During that Time all the Powder the Fleet had was spent, without leaving enough for one Charge of the Guns, and if it should happen, as I do not question it will, that I meet any Squadron of* Dutch, *I must of Necessity fight them, this being my principal Motive for raising of the Siege, when the Enemy was reduc'd to great Streights, both by Want, and for that many of their best Commanders had been kill'd during the Siege. By this your Lordship may guess at the Condition I am in.* This Letter dilates upon the Complaints against the Governours of *India*. He promises *Don Pedro*, that if he meets with any Succours at *Amboyna*, and is not oblig'd to go relieve the southern Parts, he will return to the *Moluccos*, tho' he be forc'd to go refit as far as *Malaca*. He praises and recommends the Captains *Gallinato*, *Don Thomas*, *Villagra*, and their fellow Soldiers, and so concludes the Letter.

Part of Furtado's *Letter to the Governor of the* Philippines.

Gallinato went to *Tydore*, where he was inform'd, that tho' the Fort of *Machian*

Machian was abandon'd, only one Baſtian of it was diſmantled; ſo that if the Enemy would poſſeſs themſelves of it, they might do it with Eaſe, and were actually about it. Hereupon he ſpoke to the King of *Tydore*, and the *Portugueſe* Commander in Chief, recommending to them, that they would either take Care to maintain, or elſe quite raze that Fort. They commiſſion'd a Captain to do the latter, who going to perform it, loaded the Veſſel, call'd *Galizabra* with 200 Quintals, or a hundred Weight of Clove, and return'd to *Tydore*, to the great Satisfaction of the *Portugueſes* of that Iſland. At this Time the King of *Ternate* was repairing the Breaches in his Fortifications, and rais'd new Defences, providing againſt Dangers he knew Nothing of yet. His Subjects are Warlike, with whom, and the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, he thought his Kingdome invincible. Great Matters might have been expected could any Confidence be repos'd in the King of *Tydore*; but our Commanders ſay his People, and thoſe of *Ternate* underſtand one another.

Gallinato at Tydore *takes Care of* Machian.

Falſhood of the King of Tydore.

On the 17th of *April*, the King of *Tydore* acquainted *Gallinato*, that with his Leave he deſign'd to make Peace with the King of *Ternate*. He anſwer'd, He would do well to conſider what was expedient for his own Dominions, without Detriment to his Majeſty's Service. The ſame Day the *Sangiack* of *Nua*, in the Kingdom of *Bachian*, came to *Tydore*. He was a Chriſtian, and laying hold of the Opportunity of ſerving his Majeſty in the laſt Expedition, viſited the Queen of *Tydore*, a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the King of *Bachian*, who liv'd diſcontented, becauſe the King her Husband was more fond of another ancient Woman, and not ſo well born. The *Sangiack* had Commiſſion and Strength to ſteal her away, and conduct her to her Father, ſince neither Complaints, Intreaties, nor any other Methods had been of Force to reclaim the King. On the 4th of *May*, came a Siſter of the King's, on the ſame Pretence of viſiting her Neice, and reconciling her to the King. The *Sangiack* and ſhe having concerted thoſe Affairs, the young Queen going abroad with them to an Entertainment, and all Things being provided, they embark'd, and ſail'd away towards *Bachian*. The King of *Tydore* was enrag'd, out of Patience, and apprehenſive of a new War; tho' afterwards this Difference was amicably adjuſted, by the Interpoſition of *Cachil Malua*, a principal Perſon of *Bachian*.

The King and Queen of Tydore *at Variance.*

She is ſtolen away.

On the 22d of *May* News was brought to *Tydore*, that the King of *Ternate*, had fitted out 50 Carcoas in his Harbour, and expected the *Dutch* Ships. He, at the ſame Time, made Rejoycings, in a triumphant Manner for the Departure of the *Spaniards*. It was requiſite to leave ſome Men and Proviſions in the Fort of *Tydore*, which being done, *Gallinato*, who had before writ by an Advice-Boat, to the General and Governour of the *Philippine* Iſlands, left the *Moluccos*, and ſail'd himſelf that Way. This was the Event of that ſo long intended and threatned Undertaking, which I have deliver'd impartially, having ſearch'd after, and even gueſs'd at ſome Excuſes to juſtify the Behaviour of ſo great a Commander as *Andrew Furtado*; enquiring of thoſe very Officers who were preſent at the Attacks, and in the Councils. Neither by them, nor by the General's own Memorials and Papers, can be found or made out any more than what appears by thoſe which have been here inſerted; but to judge of theſe Affairs is not the Part of an Hiſtorian.

Fort of Tydore *ſupply'd.*

Impartiality of the Author.

This

Earl of Lemos *President of the Council of the* Indies

This same Year, about the beginning of *April*, the Presidentship of the Council of the *Indies* was conferr'd on *Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, Earl of *Lemos* and *Andrade*, Marques *de Sarria*, Chief of his Family, whose Royal Antiquity is well known, Nephew and Son-in-law to the Duke of *Lerma*. In his Youth he gave such Hopes, as were afterwards fulfill'd by his Actions. He was then Gentleman of the Bed-Camber to our King. The World made the same Judgment of him, that the Senate of *Rome* had in his Time of *Scipio*, afterwards call'd *Africanus*, when it made a Scruple of entrusting him with Matters of great Difficulty, because he was so young. But Experience soon made appear in the Earl, as well as in *Scipio*, that Prudence, which regulates all other Virtues, often anticipates grey Hairs. It is no Merit of the Off-spring to be descended from Noble, or *Plebeyan* Families; but such was the Vivacity of this great Man's Spirit, and Judgment, that had he been born Mean, he might by his own natural Parts have made his Fortune. No Man can say he wanted publick or private Accomplishment. In him appears a settled Magnanimity; with a courteous Sincerity; yet temper'd with that Justice we extol in the severe Austereness of some of the Ancients. These Virtues are interwoven with Religion, a Zeal for its Propagation, and the universal Agreement, which is the Product of publick Tranquility. Thus he serv'd his King, with Care and Solicitude; without Intermission, or seeking himself and his Advantage. It will be requisite to be brief in this Particular, because his singular Modesty is not pleas'd with the Soothings of Commendation; but is as averse to Flattery, as remote from standing in need of it.

This was writ when he was living.

Member of the said Council, at that Time.

The Earl found the Council fill'd with zealous and grave Men; the Lords *Benedict Rodriguez Valtodano*, *Peter Bravo de Sotomayor*, *Alonso Molina de Medrano*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or S. *James* the Apostle, *James de Armenteros*, *Gonzalo de Aponte*, *Don Thomas Ximenes Ortiz*, *Don Francisco Arias Maldonado*, *Benavente de Benavides*, *John de Villagutierre*, *Lewis de Salcedo*, and *Ferdinand de Villagomez*; all of them qualify'd by Extraction, noted for Learning, and having taken the highest Degrees in it. These were Counsellors, and the last of them Solicitor General of that Assembly. To which also belong'd *John de Ybarra*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, and Commendary of *Moratalaz*, and *Peter de Ledesma*, the King's Secretaries. In the Places of the Licenciates, *Molina de Medrano*, and *Gonzalo de Aponte*, whom his Majesty afterwards employ'd in his Royal Council of *Castile*, and in those of some who dy'd, his Majesty, at several Times put in the Licenciates, *Lewis de Salcedo*, *Gudiel*, and *Don Francis de Texada y de Mendoza*, Doctor *Bernard de Olmedilla*, and *John de Ybarra*, &c. All these amidst that Multitude of Business they dexterously dispatch'd, laid all their main Designs, for the restoring his Majesty's Monarchy to its Fulness, in those utmost Limits of it; a Project suitable to the Genius of the new President. He enquiring into the general and particular Posture of all Things then depending, met with that of the *Moluco* Islands, and finding it of Consequence, and almost forgotten, inclin'd to give it a helping Hand.

Br. Gaspar Gomez *informs the Council.*

Much about this Time, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came into *Spain*, being sent by *Don Pedro de Acunna*, to solicite that Enterprize. The Brother at several tedious Audiences, gave the President full Information of all that concern'd

concern'd the *Molucco* Islands, their Wealth, the great Treasure *Spain* has expended in Attempts to recover them, to restore persecuted Christianity, where it had been so much receiv'd; and what Consequence it was, that this should be done by Way of the *Philippine* Islands. The Earl undertook that Cause, as such ought to be supported, and consulted about it with the Council, with the Duke of *Lerma*, and most particularly with the King's Confessor. He never desisted, till it was brought to bear, and in such a Forwardness, that it might be effectually dispatch'd. The Members of the supream Council, with the same Zeal, and considering the repeated Disappointments of this Enterprize, forwarded the Expedition, and all of them agreed that *Don Pedro de Acunna* should undertake it in Person. This favourable Disposition of theirs, was fully confirm'd, by the News brought a Year after, of the ill Success of the united Forces of *India* under *Furtado*, and those of the *Philippine* Islands, under *Gallinato*. It was writ by *Don Pedro de Acunna*, describing it to the Life, with Duplicates for his Majesty, and the prime Ministers, and though he left much to Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, he was very particular himself.

He complain'd that they had let slip such an Opportunity of Recovering *Ternate*, and chastising the *Dutch*, who resort thither to the Trade of Clove, Mace, and other Spice, and Drugs. He represented the Danger the *Philippine* Islands were in, after that Neighbouring Tyrant's Victory; and that having more particularly weigh'd the Circumstances of that Affair, besides the Necessity of regaining the Reputation lost there, he found that whatsoever has been yet said, was short. For not to mention the principal End, which was the Propagation of the Faith, but only with Regard to the King's Revenue, he show'd, That *Ternate* being reduc'd it would be easie to subdue the Islands of *Banda*, which are above thirty, lying about a hundred Leagues from the *Moluccos*, full of valuable Mace, and possess'd by an unwar-like People, would add that Income to *Spain*, and take it from the *Dutch*, who carry all away, with little or no Opposition. He promis'd the same as to the Islands *Papuas*, which are many, not far distant from *Ternate*, some of them Subjects to that King, and yeilding him a considerable Quantity of Gold, Amber, and other valuable Tribute. Then he extended to the Great *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, describing its Fertility, and how that Tyrannical King oppress'd it. Those of *Celebes* 45 Leagues from *Ternate*, where he had strong Garrisons. The Greater and Lesser *Javas*, whose Kings would again submit to *Spain*, as soon as the *Moluccos* were brought under. He earnestly recommended Secresie and Expedition. To evince the Necessity of both, besides the usual Reasons, he urg'd that as soon as those Rebels and the *Dutch* hear of any War-like Preparations, they spare neither Cost, nor Labour, to make all necessary Provision; and that they never sail by the Coasts of *India* without ruining, and plundering them. He affirm'd, that the General *Furtado* was no way to blame for having abandon'd that Enterprize; for as it plainly appear'd, and Captain *Gallinato* declar'd he had always behav'd himself like a brave Gentleman, and discreet Commander; but that besides the Want of Provisions and Ammunition, he could not relie upon his own Men; and that if the Succours sent him from *Manila* had been more considerable, he would have hazarded all with only them. He said, the King of *Tydore* had sent him great

Don Pedro de Acunna's letter concerning the Enterprize on Ternate.

Complaints against the General *Furtado*, and that it was a common saying with him, That before he came to the *Moluccos* the King of *Tydore* Slept, and he of *Ternate* Watch'd; but now the Case was alter'd, and the contrary might be said. Yet he believ'd he was not heartily sorry for the Disappointment. The fame he urg'd in Relation to the Kings of *Bachian* and *Sian*. He concluded, offering to undertake that Affair in Person, provided he might be furnish'd with what was necessary, that he might not be Distress'd as his Predecessors had been. Then he went on, by Way of Answer to the Objections, or Accusations of the *Spanish* Commanders, who being us'd to the Wars in *Europe*, despis'd all other Enemies, who made War without all those Engines, and Fire-Arms us'd in *Flanders*, *France*, and *England*. He says, none of those Eastern Provinces wanted any of the Inventions we have in *Europe*; and that besides the great Numbers they have, and the Dexterity in using them of the *Japoneses*, *Chineses*, *Mindanaos*, and *Moluccos*, they are no less expert at their Bows, and Arrows; especially the *Javaneses*, who conquer when they fly, and that they are not destitute of such Stratagems, that the *Spaniards* have need of all their Valour against them, and their numerous Armies. He owns the *Molucco* Islands can not stand in Competition, with the strong and populous Cities taken in our Parts, but that nevertheless, so many Christian Churches as have been polluted in them; the banishing of our Religion; the Persecution of its Ministers; the continual Tyrannical Practices; and Alliance of those People, with the *Dutch*, his Majesties last Rebels, ought not to be cast into Oblivion. And that, were there no other Motive but this, the King ought to retrieve his Honour, which is concern'd for the loss of so many of his Fleets, and Commanders. It is very remarkable, that tho' in these Letters he gave an Account of the Posture of Affairs, either as to Peace, or War, of so many several Kings, among whose Territories the *Spanish* Arms appear, not without Glory; yet he insists not so much on any Point, as that of *Ternate*, which was grown Old by above thirty Years standing, to the Discredit of our Nation. From all this may be inferr'd, how necessary it is always, in Affairs of great Difficulty, to bend the entire Understanding to them, and to be in Love with the Design conceiv'd, that so the Event may answer the Expectation. He at the same Time sent long Reflections, and Projects of the Count *de Monterey*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, relating to the Execution of that Affair, wherein it plainly appear'd, by the Consonancy of the Reasons, and the Opinions of Men well acquainted with those Parts, that the Expedition was of greater Concern and Importance, than all the Arguments made use of upon the like Occasions do ever amount to.

Lewdness of the King of Ternate *and* Cachil Amuxa.

Thus was *Ternate* bandy'd in the Councils of *Spain*, whilst at home it abounded in Trade, yet stood upon its Guard, and particularly the King, whose Prosperity gave him Occasion to indulge his Inclinations, of Cruelty towards the Christians, and private Satisfaction to himself. He gave himself up to the Love of *Celicaya*, yet being divided among so many Women, it had not the usual Power over him, but allow'd of other Diversions. *Cachil Amuxa*, the bravest of his Commanders, and his Cousin *German*, was newly Marry'd to a Daughter of the King of *Mindanao*, a singular Beauty, not of the *Asiatick* Sort, but of the *Spanish* or *Italian*. The King, who was us'd to observe no Rules, courted her as a Gallant, and as a King, persisting, and presenting her; and was soon admitted by the *Indian*

dian Lady. Her Husband, tho' their Privacy for a while conceal'd his Wrong; at length, by the King's contriving to keep him abroad, and the Interposition of Time, which reveals all Secrets, found out who it was defil'd his Bed. What could the unfortunate Man do? He durst not kill his Wife, for the Love he bore her, and for Fear of the King's Displeasure. He resolv'd to be reveng'd, as if it had been in a Money Concern. In order to it, he dissembled the best he could, and whensoever he had an Opportunity to talk to Queen *Celicaya*, either feign'd, or profess'd Love, till he had inculcated it as he desir'd. He bore with the Disdain and Threats, which are the Weapons Nature bestow'd on that Sex; and Perseverance prevail'd, for *Celicaya* rewarded *Cachil*'s Love. This Intrigue continu'd a considerable Time, till the King found it out, and both Rivals took Notice of it. Tho' the King more deeply resented the Reprisal his Kinsman had made, to be reveng'd; yet they did not fall out on that Account, nor forbear conversing together. They preserv'd Peace and Friendship in their Houses; and the King stood so much in need of *Cachil Amuxa*, for his Wars, which in those Parts are no less frequent, than Peace, the special Blessing of Heaven, is among us, that he durst not declare against him, and what is more, not so much as displease *Celicaya*. She, as if the Abuse tolerated in Men had been allow'd to Women, justify'd herself by alledging the Wrong the King had done her in courting the other. However, the King being once in the Field, under one of their Arbours, and *Cachil Amuxa* coming in, without his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, the Guards upon a Signal given them, handled their Arms, fell upon, and gave him many Wounds on his Head, Face, Arms and Body, none daring to defend him. He was sensible of the Occasion, and Revenge, and suddenly drawing a small *Criz*, or Dagger, he happen'd to have about him, did not only defend himself against many Cuts and Thrusts, but assaulted the Murderers, and with great Activity, wounded some, bore down others, and put the rest to Flight, killing four. Nor had his Fury stopp'd there, but that the King slipp'd away; tho' now his Wounds had weaken'd *Amuxa* by Reason of the great Quantity of Blood that ran from them. He was left for dead; but an Uncle of his, hearing the Noise, came in to his Assistance, with his Followers; who all bound up his Wounds, and carry'd him to his House, where he was cur'd, by the King's Permission. This was the Effect of his Fear, rather than good Nature, for all his Kindred took the Injury upon themselves, and began to meditate Revenge; which they would certainly have compass'd, and made fair Way for the Pretensions of *Spain*, had not those who were apprehensive of another War soon reconcil'd those Animosities. The *Cachil* was cur'd, but with such Scars in his Face, and so many deep Gashes and Seams in his Head, that he was nothing like the Man he had been before. So say they who knew him, and have seen him in our Days at *Manila* and *Ternate*. He was restor'd to the King's Favour, and both of them to that of their Wives, without Notice taken of the Accident, or as if it had been a Secret. So great is the Difference in the Humours of Nations.

Amuxa Cuckolds the King in Revenge.

The King's Revenge.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK IX.

Preparations in Spain *againſt the* Moluccos.

THE continual Application of the Preſident and Council to expedite the Enterprize, ſeem'd to be a Preſage of the late ill Succeſs at the *Molucco* Iſlands. The true Account of it was brought in *Don Pedro de Acunna*'s Letters. The King and his Miniſters were concern'd at it; but at the ſame Time, it was a Motive to haſten the Preparations, recover the loſt Reputation, and put an End at once to that Strife. Some attributed the Miſcarriage to Diſagreement between *Gallinato* and *Furtado*; others ſuſpected the Diſcord had been between the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* Nations. None urg'd that it might be for Want of Neceſſaries for carrying on the Work. Theſe Debates ended, and the Preſident eſpouſing the Buſineſs with the Reſolution that was requiſite, repreſented the Matter in a lively Manner to the King, recounting what the General *Furtado* had done, the Succours ſent by *Don Pedro de Acunna* under *Gallinato*, and how, tho' the Officers and Soldiers did their Duty, the Succeſs fail'd. That it was look'd upon as moſt certain, That the *Molucco* Kings, who ſtill continu'd under Subjection, had acted coldly. That this Failure in them was occaſion'd by a Sort of State Policy, eaſy to be ſeen thro'; which was the Protracting of the War, and making uſe of our Arms for their private Advantage, without deſiring it ſhould be fully concluded. That if Means were not us'd for expelling the *Dutch* out of *Ternate*, they would become abſolute Maſters of the *Archipelago* of the *Conception*, and deprive his Majeſty of all the Revenue of

The Preſidents Remonſtrance to the King.

of the Spice, as they had almoſt done in the moſt conſiderable Parts of *India*.

The King having conſider'd it, approv'd of what was laid before him; and being ſenſible of its mighty Importance, judg'd the Number of Ships, Men and Arms demanded, too ſmall; and therefore added more with his own Royal Hand, without fixing a certain Proportion; and order'd, that no Time ſhould be loſt, ſeeming very earneſt to have his Decree put in Execution. In the ſame Manner he directed, thro' the Intervention of the Duke of *Lerma*, that the Deſign in Hand ſhould be carry'd on. Hereupon the Council paſs'd the Neceſſary Orders, and the Preſident ſent Letters and Inſtructions to the Viceroy of *New Spain*, and the Governour of the *Philippine* Iſlands, that they might with the ſame Diligence fulfil the Commands they ſhould receive as to this Point. The King in his Order ſent to this Effect, declar'd his Will, and the Method he was pleas'd ſhould be obſerv'd as follows. *The King's Anſwer.*

Don Pedro de Acunna, *my Governour, and Captain General of the* Philippine *Iſlands and Preſident of my Royal Court in them. On the 20th of* September *of the laſt Year* 1603. *I writ to you by an Advice Boat, which carry'd* Gaſpar Gomez, *of the Society of* JESUS, *to* New Spain, *acquainting you with the Reſolution I had taken concerning what you writ to me from* New Spain, *when you went to ſerve in thoſe Poſts, relating to the Expedition of* Ternate. *Purſuant to it, I have order'd* 500 *Men to be rais'd in theſe Kingdoms, who ſhall be ſent aboard the Fleet that is to go this Year to* New Spain. *I writ to the Viceroy, directing him to raiſe* 500 *more, that ſo you may have at leaſt* 800 *ſent you for this Enterprize. I have appointed four Captains to carry them from this Kingdom; one of whom is the Vice-Admiral* John de Eſquivel, *to be Commander in Chief of the ſaid Men; beſides ſix in half Pay, who are skillful and experienc'd Soldiers, that in Caſe any of the ſaid Captains dye by the Way, they may ſupply their Places; and that they may take Charge of the Companies to be rais'd in* New Spain, *as I write to the Viceroy. I have appointed the ſaid Captains* 40 *Ducats a Month Pay, and the Vice-Admiral* John de Eſquivel 60. *Thoſe in half Pay are to have* 25 *Ducats; and from that Time forward, the ſaid* John de Eſquivel, *in Caſe I order him to have the Title of Collonel, ſhall have* 120 *Ducats a Month; and whilſt he ſerves under the Title of Commander in Chief of the ſaid Men, to have* 90 *Ducats a Month; the Captains* 60, *and thoſe in half Pay* 40. *The Soldiers, as well thoſe rais'd in* Spain, *as thoſe from* New Spain, *ſhall have Eight Ducats a Month; the Viceroy being order'd to ſend to thoſe Iſlands as much Money as is requiſite for a Years Pay, according to thoſe Rates. And, if they ſhall be longer detain'd upon other Occaſions of my Service, he ſhall alſo furniſh what is Neceſſary, upon Advice from you. Concerning which I have thought fit to acquaint, charge and command you, that in Caſe this Pay of the Soldiers can be moderated, with Regard to what is uſually paid there to Men of this Sort, you accordingly reform it, as may be juſtifiable, acquainting me, and the Viceroy of* New Spain *with it. However you ſhall make no Alteration in the Pay of the Vice-Admiral* John de Eſquivel, *nor of the Captains, Enſigns, and thoſe in half Pay. I have alſo directed the Viceroy to furniſh you with whatſoever ſhall be requiſite, as far as* 120000 *Ducats you have demanded for* *The King's Letter to* Don Pedro de Acunna. *Captains and their Pay.* *Soldiers Pay.* *The Viceroy to furniſh Money, Powder and Cannon.*

for this Expedition, six Pieces of Battering Cannon, and 500 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Musket Powder. The Men from hence go arm'd with Muskets and Firelocks. You must be very careful that there be due Order, Rule and Method in the Distribution of the said Money, and every Thing besides. You shall endeavour to perform what is intended, as I expect you will, with the Men sent from hence and from New Spain, *and those you may have rais'd in those Islands for the Expedition against* Ternate. *If it be possible you shall go in Person, as you have offer'd to do, leaving those Islands in the best Order that may be. And in case the Affairs there should be in such a Posture, that you cannot go in Person upon this Expedition, you shall appoint another of sufficient Experience, and well qualify'd, to take the whole Command, for I impower you so to do. And it is my Will, That in Case you should miscarry, either going upon the Expedition, or thro' any other Accident, or the Person you shall appoint for it, that then the Vice-Admiral* John de Esquivel *succeed and prosecute it; and that all such as go upon the said Expedition, as well Seamen as Landmen, obey him, as they would you, if there. And I declare that in this Case, and if you should miscarry, and the said* John de Esquivel *succeed in the Command of the Expedition, he shall be subject and subordinate to my Royal Sovereign Court of those Islands. I have made Choice of the Captains, who have the Command of the Foot rais'd in those Kingdoms, as Persons of Merit and Service; and therefore do command you to honour and favour them as far as may be allowable, and in so doing you will please me; and that you do not reform them, nor take away their Companies, to give them to others, unless it be to advance them to higher Posts. Nevertheless, if they shall be guilty of any Crimes, you may punish them, as their Superior Officer. It is to be suppos'd, That when these Men come to those Islands, and they shall set out in the first Ships that sail from* New Spain, *after the Arrival of the Flota, you will have all Things in such Forwardness, that the Enterprize may be gone upon immediately. I charge you strictly to undertake it with all the Precaution, Maturity, and Consideration I can expect from so able a Soldier; and that the Men be well disciplin'd and exercis'd, and all Things so well dispos'd, that you may meet with the wish'd Success, which is of such Consequence, and you are sensible how much is hazarded, and of the great Expence that is made. You are to take Care, as I charge you, that the necessary Order be taken in the Distribution and Management of my Treasure; and that all superfluous Charges be avoided. You shall from Time to Time give me an Account of whatsoever happens, as Occasion shall offer. When you have recover'd the Fort of* Ternate, *you shall take the necessary Measures for the Security of the same, and of the Island. I have order'd the Viceroy of* New Spain *to send you Advice, as soon as the Men that go from hence arrive there, if there be conveniency so to do; and that he particularly inform you of what Force he has gather'd there, and will be effective any other Way; as also when they shall sail thence, that you may dispose Things there accordingly; and if you shall think fit that the Men be left any where, before they come to* Manila, *you may order it, or do as you shall think most Expedient in all Respects.* Valladolid, *June* the 20th 1604.

Don Pedro *to go in Person.*

John de Esquivel *to succeed* Don Pedro.

Charge of Martial Discipline, &c.

After

After the Diſpatching of this Order, or Letter, the Contents of it began to be executed in *Spain*. In the foregoing Year 1602, whilſt *Don Pedro de Acunna* was buſy in making Preparations to this Effect, an Accident happen'd in the *Philippine* Iſlands, which threatned the Ruin of them, and greater Calamities. A Fire broke out at *Manila* in *April*, which conſum'd the beſt Part, and above half the City, without being able to ſave the Goods, which had been landed from the Ships newly arriv'd from *New Spain*, and laid up in the ſafeſt Part of the Houſes, whereof 270 of Timber and Stone were burnt, as alſo the Monaſtery of S. *Dominick*, Houſe and Church, the Royal Hoſpital of the *Spaniards*, and the Magazines, no Building that lay betwixt them eſcaping. Fourteen *Spaniards* were burnt, and among them, the licenciate *Sanz*, a Canon of the Cathedral, with ſome *Indians* and *Blacks*. The Loſs was valu'd at a Million. It ſeem'd to be an Omen of what was to follow, which agreed with the Signs ſeen in the Sky. *Dreadful Fire at Manila.*

In the foregoing *March*, a *Chineſe* Ship came into the Bay of *Manila*, in which, as the Out-Guards gave the Account, there came three great *Mandarines*, with ſuitable Pomp and Retinue, about their Monarch's Buſineſs. The Governour gave them leave to land, and come into the City. As ſoon as landed, they were carry'd directly to the King's Houſe, in *Palankines* of Ivory, and curious Sorts of Wood gilt, on the Shoulders of their Servants, who were clad in Red. There the Governour expected them, with the Members of the Royal Court, and a great Number of Officers and Soldiers, who alſo lin'd the Streets, and publick Places. When they came to the Houſe, they were ſet down by their Servants, and leaving their Colours, Umbrelloes, Launces, and other Tokens of Grandeur, went into a ſpacious Room magnificently adorn'd. As ſoon as they ſaw the Governour, who expected them ſtanding, the *Mandarines*, making their Obeyſance, and performing Ceremonies of Civility after the *Chineſe* Faſhion, made up to him. *Don Pedro* return'd their Courteſy after the Manner of *Spain*. They, purſuant to their Commiſſion, with the Interpoſition of Interpreters, told him; "That their King had ſent them with a "*Chineſe*, they brought along with them in Chains, that they might with "their own Eyes ſee a Golden Iſland, call'd *Cabit*, near *Manila*, of "which that Subject of his had given him an Account, telling him, it "was not poſſeſs'd by any Body, and therefore ask'd of him a Number "of Ships, to ſeize it, promiſing to bring them back loaden with Gold, "and if he did not he ſhould take his Head. That they were come to "fulfill that Promiſe to their King, and to ſatisfy him of the Truth of "the Exiſtence of ſo ſtrange an Iſland; which being an Affair of ſuch "Conſequence, their King would not commit it to any Perſons of leſs "Note than themſelves. *Don Pedro de Acunna* anſwer'd them in a few Words. "That they were Welcome; that they might reſt them in the "Houſe prepar'd for their Entertainment in the City, and they would af-"terwards diſcourſe about that Affair more at Leiſure. Thus they took their Leave, and at the Door got up again into their *Palankines*, on the Shoulders of their Slaves, who carry'd them to their Lodgings. There the Governour order'd them to be plentifully furniſh'd with Proviſions, and all Dainties as long as they ſtaid. *Three Chineſe Mandarines at Manila.* *Their Extraordinary Meſſage.* *Don Pedro's Anſwer.*

It

Jealousy of the Chineses.

It is a plain Case, that the coming of these *Mandarines* must raise a Jealousy, and make it be concluded, that they came upon another Design, than what they declar'd. The *Chineses* are sharp and mistrustful, and it was not to be believ'd, that their King should send them on that Errand, nor the Fiction likely to be credited by the *Spaniards*. At the same Time, eight *Chinese* Ships arriv'd at *Manila* with Merchandize, and declar'd, That the *Mandarines* come as Spies, because the King of *China* intended to break off all Trade with the *Spaniards*, and send over a mighty Fleet of Ships that could carry an hundred Thousand fighting Men, to possess himself of that Place, and that this Expedition would be some time that Year. The Governour redoubled his Care for the Security of the City, and order'd the *Mandarines* to be well treated, but not to be suffer'd to go out of the City, nor to administer Justice among the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, as they had began to do, which they seem'd to resent. Then he sent them Word, that they must dispatch their Business, and return speedily to *China*. All this was done, without any Signs of Jealousy shown by the *Spaniards*, or that they saw into their private Designs.

Second Visit of the Mandarines, and the Governour's Answers.

The *Mandarines* visited the Governour again, and then he was more plain; and making something of a Jest of their Coming, said to them, That he wonder'd their King should give Credit to the *Chinese* they brought Prisoner; or if it had been true that any such Gold were in the *Philippine* Islands, that he should think the *Spaniards* would suffer it to be carry'd away, the Country belonging, as it did, to the King of *Spain*. The *Mandarines* answer'd they believ'd as much; but that their King had sent them, and they were oblig'd to come, and to carry him an Answer. That having done their Part, according to their Duty, they would return. The Governour being willing to make short Work of it, sent the *Mandarines*, with their Prisoner and Servants to the Port of *Cabite*, which is two Leagues from the City. There they were receiv'd with the Noise of our Cannon, purposely fir'd at their Landing, which they admir'd, and did not conceal their Surprise and Fear. When landed they ask'd the Prisoner, whether that was the Island he had told the King of: He, nothing daunted, answer'd, It was. They reply'd, Then where is the Gold? All that is in it, rejoyn'd he, is Gold, and I will make it good. The same Answer he made to several other Questions put to him; and all was writ down in the Presence of some *Spanish* Commanders, and trusty *Naguatatoes*, or Interpreters. To conclude, the *Mandarines* order'd a Basket made of Palm-Tree Leaves to be fill'd with that Earth, to carry it to the King of *China*; and after dining and resting, return'd to *Manila*. The *Naguatatoes* or Interpreters, declar'd, That the *Mandarines* pressing the Prisoner to answer directly to the Purpose, he told them, That the meaning of what he said to the King was, that there was abundance of Gold, and other Wealth in the Possession of the *Spaniards* and Natives of the *Philippine* Islands; and if he would furnish him with a Fleet well mann'd, he having been at *Luzon*, and knowing the Country, would undertake to make himself Master of it, and return to *China* with the Ships laden with Gold. This, with what the *Chineses* had said before, seem'd more likely than the Invention of the *Mandarines*.

The Chinese Prisoner prov'd a Cheat.

He explains himself.

Don

Don F. Michael de Benavides, then Archbishop Elect of *Manila*, who understood the *Chinese* Language, was of this Opinion. He had been in their Country, was acquainted with the Subtilties of the *Sangleyes*, and suffer'd their Torments and Cruelties. It was presently Judg'd, that the *Mandarines* came under that Colour to view the Country, and to lay the Foundation of their Insurrection and Mutiny there. These certain Judgments are grounded on the Irrational Dispositon of the *Sangleyes*, or *Chineses*, which, not to mention other Proofs, will sufficiently appear, by some few Periods of the long Letter *Ferdinand de los Rios*, of whom we have spoken before, writ to *Manila*, from the Port of *Pinay* in *Canton*, where he was upon the Service of the Church, and of his King. *For these Infidels*, says he, *have the Light of Nature more clouded than any other People in the World, and therefore there is need of Angels, and not Men, to deal with them. For the better conceiving what a sort of a Country 'tis we are in, I shall only say, that this is the true Kingdom of the Devil, and where he may be said to govern with absolute Power. Every* Sangley, *or* Chinese, *seems to be possess'd by him; for there is no piece of Malice, or Fraud, but what they attempt. The Government, tho' outwardly it appears good, as to Order and Method, for its Security; yet when you once have Experience of its Practice, you will find it is all a Contrivance of the Devil. Tho' they do not here publickly rob, or plunder Strangers, they do it another worse Way*, &c. *Part of a Letter concerning the* Chineses.

This Jealousy conceiv'd against the *Sangleyes*, who, once for all, are the *Chineses* so call'd by the *Spaniards* at *Manila*, was verify'd; for it was afterwards known, that the Captain of the King of *China*'s Guards had begg'd of him the Conquest of the *Philippine* Islands, at the Perswasion of that *Chinese* they brought Prisoner. The Governour treated the *Mandarines* civilly, and mistrusted their Designs, keeping a watchfull Eye over them. However there wanted not some-body that ask'd them, what they thought of that Fellow's Invention, since they had seen that the Place he mention'd was so far from having any Gold, that there were not the least Tokens of any such Thing to be found in it; and since it was so, they ought to make him give it under his Hand, that he had told his King a Lye. One of the *Mandarines* bid him do so, and he taking the Pen form'd three Characters, which, explain'd in our Tongue, signify'd, *If the King pleases, it is Gold*; *and if not, it is Sand*. Being press'd farther, he declared, That he had inform'd his King that Gold was produc'd there, to incline his Majesty to entrust him with a good Fleet, wherewith he might take Revenge of the Christian *Sangleyes*, who had done him many Wrongs. Little Notice was taken of all this, and tho' the Authority of the *Mandarines* seem'd to corroborate it, all was look'd upon as Folly, for none believ'd that they design'd to carry on a War out of their Country. The *Mandarines* return'd Home, having, as is believ'd, communicated their Project to the *Sangleyes* that were settled there, who at *Manila*, and in the other Islands, were above 30000. Chineses *design the Conquest of the* Philippines. *The Prisoners Declaration.*

The same was practis'd by the *Chinese* King in the Island of *Aynao*, or *Aynan*, a most fruitful Country, and near to his Kingdom, where the *Chineses* crept in under Colour of Trade, as they did at *Manila*, and possess'd themselves of it to this Day. This Island has such a plentiful Pearl Fishery, that in the Year 1600 the King caus'd 1500 *Arrobas*, that is, 375 Hundred Chineses *take Aynan by Treachery.*

dred Weight of them to be taken up. This will not seem incredible to such as know, that not long before, in four Months Time, he gather'd 1700 Vessels that row'd, for this Fishery, every one being oblig'd to take a *Pico*, that is, five *Arrobas*, or Quarters of an Hundred, to gather a sufficient Quantity of Pearls to rebuil'd a Royal Apartment that had been pull'd down in that King's Palace. He built it again, covering the Walls and Roofs with Clusters of Pearls, and Birds, Beasts, Fruits, and Flowers, all made of that precious Substance, set on Plates of Gold. The Truth of this Fact appears by an Authentick Writing, which gives an Account of it; for being likely to be judg'd Fabulous, it was requisite to authorize the Relation.

Monstrous Quantity of Pearls.

The Governour did not altogether look upon the Design of the *Mandarines* as a Piece of Vanity and Folly, tho' he conceal'd his Thoughts; for he made some Preparations, and among the rest hasten'd the repairing of the Walls of the City; which having suffer'd much by the Fire, when the Arms were also lost, he made up that Defect the best he could, and the *Sangleyes* were assisting in it. It is to be observ'd, that those People have a separate Government among themselves, in the *Philippine* Islands.

Precautions taken at Manila.

At the Time that *Don Pedro*, the Governour, was most intent upon the War against the *Molucco* Islands, there happen'd such an Accident at *Manila*, as might not only have diverted it, but utterly destroy'd the whole Province. A Man was then living, who stay'd at *Manila*, when the great Pyrate *Limaon*, of whose Life and Actions there are Printed Relations, came to *Manila*. He was then an Idolater, and, as was reported, serv'd the Pyrate in a lewd Capacity. His Name was *Encan*, born at *Semygua*, in the Province of *Chincheo*; and was baptiz'd under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*, who gave him his Surname, and he was call'd *Baptist de Vera*. He prov'd a subtile Dealer, and successfully Active, by which Means, following Trade, he gather'd immense Wealth, and was Great with the Governours of the *Philippines*. Through his Interposition, the *Sangleyes* propos'd to *Don Pedro*, that he should allow them to repair a Parapet of the Wall, which was finishing, at their own Expence; for that they, as a Part of the Publick, would do his Majesty that Piece of Service; and every one of them offer'd four Royals, that is, two Shillings, towards the Work. This Piece of Service, and the Favour of the Citizens, *Encan* had purchas'd by good Turns, made the Suspicion conceiv'd of their Conspiracy vanish, or at least be little regarded.

Encan a Chinese of great Subtilty.

He was respected by the *Spaniards*, and belov'd by the *Sangleyes*, had been their Governour several Times, and had many Godsons, and other Dependants. At this Time he cunningly kept within the City, to secure Things by his Presence; but from thence he stirr'd up the People, and laid his Design, by Means of his Confidents. He thought fit to know what Number of People he should find to put it in Execution, and that he might muster them in private, order'd that every one of his Country-Men should bring him a Needle; pretending he had Occasion for them for some Work. The *Sangleyes*, either guessing at the End for which these Needles were gather'd, or else ignorantly obey'd *Encan*. The Needles being put into a little Box, the Number of them was so great, that it encourag'd him to undertake a far different Work than he had propos'd.

His crafty Practices.

The Governour still forwarded the Work of the Walls; rais'd Men; and directed the Justices to furnish themselves with Provisions, and Arms,

to

to relieve the City. Near the *Parian*, which is the Quarters of the *Chineſes*, there was another Ward, inhabited by *Japoneſes*, who are Enemies to the *Sangleyes*, with whom they are continually at War in their own Country. The Governour ſummon'd the Heads of them, and artfully div'd into their Inclinations, to diſcover, what Uſe he might make of them upon Occaſion, and whether they would aſſiſt him againſt the *Chineſes*, in Caſe they came to a War. The *Japoneſes*, proud of the Confidence he repos'd in them, and of an Opportunity of ſerving againſt their Enemy, anſwer'd, they were ready to dye with the *Spaniards*. This diſcreet Precaution occaſion'd ſome Harm, for the *Japoneſes* revealing the Secret, or adding ſome Circumſtances in the Relation, it was given out, that *Don Pedro*, with their Aſſiſtance, intended to cut off the *Sangleyes*; and ſome of the *Japoneſes* told them as much, that they might fly, and reward them for the Intelligence. Many of them had Thoughts of abſconding in the Mountains, the Reſt were frighted, and thoſe who intended to revolt, found an Opportunity to perſwade the others to joyn with them, and encourag'd the unſettled with fair Promiſes. In ſhort, moſt of them conſented to the Rebellion, and appointed *S. Francis*'s Day, when the Chriſtians were all at Church, celebrating that Feſtival, for the Time of riſing. Others were for having it done at Night, when 25000 of them were to break in and murder our Men.

Don Pedro ſtrengthens himſelf

Japoneſes promiſe to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and alarm the Chineſes.

Conſpiracy of the Chineſes.

Notwithſtanding their Secrecy ſome Diſcovery was made. *John de Talavera*, Curate of the Village of *Quiapo*, inform'd the Arch-Biſhop, that an *Indian* Woman, with whom a *Sangley*, or *Chineſe*, was in Love, had diſcover'd to him the Plot laid for *S. Francis*'s Day. It was alſo reported, that a Woman-Black had ſaid, there would be a great Slaughter, and another Conflagration, like the former, on *S. Francis*'s Night. Theſe and other Advices were preſently made known to the Governour and Council. A ſufficient Proof was to ſee the *Chineſes* ſell all, to their very Shoes, and compound their Debts, tho' this was rather look't upon as a Deſign to be gone, than to commit any Treaſon. To diſpell their Fear of the *Spaniards* and *Japoneſes*, the Governour made them ſome Speeches himſelf, and caus'd the ſame to be proclaim'd in all Parts, ingaging the King's Faith and Security; but nothing was of Force to quiet them. Three Days before the Feaſt of *S. Francis*, above 400 *Anhayes* Merchants ſtay'd in the City, becauſe they could not diſpoſe of their Goods. Theſe ſeeing the others in Diſorder, on Account of the Report, that the *Spaniards* and *Japoneſes* deſign'd to maſſacre them, ſent a Meſſage to the Governour, by *Chican*, one of the Province of *Anhay*, or *Chincheo*, whereof that City is Head. He came to him by Night, for Fear of the other *Chineſes*; and acquainted him with the Dread, and Confuſion they were in, without knowing what Courſe to take, and therefore they came to him for Advice and Protection. He having hear'd him, gave all poſſible Security in his Anſwer, and the next Day went himſelf to talk to his Companions, whom he ſatisfy'd in a very obliging Manner, aſſuring them, that the *Spaniſh* Nation never was guilty of executing, or conſenting to ſuch Villanies. This Diſcourſe ſatisfy'd them; but ſtill thoſe who had Miſchief in their Hearts did not deſiſt.

Diſcovery of it.

The Governour's Precautions.

Anhayes in Fear, aſſur'd.

The *Sangleyes*, or *Chineſes* live there in a ſeparate Quarter, which the *Arabs* call *Alcayceria*, and the People of the *Philippines*, *Parian*. On *S.*

Francis's Eve, a great Number of them met in a House half a League from the City, where there is a Sugar Work: The House stands in a Thicket, which belongs to the *Sangley* Governour. Those who began first to gather there, were the Gardiners of the Quarter of *Parian*. *Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas* had Advice of it, from the *Dominicans* of *Minondo*. *Don Lewis* had Charge of the Christian *Sangleyes*, and sent Word to *Don Pedro de Acunna*. *Minondo* is a Town inhabited by *Chineses* opposite to *Manila*, the River only parting them. From *Minondo* the *Chinese* Dwellings run on, as far as another Town of the Natives, call'd *Tondo*; and in the Quarter of the *Chineses*, there is a strong Monastery of *Augustinians*, all of Stone. Not far from it the *Dominicans* have two, but wooden Buildings. The Governour, to be fully inform'd of the whole Truth, sent thither *Baptist* before mention'd, Governour of the *Sangleyes*, of whom he had a great Opinion, and all Men lookt upon him as a sincere Christian, and loyal Subject to the King. He charg'd him to speak to them in his Name, and to convince them how little Cause they had to fear, as knowing how peaceable the *Spaniards* were. *Baptist* undertook this Commission, went to the Sugar Work, which was his own, spoke to his People as he thought fit, and return'd very late with the Answer, telling *Don Pedro*, that he had been in Danger of being chosen their Chief, and that his People would have forc'd him to accept of it. That it was true, they were assembled together, and strong, but that it was all occasion'd by the Fear they had conceiv'd of the *Spaniards*; and that they had display'd several Colours with *Chinese* Characters on them, which, being translated, contain'd these Words.

Parian *the* Chinese *Quarter.*

First meeting of the mutinous Chineses.

Minondo *a Town of* Chineses.

Tondo *a Town of Natives.*

Baptist, the Chinese *Governour sent to appease them.*

Inscription on the Chinese *Rebels Colours.*

'*The Chief and General of the Kingdom of* China, *call'd* Ezequi, *and another of the Tribe of* Su, *call'd* Tym, *following the Dictates of Heaven in this Affair, that all the* Chineses *may unanimously joyn in this Work, and obey them, in Order to root out these Enemy Robbers, are willing that* Yochume *and* Quinte, Japoneses, *in Conjunction with us* Sangleyes, *do conquer this City, and when we have subdu'd it, we will divide this Country, even to the Grass of it, equally between us, as becomes loving Brothers.*'

He pretended to be mightily concern'd, because they would have proclaim'd him King, and he was forc'd to make his Escape to save his Loyalty; and had deceiv'd them, promising to return. Hereupon the Governour us'd several Means to appease them, the Danger of so furious a Beginning increasing with the Number of the Rebells. The first Mischief he endeavour'd to prevent was the destroying of the Rice, which was then almost ripe. He appointed Colonel *Augustin de Arceo*, Major *Christopher de Azcueta*, and Captain *Gallinato* to go speak to them; but *Don Lewis Perez de la Marinbas*, who liv'd at *Minondo* thinking the Rebellion now requir'd some harsher Remedy, came at Night to advise the Governour to be more watchful, and that all the City should do the like. He desir'd he would allow him some Men to secure that Town, for he fear'd the *Sangleyes* would burn it that Night, and it was now requisite to make open War; and he must not believe they could be reduc'd by Messages, or fair Means. The Governour being impos'd upon by *Baptist*, still hop'd all would be compos'd without Effusion of Blood, and at the Perswasion of *Don Lewis* gave him 20 Soldiers, his own Servants, and some marry'd *Spaniards*, who were Inhabitants of the same Town. He distributed these Men into the most dangerous Posts of it, that the Enemy might not set Fire to it, and the Christian

Falshood of Baptist.

Don Lewis Perez *secures Minondo.*

Sangleyes

Sangleyes when they loſt their Goods, joyn'd the Rebels. On the other Hand, the Governour privately poſted his Troops, and Sentinels; and all Men expected, or dreaded the Fate of that Night, particularly the General *John de Alcega*, who, by the Governour's Command, was to follow the Orders he receiv'd from *Don Lewis*. Proclamation was again made, that all Men ſhould be peaceable, under Penalty of being ſent to the Galleys for four Years.

This avail'd ſo little, that, excepting 4000 Handicrafts Men, and the *Anhayes* Merchants, all the Reſt aſſembled at the Sugar Work. At one in the Morning, a Party of about 1000 *Sangleyes* march'd out of a Fort, with *Catanas*, or Cymiters, Halbards, and other Weapons advanc'd, as alſo with long Staves, harden'd at the Fire at the Points; which they uſe inſtead of Pikes, and are no leſs ſerviceable. Theſe are very frequent among them in their Country, and are made of a ſolid Sort of Wood, call'd *Mangle*. They fell upon the Farm, or Pleaſure Houſe of Captain *Stephen de Marquina*, not far from their *Parian*, and murder'd him, his Wife, Children, Servants, and Slaves. They ſet Fire to the Houſe, and to thoſe of other *Spaniards*, among which were thoſe of Colonel *Peter de Chaves*, and of two Clergymen, who liv'd a retir'd Life, their Names *Francis Gomez*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios*. They alſo kill'd *F. Bernard de Santa Catalina*, Commiſſary of the Inquiſition, of the Order of *S. Dominick*. All theſe defended themſelves, as did many more who eſcap'd, deſparately wounded. Thence they drew towards the Town of *Tondo*, which is divided into Quarters. They fell upon that of *Quiapo*, and ſet Fire to it, after murdering 20 Perſons. Among the Reſt they burnt a Lady of Quality, and a Boy, giving great Shouts, and boaſting that from thence forward, the *Indians* ſhould pay Tribute to them, and the *Caſtillas* periſh.

1000 Sangleyes *ſalley.*

They murder ſeveral and burn Houſes.

More Cruelties.

News being brought on *Saturday* Morning, that the *Sangleyes* were going to enter the Town, and that the Natives had withdrawn themſelves in their Veſſels toward *Manila*, in Order to get in, or lye under the Shelter of its Walls in the River, the Governour diſpos'd the Regular Troops, and thoſe of the City *Militia* about the Walls, viewing the Gates, and all weak Places. He ſent Captain *Gaſpay Perez* with his regular Company to *Tondo*, and order'd him to obey *Don Lewis de las Marinhas*, and to carry no Colours. As ſoon as he came, the 20 Men ſent the Night before, joyn'd him, and *Don Lewis* thinking that too ſmall a Force, ſent to deſire Succours. The Governour knowing he was in the right, ſent the Captain *Don Thomas Bravo*, his own Nephew, 24 Years of Age, who ſerv'd at *Ternate* in the Expedition of *Andrew Furtado*. He went over to the Town of *Tondo*, with another Company of the regular Forces, ſome Voluntiers, and ſeven of the Governour's Servants, leaving the Colours in the City. After him he ſent Captain *Peter de Arcea*, an old Low-Country Soldier. *Don Lewis* ſent Word again, that the *Chineſes* were marching towards *Tondo*, that they were Numerous, and he fear'd they would burn the Town, and a ſtately Church of the *Auguſtinians*. The Governour ſent him 60 Men more, moſt of them arm'd with Pikes, and Halbards, the firſt having been Muſketiers. Theſe were commanded by *Don John de Penna*, till he deliver'd them to *Don Lewis*. When this Company came, there had been an Ingagement at *Tondo*, wherein *Don Lewis* ſlew abundance of *Sangleyes*, and oblig'd the reſt to retire; preventing their burning the Town, which began to take Fire, and the Houſes at the Entrance of it were conſum'd. *Don Lewis* would have purſu'd the Enemy,

Captain Perez *ſent to* Tondo.

Captain Thomas Bravo *Succours him.*

Chineses *repuls'd.*

my, who retir'd to their Fort, and *Don Thomas Bravo* endeavour'd to dissuade him, saying, The Men were all fatigu'd, and that as soon as out of the Town they would meet with nothing but Bogs and Brambles; and since the Governor's Orders extended no farther than to keep the Enemy off from thence, and save the burning of the Church and Houses, and that had been done, they ought to send him Advice of it, before they proceeded, being only the River parted them, and in the mean while the Soldiers would refresh themselves, and they might hear more of the Enemies Design. Captain *Alcega* said the same, but *Don Lewis* being bent upon it, and offended to be contradicted, ask'd him, *What Hen had cackled in his Ear?* And bid them follow him, for five and twenty Soldiers were enough to deal with all *China*. *Alcega* answer'd, *He was us'd to hear as good Game-Cocks as himself Crow*; yet he would do well to consider what he did. However, tho' *F. Farfan*, an *Augustinian*, earnestly perswaded *Don Lewis*, falling on his Knees, to do as they desir'd him, and not to go any farther, yet he could not be prevail'd on; but having order'd the Captains, *Gaspar Perez*, and *Peter de Arceo*, to secure some Posts with a few Men, he broke out furiously, and began to march, being follow'd by the Men, in Pursuit of the Enemy; who had already gain'd the Road, and they overtook them near the Fort, between the Bogs and the Fordable Shoals. When they came to the Fort, the Country open'd a little more. Here they began to fall upon the Enemies Rear, and they perceiving how few the *Spaniards* were, as not being above 130, drew up in a Body with two Points, like a Half Moon, and lay in Ambush among the Grass. The main Body of our Men march'd towards the Fort, and then those who lay in Ambush rising, enclos'd our Men, and fell upon them so furiously with sharp Stakes, Cymiters, and other Weapons, that they cut them in Pieces. Head-Pieces of Proof were found batter'd with a Stake. A Musketier, who serv'd *Don Lewis*, reported, that a Company of *Sangleyes* fell upon him, who having enclos'd him, laid about so implacably, that they bruiz'd and broke his Legs; after which he fought a considerable Time on his Knees, till they stun'd him with their Staves, against which a strong Helmet could not defend him. They left the Ensign *Francis de Rebolledo* stun'd, for Dead, and when the Enemy drew off, he made a Shift to get up and escape, with his Head cruelly cut, and was cur'd in the City, where he told many Particulars of that miserable Slaughter, about 30 more escap'd, and among them *F. Farfan*, who all got off by being in the Rear, and light of Foot. *Don Lewis* was kill'd there by the same People that had slain his Father, and with him the General *Alcega*, *Don Thomas Bravo*, Captain *Cebrian de Madrid*, and only one of all the Governor's Servants surviv'd.

Don Lewis *upbraids* Captain Alcega.

Pursues the Enemy against Advice.

Is slaughter'd with his Men.

Chineses *rejoyce with the* Spaniard's *Heads.*

The *Sangleyes* cut off the Heads of the Slain, and hoisting them on the Points of their Spears, run in at their Nostrils, carry'd them to present to their *Chinese* General, who was in the Fort, and his Name *Hontay*. He, and the Rest, view'd the Heads, and set them up with much rejoycing, returning Thanks to Heaven, and the Earth, according to their Custom, for that Victory; thinking they should meet with little Opposition from the *Spaniards* after that.

All this Day, being the Feast of *S. Francis*, and the next, the Enemy spent in rejoycing. At *Manila* they were burning the Suburbs, and Houses without the Walls, and consider'd what Order they should take against the

the *Parian*; for tho' many Thousands of *Sangleyes* us'd to inhabit it, there were not then 1500 remaining, and among them 500 *Anbayes* Merchants, a peaceable and rich People, of whom there was no mistrust; the rest were Handicrafts, no Way suspected. About 50 of the others were secur'd, who had their Hair shorn, and were mix'd among the Christian *Sangleys*. These gave Information, that they had burnt Monasteries of Religious People in several Places. Some Clergy-Men, with abundance of Women and Children, secur'd themselves in the Church of *S. Francis del Monte*, and some Companies of *Sangleyes* coming to besiege them, they went up into a Belfry, where having fixt a Sheet on a Staff, they display'd it like Colours, the People appearing at the Windows, the Women and Children ringing the Bells, rating the Enemy, and bidding them come on. Our Men often firing two Muskets, which was all they had, the *Sangleyes* durst not approach, being more afraid than they had Occasion, and accordingly drew off to a strong Post, whence they were to continue the War.

Christians defend themselves in a Belfry.

The Governour endeavour'd to prevent the News of the Slaughter spreading abroad, lest it should discourage the Country; and gave out, that the Slain were at *S. Francis del monte*. He warn'd the Justices to get together all the *Indian* Servants, because there were scarce any *Spaniards* left; and sent the Factor *Francis de las Missas* to cruise upon the Coast, with three Rowing Vessels, towards the Enemies Fort, to cut off all their Provisions. The Factor perform'd his Part so well, that he sunk some Vessels, and burnt those that carry'd them Provisions. He kill'd many of their Men at the Mouth of a River that falls into the Sea, about the Fort call'd *Navotas*; look'd for the Clergy-men they were said to have kill'd in their Houses; and sent away to *S. Francis del monte*, a Party of 500 *Japoneses*, with three *Spaniards*, and two *Franciscan* Fryers, to gather the Remains of that Slaughter. In his Way, he pass'd by the Enemy's Fort, with a Design to do them some Harm, if he could, and found they had abandon'd it, retiring to the *Parian*, to joyn the rest and besiege the City, being puff'd up with their late Victory. This happen'd on *Monday* the 6th. The *Japoneses* search'd the Fort, where they found about 200 sick and wounded *Chineses*, whom they slew, and saving abundance of Provisions, burnt the Fort with all their Warlike Preparations, which could not be serviceable against the first Owners. They went up to the Monastery, and return'd thence the same Day to the City.

Francis de las Missas *does the Rebels much Harm.*

Japoneses *kill* 200 Chineses, *and burn their Fort.*

The few *Sangleyes* in the *Parian* were no less apprehensive, than the greater Number in the Fort, both because they were so near, and for that it was suppos'd they would joyn their Companions, when they saw the *Spaniards* decline. Besides, it was known, that those in Rebellion had sent to desire them to come over to their Party, giving them Notice of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd. This was discover'd by a *Sangley*, who swimming over, was taken by the Sentinel on the Vessels that were in the River, who, having confess'd on the Rack, that he was a Spy, and went forward and backward with Intelligence, was put to Death. On the other Hand, it was consider'd, that though the safest Way was to kill all those People, yet it was not just to execute Men that were not convicted of any Crime; especially since they came to the *Philippine* Islands, to trade upon the

Rebels send to stir up the others.

Spy executed.

the publick Faith, and the Governour having engag'd for their Safety, in case they were quiet, and intermeddled not in the Rebellion. For this Reason some Councils of War were held among the Commanders, at which the Counsellors, and the Archbishop, were also present; and considering, that the Rebels earnestly applying to those in the *Parian*, to side with them, it was possible they might be perverted, and in case they did not revolt, those Mutiniers would kill them, it was resolv'd, That the *Anhayes* Merchants should be perswaded to retire with their Effects into the Monastery of *S. Augustin*, which is a strong House within *Manila*. The Governour having himself in Person acquainted them herewith, as also by some of the Counsellors and their Friends, yet they were irresolute; and tho' some of them committed the keeping of their Goods to others, they stay'd themselves to be Spectators of the Event. The last Care taken of them, was *Don Pedro*'s going in Person to the *Parian* that same Day; and about an Hour after, many of the Enemies Colours appear'd on the other Side of the River, along the Bank of it. They came from the Fort, which was a quarter of a League from the City.

The Governour would secure the Anhayes.

Some of the *Sangleyes* began to swim over to the *Parian*, and others came in Boats and Floats provided for that Purpose. Their Passage could not be obstructed, because the Galiots and *Carcoas* belonging to the Navy were then among the *Pintados*, to defend those Islands; Intelligence having been brought, that a Fleet of *Mindanaos* and *Ternates* was coming to invade them. The Rebels enter'd the *Parian* with great Cries, bringing the Heads of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd on S. *Francis*'s Day, run through the Nostrils. The Governour observing their Resolution, order'd the Captains, *Gaspar Perez*, and *Peter de Arceo*, who were at *Tondo*, to come over to the City with their Companies. The Enemy being return'd to the *Parian*, with that dismal Spectacle of the Heads, began to perswade the *Anhayes*, who had not yet declar'd, but not being able to prevail, and finding them positive on the contrary, and that they blam'd what they had done, they fell upon and butcher'd above 200 of them. Then they plunder'd Part of their Silks, which made them Cloaths of several Colours. They also hang'd other Merchants, and some, being about 80 in Number, hang'd themselves, to prevent falling into their Hands, which is very frequent in that Country. One of these was the *Sangley* General himself, call'd, *Hontay*. *F. John Pobre*, formerly a Captain, since a *Franciscan* Fryer, and at this Time compell'd by Necessity to take up Arms again, reported, That the mutinous *Sangleyes*, having perswaded the *Anhayes* to follow their Example, they appointed *Chican*, a rich *Sangley*, and Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, to answer for them. He, before he would speak his Mind, told them it would be proper to set up a Gallows, and the Heads of the *Spaniards* on it, that being in View, they might all take Courage to fight manfully. They approv'd of his Counsel, and the Gallows being set up, he went up himself to range the Heads, and taking out a Rope he had carry'd up unseen, put it about his own Neck, and hang'd himself in the Sight of them all.

Chineses *pass over to* Parian.

The Chineses *murder the* Anhayes.

Some hang themselves to avoid their Fury.

Strange Death of Chican.

The same Day Captain *Peter de Brito*, being with his Company in the Cathedral, which had been assign'd him the Night before, for his Post, and observing that a certain House was not uncover'd, contrary to the Proclamation

mation made the Day before, commanding them all to have the Palm-Tree Leaves and *Nipa*, wherewith they are thatch'd, taken off, for Fear of another Conflagration; he ſent to take it off. The Enſign *Andrew Obregon* went up to this Purpoſe to the very Top, and there found *Baptiſt* hidden with his Sword and Dagger, whom ſome Women endeavour'd to conceal. Being ask'd by the Enſign, what he did there? he anſwer'd, He was taking off the *Nipa*. The next Queſtion he was quite daſh'd, and his own Conſcience ſuddenly accuſing him, he ſaid, *Do not kill me, Sir.* The Enſign mildly encouraging, bid him go to the Governour, who expected him, and ſtay'd to take off the Covering of *Nipa*. Then coming down ſaw ſome Soldiers, and went up again with them. By this Time certain *Indian* Women had hid *Baptiſt* in a Chamber, where the Soldiers entering by Force, bound him, and he was caſt into Priſon among other *Chineſes*. The Tryal was ſhort, as is uſual in the Martial Way, and in the mean while the Priſoners were remov'd to Captain *Gallinato*'s Houſe. Thither came a *Japoneſe* Boy, enquiring for *Baptiſt*. They found his Pocket full of Squibs, and another Boy with a Piece of a Wax-Candle, all which was given them by one of *Baptiſt*'s Slaves. The Squibs were all bloody, perhaps it was ſome Chriſtian's Gore. He own'd himſelf he had ſo great a Hand in the Rebellion, that it was not without good Reaſon they would have made him their Chief. That the *Sangleys* call'd out upon his Name. That *Hontay* was troubled at his Abſence, ſaying, He muſt needs be in ſome Trouble, ſince he did not come to Head them; and for this Reaſon he hang'd himſelf. Next appear'd the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny, and it was prov'd againſt them, That they had ſet up a Pole on the Place call'd *el Cerro*, or the Hill of *Calocan*, and on it a black Flag, with two *Chineſe* Characters on it, which imported *CUNTIEN*, the Signification whereof is, *IN OBEDIENCE TO HEAVEN*. Other Colours were found with the Army that fought at *Dilao*, with a Cut on them containing the *Chineſe* Figures of *Encan*, or *Baptiſt*.

Baptiſt Chief of the Rebels taken.

His Confeſſion.

Why Hontay *hang'd himſelf.*

Several Religious Men, at this Time fought againſt the Mutiniers; but among them all, ſpecial Praiſe is due to the Valour of the Lay-Brother *Antony Flores*, of the Order of *S. Auguſtin*. He was born in *Eſtremadura*, had ſerv'd in *Flanders*, was a Slave in *Turkey* above 20 Years, and made his Eſcape out of the Inland Country by his Valour and Induſtry. He went over to the *Philippine* Iſlands, where he chearfully took the Habit, in the Monaſtery of *S. Auguſtin* at *Manila*. He always ſhow'd great Humility in Obedience, and loſt nothing of his Courage in the Simplicity of a Religious Life. Him the Governour order'd to ſcour the River, in the Galliot belonging to the Monaſtery, fighting the Ships and *Champanes* of the *Sangleyes*. One Night after having drove from the Shore above 200 Veſſels, burnt ſome large ones, and ſunk others, he ſtay'd in the Middle of the River *Paſig*, to obſerve the *Sangleyes*. Between eleven and twelve, he perceiv'd that one of the Rebels was ſwimming over to the City, and the Darkneſs cauſing him to miſtake, he lighted upon Brother *Antony*'s Galliot. He having ſeen him before, the *Indian* Servants had the Opportunity of laying hold of him, drew him by the Hair into the Galliot, and carry'd him to the Governour. He was put to the Rack, and there confeſs'd, That he came to acquaint the *Sangleyes* of the *Parian*, that the next Day thoſe

Brother Antony Flores, *a brave Man.*

Does good Service.

Takes a Spy.

on the other Side wou'd cross the River, and then they would all together, with the Engines they had provided, attack the Wall, put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and make themselves Masters of the Islands. The Governour having this Intelligence, took the necessary Precautions for the next Day, and Brother *Antony* return'd to his Monastery, where he furnish'd himself with Meal and other Provisions for his Galliot. He carry'd two Muskets for himself, and drew his Vessel into a Creek the River makes, that runs by the Walls of *Manila*, among abundance of *Manglans*, which are Trees growing in any watrey Land, and so thick, that Men may easily be hid among them, without being perceiv'd. There Brother *Antony* lay in Ambush supposing, or knowing, that the *Sangleyes* must of Necessity pass that Way, as being the narrowest in the River, and nearest to the Wall. Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectation, for they came very early in the Morning, and were passing over in great Numbers from the first Peep of Day, till very late. The Fryer had put above 200 Bullets into two Pouches, and kept firing the two Muskets from before five in the Morning, at break of Day till six in the Evening, cooling them with Vinegar; nor did he ever fire at less than a Company of 20 or 30 *Sangleyes*, that no Shot might be lost. It was concluded for certain, that he alone that Day kill'd above 600 of those Barbarians. The Governour afterwards sent him in pursuit of those that remain'd, with a thousand *Indians*, and he slew above 3000 *Sangleyes*, putting to flight the small Remains of them.

He alone kills 600 Chineses.

At this Time many of the *Sangleyes* that had cross'd the River, appear'd in the Streets of the *Parian*; who standing in Sight of the Walls, with their own, or the Weapons they had taken from the *Spaniards* they slew, call'd upon those who defended the City, whence they made several Musket Shot at them, wounding and killing many, for they came within good Aim, after a desperate Manner. It was reported, they had taken their *Anfion*, that is, a Composition of *Opium*, as the *Turks* do, and is also us'd by the People of the *Moluccos*, when they are to give Battel; for it doses and gives them a brutal Courage. A Piece of Cannon was planted on the Gate of the *Parian*, and did considerable Execution, and no Man would have suspected that any had been there. Some *Japoneses* and Natives of the *Philippines* sally'd out upon the *Sangleyes*, with good Success; for they kill'd many of them, and particularly such as had been wounded by the small Shot, and Brass Guns on the Wall. They thinking the *Parian* was a Shelter for Cowards, set Fire to it, and went out to fight the *Japoneses* and *Indians*. The *Sangleyes* from the Houses, where they lay conceal'd, kill'd a *Portuguese* Captain, and wounded three others, with small Shot. One of them was *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*. The *Sangleyes* remov'd to the Monastery of *Canaelaria*, that is of *Candlemas*, whence they sally'd more furiously than from the *Parian*.

Desperate Sangleyes *kill'd from the Wall.*

Opium *gives Courage.*

Japoneses *and* Indians *fight the* Chineses.

On *Tuesday* in the Morning, Captain *Gallinato* march'd towards the *Candelaria*, with about 500 *Spaniards*, and some *Japoneses*. The Enemy refus'd not the Engagement, but came out above 4000 strong. Our Men made themselves Masters of a Bridge, whence they pour'd some Volleys upon them. Perceiving the Loss they sustain'd, they fell back, to draw the *Spaniards* into open Field, and serve them as they had done *Don Lewis*; but

Fight of Spaniards *and* Chineses.

but tho' some Soldiers were so bold as to go into the Church, and plunder Part of what the *Sangleyes* had robb'd in the *Parian*, yet some of them retir'd hastily to the Bridge, with the Loss of three *Spaniards*, and five *Japoneses*, besides the wounded, the Enemy charging them in a Body. Of the *Chineses* 360 of the boldest were kill'd, which made them flinch with Fear. The same Day in the Evening, a Party of them came up to assault the Wall, where it was lowest, bringing scaling Ladders, and other Necessaries, cover'd with Silk; but the Cannon play'd so smartly on them, that they lost their Ladders, and many of them their Lives. This same Afternoon there was an Engagement on the Side of the *Parian*, where the Enemy brought on two great Machines, like Carts, made the Night before, with Wheels, and stuff'd with Quilts, Blankets, and such Materials, to defend them against the Cannon, and small Shot. The Governour was apprehensive that they had some Fire-works, they being great Masters at them; but was soon satisfy'd, for having fir'd at them with the Piece that was over the Gate of the *Parian*, where one of his Servants was Gunner, it carry'd away a considerable Part of the foremost Machine, and with it a good Number of the *Sangleyes* that drew underneath, and were on it. However they advanc'd boldly, till the Gun tore others in Pieces, and they retir'd, abandoning the *Machine*. Still the Fight grew hot about the River, and several Men went out in Boats, and others did Execution thro' the Loop-Holes. The Ensign *John Guerra de Cervantes*, sent out the *Japonese* and Native Soldiers, and they drew near to the *Parian*, under the Shelter of the Cannon on the Walls, so courageously, that they set fire to the best of it, being the Houses of the *Anhayes*; which quite discourag'd those that were in them, especially when they observ'd they had secur'd the River, and the Boats, and taken their Musquetiers. It was judg'd that above 2500 *Sangleyes* perish'd this Day by Fire and Sword, besides those at the *Candelaria*, and other Straglers. Having lost the Shelter of the *Parian*, they took up in the Church of the *Candelaria*, but the next Morning none of them appear'd. They cross'd the River on *Wednesday*, and some of our Men were drowned pursuing them too eagerly. They took the Way to the Village call'd *Tabuco*, 5 Leagues from *Manila*, which is very populous, and plentiful. Here Captain *Don Lewis de Velasco* found them fortify'd, and defended with Doors and Boards, towards the Lake *Vay*; whence he ply'd them with small Shot, and kill'd many, they no longer able to endure the Damage they receiv'd, kindled many Fires in the Night, to prevent being observ'd, and march'd away towards S. *Paul's*, a Village 16 Leagues from *Manila*, where they came so thin, that they were not above 6000, having lost very many in the Way to *Tabuco*. There *Don Lewis* fell upon them again; and pursuing them after they quitted the Village, was so hot, that they kill'd him four Soldiers, and two bare-foot Fryers, the one a Priest, the other a Lay-Brother.

Slaughter of the Latter.

Their Machine destroy'd.

The Spaniards *fire the* Parian.

Kill 2500 Chineses.

They fly.

And are pursu'd with great Slaughter.

Capt. Velasco *kill'd.*

They made a Halt at S. *Paul's*, intending to reap the Rice, which was then almost Ripe, because that is a forwarder Country than *Pampanga*. Before they came to S. *Paul's*, a Detachment of 1500 of them turn'd off from the main Body towards the Mountains of *Pace*. The *Spaniards* and Natives overtook them, and tho' they stood to it, our Men play'd their Parts so well, that they cut them all off, and recover'd Part of their Booty.

Another Slaughter of Chineses.

The Fort the *Sangleyes* had rais'd at S. *Paul*'s was of Palm-Trees, whence they made Excursions to fight, reap the Rice, and ravage the Country. They thought it convenient to divide themselves into two equal Bodies; the one stay'd in the Fort, the other went away to *Vatangas*, seven Leagues distant towards the Sea-Coast, with a Design, as was thought, to build Ships, for which Purpose they carry'd Carpenters, Labourers, Tools, Nails, and all other Necessaries. The Governour reflecting on their Design, sent some vigilant Persons towards the Bay of *Vatangas*, to secure the Vessels on the Coast, that the Enemy might not make use of them, and get over to other Islands, which would have been of ill Consequence.

Rebels design to build Ships.

The Governour believing the Design of the *Sangleyes* was to gain Time, and perhaps to expect some Supplies from *China*, which might be promis'd by the *Mandarines*, before they went away; he thought it requisite to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, because the Enemy fortify'd themselves daily, and made Excursions from their Forts, to scour the Country, and gather in the Rice; perswading the Natives to joyn with them; tho' they were so far from complying, that they kill'd all they could meet with. There were several other Reasons which prov'd that the greatest Safety consisted in Expedition, and therefore abundance of *Spaniards* and Natives, by the Governour's Order, were always in Quest of the straggling *Chineses*. However it was judg'd expedient to press them yet nearer, and not allow them Time, as they wish'd, till the Rice was ripe, since Hunger must prove their greatest Enemy. To this Purpose it was thought Expedient to make use of trusty neighbouring People.

The Rebels press'd.

Pampangua *describ'd.*

Pampangua is a Province ten Leagues from *Manila*, beyond the Town of *Tondo*, over the River *Pasig*, on which the Citizens have convenient small Vessels. The Country is subject to be overflow'd, by reason of the many Rivers, and because the Natives draw Trenches from them, to water the Rice, and other Grain. The whole District is of twelve Leagues, all inhabited, and has seven Churches, belonging to the Order of S. *Augustin*. The Natives are Brave, Docible and Loyal, receive the Christian Faith, and are stead'ast in it; and richer than those of other Parts of the Island. Captain *Ferdinand de Avalos* was *Alcalde mayor*, or chief Governour of *Pampangua*, and the Governour General having acquainted him by Letter with the Rebellion of the *Sangleyes*, requiring him to send Provisions and Arms for the War, and not to leave any Enemies behind, he perform'd both Things, with extraordinary Care. He furnish'd him with great Store of Rice, Palm-Wine, and a considerable Number of Cows and Calves; and took above 400 *Sangleyes*, who being carry'd to a Creek in the River, bound two and two, and deliver'd to the *Japoneses*, they slew them all. *F. James de Guevara* of the Order of S. *Augustin*, Prior of *Manila*, who writ this Relation, preach'd to them first, and only five of them forsook their Idolatry, and were baptiz'd. At the same Time he sent the Governour 4000 *Pampanguos*, arm'd after their Country Fashion, with Bows, Arrows, Half-Pikes, Shields, and long broad Poniards. They came to *Manila* with great Shouts, and as if sure of Victory, fell upon the Enemy, who increas'd still, the more they were destroy'd.

Service done by the Alcayde *of* Pampanga.

This obliged the Governour, notwithstanding some Opposition, to send a Number of *Spaniards*, and *Japoneses*, with a strong Party of the *Pampangua Indians*,

Indians, well arm'd and provided, under the Command of the Captain and Major *Azcueta*, a brave and vigilant Commander, well acquainted with the Country, ordering him to draw near the Enemy; yet not to engage, becauſe they were a deſperate barbarous People in their firſt Onſets, but to alarm them Day, and Night, on every Side, obſtructing their Excurſions, that ſo they might want Proviſions, and conſequently be oblig'd to diſlodge, for if he could remove them but twice, he might cut them off, as it happen'd accordingly. The Major departed *Manila*, with theſe Orders, by the Way of the River. On *Munday* the 20th of *October*, he came in Sight of the Enemy, who was ſtill in the Fort at *S. Paul's*, and there he had ſome Actions. Having caſt up ſome Works, for his greater Security, in the Quarters he took up, the Enemy's ſally'd out of their Fort, and ſome of thoſe who valu'd themſelves on their Bravery advanc'd to fight the *Spaniards* in their Poſts, with as much Boldneſs, as could be expected from Men in Deſpair, and quite diſtracted. Thus being cut off from Water, ſtreightned, often alarm'd, never ſuffer'd to reſt, and ſuch as ventur'd out cut off, they diſmay'd, and diſlodg'd in the Night very ſilently, marching towards *Batangas*, where their other Body was. However their Departure could not be conceal'd from the Vigilany of our Men, who march'd after them, *Martin de Herrera*, Captain of the Governours Guard, leading the Van, which conſiſted of *Spaniards*, and the braveſt of the Natives. He overtook the Enemy, and began to fall ſo hard upon their Rear, that they were forc'd to face about; and after killing above 800 of them as they paſs'd a narrow but deep River, our main Body coming up attack'd the reſt three ſeveral Ways, on an Eminency they had taken, and ſlew above 1000 more; thoſe that eſcap'd periſhing the next Day, ſo that only one was taken alive, tho' the Governour would have had many ſav'd to ſerve in the Galleys; but the *Japoneſes* and Natives are ſo bloody, that neither his Orders, nor Major *Azcueta's* Severity, or the other Commanders could curb them.

Major Azcueta ſent againſt the Chineſes.

He cuts off one entire Body of them.

The Men reſted that Day, having travel'd above five Leagues over Grounds full of Sedges, and Bogs; and prepar'd to proceed to *Batangas*, to fight the other Body of Rebels, carrying ſome Fields Pieces. The Major had diſmiſs'd the *Japoneſes*, becauſe they, alledging they were not Soldiers in Pay, would return to *Manila*. He had only 50 Soldiers left with him, and found the Enemy well fortify'd, and furniſh'd with Proviſions, as having been Maſters of the Country. He ſpoke to them in peaceable Manner, as he had done before to the other Party, offering good Terms, if they would ſubmit to the Governour; but Obſtinacy had ſtopp'd their Ears, and excluded all Hopes, ſo that they would not admit of any Accommodation. Our Men drew near, three ſeveral Ways with their ſmall Shot, and the *Pampangua Indians*, who were brave, ſupported by the *Spaniards*, who led and encourag'd them, attack'd the Fort; but the Defendants behav'd themſelves ſo bravely, that they cauſ'd them to retire, with the Loſs of four or five *Pampanguos* kill'd, and ſome wounded. Our Men came on again, and the Captain of the Guards, who Commanded that Attack, with the Men under his Charge, and others that joyn'd him, fell on with ſuch Fury, that they enter'd the Fort, and put them to the Sword. About 600 eſcap'd of whom they made an End a few Days after. Some few above a Hundred were ſaved, who were carry'd alive to ſerve in the Galleys. Of our Men eight

Offers thoſe at Batangas *Terms.*

Deſtroys them all.

Natives

Natives and six *Japoneses* were kill'd in those two Actions; but never a *Spaniard*, tho' many were wounded, and among them the Captain of the Guards, who had both his Thighs run through across with a Lance.

Encan and others Executed.

On the 22d *Encan*, otherwise call'd *Baptist*, was executed, being hang'd and quarter'd, his Head set up in the *Parian*, and his Goods confiscated. The following Days the like Justice was executed on other guilty *Chineses*; and had the Laws of their own Country been observ'd, the same Punishment had been inflicted on their whole Families and Kindred.

End of the Chinese *Rebellion.*

Thus was that Conflagration suppress'd, which threatned the utter Ruin of the *Philippine* Islands, and thus above 23000 *Chineses* perish'd, few above 500 being left for the Galleys, and all those Isles being restor'd to unexpected Peace. Some affirm, the Number of the *Sangleyes* slain was greater, but that the Magistrates conceal'd it, for fear Notice should be taken of their Fault in admitting so many to live in the Country, contrary to the King's Prohibition; yet in vain does Subtilty contend with Truth.

Don Pedro had receiv'd some Intelligence of his Majesties approving of the Enterprize on the *Moluccos*; and whilst he expected to see the Effect of that Resolution, writ all the Ways he could; as also through *India*, to solicite those who were commission'd in that Affair. Being deliver'd of the Trouble of the *Sangleyes*, he bent his Mind to provide all Necessaries for the Fleet, against he should be commanded to set out; but the End of this War, was the Beginning of other Difficulties at *Manila*. All Handicrafts ceas'd, Works were lay'd aside, and Provisions grew scarce; which Scarcity made all Things dear; whereas before there was Abundance, all Things laborious being done by the *Sangleyes*, by Reason that the Native *Indians* are neither willing, nor industrious at such Affairs. They had quite laid aside tilling the Land; breeding of Fowl, and weaving of Blankets, all which they formerly us'd to do, in the Time of their Infidelity. The *Parian* or *Chinese* Quarter was particularly ruin'd with Fire and Sword. That Place us'd to be so plentiful and advantageous, that when *Don Pedro* came first to *Manila*, he writ concerning it to a Kinsman of his in *Spain*, as follows.

Ill Effects of the Chinese *Rebellion.*

Wealth of the Parian.

This City is remarkeable for stately Buildings, which have astonish'd me. I shall only mention one Particular, which is the chiefest, That it has a Suburb, or Quarter, full of all Sorts of Silks, and Gold, and Mechanick Trades, and 400 *Shops full of this Sort, with above* 8000 *Men generally dealing in them; and at the Time when Fleets come from* China *with Merchandize, which is at this Season there are always above* 13 *or* 14000 *Men. They bring extraordinary Things, such as are not in* Europe. *Don Pedro* was also afraid that the Slaughter lately made would obstruct the Trade, and that the Ships would not come as usual, with Provisions, from *China*. But the greater and more general Apprehension was that instead of Merchants, Ships of War would come to revenge the *Sangleyes*. He therefore sent away *F. James de Guevara*, Prior of *Manila*, into *Spain*, by the Way of *India*, with an Account of what had been done, and of his Fears. The many Accidents that befell him in *India*, *Persia*, *Turkey*, and *Italy*, made him spend three Years before he came to Court, where he then found other fresher Intelligence.

F. Guevara *sent through* India *to* Spain.

At the same Time *Don Pedro* sent Captain *Mark de la Cueva*, with *F. Lewis Gandullo*, a *Dominican*, to *Macao*, a City in *China*, where the *Portugueses*

gueſes reſide, with Letters for the Commander in Chief and Council of that City, giving them an Account of the Rebellion of the *Sangleyes*, and the Event of it, that they, upon any Rumour of a Fleet providing in *China*, might ſend him Notice of it ſeveral Ways. They had alſo Letters for the *Tutones*, or *Tſuntos*, *Abytaos*, and Viſitors of the Provinces of *Canton*, and *Chincheo*, acquainting them with the Guilt of the *Chineſes*, which oblig'd the *Spaniards* to puniſh them ſo ſeverely. The Meſſengers at their Arrival, found all the Country peaceably diſpos'd, notwithſtanding that ſome *Sangleyes* flying from *Manila* in *Chawpanes*, had given an Account of their Commotions. The Coming of theſe *Spaniards* to *Macao* was ſoon known at *Chincheo*, and preſently ſome of the richeſt Captains, who us'd *Manila* moſt, came to viſit them; their Names were *Guanſan*, *Sinu*, and *Guachuan*. They being fully inform'd of the Truth of the Fact, took upon them to deliver the Letters *Don Pedro* ſent to the *Mandarines*, who receiv'd them by their Means. The Merchants of *Chincheo* took Courage to trade in the *Philippine* Iſlands, and ſail'd in their own Ships from *Macao*, with our Meſſengers, carrying Abundance of Powder, Saltpeter, and Lead, wherewith the publick *Magazines* were ſtor'd. In *May* following 13 *Chineſe* Ships arriv'd at *Manila*, and many more after them, continuing that Trade.

Meſſage to China.

Chineſes trade again at Manila.

Don Pedro ſent the Ships that had brought Supplies from the Iſlands, to *New Spain*; The Commodore of them was caſt away, and not a Man nor a Plank ſav'd. He ceas'd not at the ſame Time to ſtore the City with Proviſions and Ammunition, that he might be at Leaſure to undertake the Expedition againſt the *Molaccos*. Now arriv'd Colonel *John de Eſquivel*, from *Mexico*, with 600 Soldiers, and Intelligence that farther Proviſion was making in *New Spain* of Men, Stores, Ammunition, and Money, by the King's Order. All came in due Seaſon to *Manila*; and there at that Time dy'd the Arch-Biſhop *Don Miguel de Benavides*, generally lamented by all the Country. The *Chineſe* Ships that came again to trade, brought the Governour the Anſwers to his Letters, contain'd in three others, all to the ſame Effect, from the *Tuton*, or *Tſunto*, that is, the Viceroy, the *Hayton*, and the Viſitor General of the Province of *Chincheo*. Being tranſlated by the Interpreters, they were found to this Effect.

Spaniſh Ship loſt.

Eſquivel with 600 Men at Manila from New Spain.

To the Chief Commander of *Luzon*. *Having underſtood that the* Chineſes *that went to Trade and Trafick in the Kingdom of* Luzon, *have been kill'd by the* Spaniards, *I have inquir'd into the Cauſe of that Slaughter, and intreated the King to do Juſtice, on thoſe who had been the Occaſion of ſo much Miſchief, that the like may be prevented for the future, and the Merchants enjoy Peace and Quietneſs. Some years ſince, before I came hither as Viſitor, a* Sangley, *whoſe Name was* Tioneg, *went over to* Cabit, *in* Luzon, *with three* Mandarines, *and the King's Leave, to ſeek for Gold and Silver, which was all a Cheat; for he found neither Gold nor Silver, and therefore I beſeech'd the King to puniſh that Deceiver*, Tioneg, *that the World might ſee how impartially Juſtice is adminiſter'd in* China. *It was in the Time of the late Viceroy, and Eunuch, that* Tioneg *and his Companion, whoſe Name was* Yanlion, *told the ſaid Lye. Since then I intreated the King to cauſe all the Papers relating to* Tioneg's *Caſe, to be copy'd, and the ſaid* Tioneg, *and the Proceedings againſt him, to be lay'd before his Majeſty, and I my ſelf ſaw thoſe Papers, and was ſenſible that all the ſaid* Tioneg *had ſaid was*

Chineſe Letter to the Governour.

Diſcovery of the Cheat of the three Mandarines *above.*

Chineses *punish'd for Falshood.*

was a Lie. I writ to acquaint the King that the Castillas *suspected we intended to make War on them, on Account of the Lyes* Tioneg *had told, and therefore they had slain above* 30000 Chineses *at* Luzon. *The King did what I desir'd, and accordingly punish'd the aforesaid* Yanlion, *ordering him to be put to Death; and caus'd* Tioneg's *Head to be cut off, and hung up in a Cage. The* Chineses *that Dy'd at* Luzon *were not to blame, and I, and some others have acquainted the King with so much; as also with the coming of two* English *Ships upon these Coasts of* Chincheo, *a Thing very dangerous for* China, *that the King may resolve what is to be done in two Affairs of such Consequence. We also Writ to the King, to order two* Sangleyes *to be punish'd, for having shown the Harbour to the* English. *And after having Writ as aforesaid to the King, he answer'd, What did the* English *Ships come into* China *for? Whether they came to Rob? That they should be order'd to depart thence immediately to* Luzon; *and to tell those of* Luzon *that they should not give Credit to the wicked and lying Persons among the* Chineses; *and that they should immediately kill the two* Sangleyes. *As for the rest we writ to him about, he answer'd that we should do our Wills. The Viceroy, the Eunuch and I, after receiving this Order, do now send these our Letters to the Governour of* Luzon, *that his Lordship may be acquainted with the Grandeur of the King of* China; *for he is so Great that he governs all the Sun and Moon shine on; as also that the Governour of* Luzon *may know how well this so large Kingdom is govern'd, whose King none has dar'd to offend this long Time. And tho' the* Japoneses *have attempted to disturb* Corea, *which belongs to the Government of* China, *that have not succeeded; but have been expell'd thence, and* Corea *has remain'd very peaceable and quiet, as is well known by Fame to the People of* Luzon.

Japoneses *expell'd* Corea.

Spaniards *charg'd with the Slaughter of the* Chineses.

The last Year, when we were inform'd, that so many Chineses *were slain at* Luzon, *on the Account of* Tioneg's *falshood, we met many* Mandarines *of us to agree to propose to the King, that he would revenge so great a Slaughter. We said, that the Land of* Luzon *is poor, of no Value, and that formerly it was the Habitation of none but Devils and Snakes; and that so many* Sangleyes *having of late Years gone to Trade with the* Castillas, *they are now grown so great; the said* Sangleyes *having labour'd so much there, building Walls, and Houses, making Gardens, and other Things very Advantageous to the* Castillas. *And since this is so, why had not the* Castillas *consider'd these Things, nor been grateful for these good Turns, but on the contrary so cruelly destroy'd so many Men? And tho' we, two or three Times, Writ to the King as above, he being Angry for the aforesaid Things, answer'd us, That it was not convenient to take Revenge, nor make War on the People of* Luzon, *for three Reasons.* First, *Because the* Castillas *have for many Years past, been Friends to the* Chineses. Secondly, *Because it could not be known, whether the Victory would fall to the* Castillas, *or the* Chineses. Thirdly, *and lastly, Because the People kill'd by the* Castillas *were base, and ungrateful to their Native Country of* China, *their Parents and Kindred, since they had not return'd to* China *in so many Years; which People the King said he did not much value, for the aforesaid Reasons; and he only order'd the Viceroy, the Eunuch, and me to Write this Letter by the Embassador; that the People of* Luzon *may know the King of* China *has a*

great

great Soul is very Patient and Merciful, ſince he has not order'd War to be made on the Inhabitants of Luzon. *And his Juſtice will appear, by his cauſing the Falſhood of* Tioneg *to be puniſh'd. And ſince the* Spaniards *are a diſcreet People, how can they not be troubled for having kill'd ſo many Men; and repent of it, and be kind to the* Chineſes *that are left. For if the* Caſtillas *bear the* Chineſes *good Will, and reſtore the* Sangleyes *that have remain'd of the War, and pay the Money that is due, and reſtore the Goods taken from the* Sangleyes, *there will be Amity betwixt this Kingdom, and that, and Trading Ships ſhall go every Year; otherwiſe the King will not give Leave for any Ships to trade; but on the contrary will cauſe* 1000 *Ships of War to be built, with Soldiers, and Kindred of the ſlain, and with other Nations, and Kingdoms that pay Homage to* China, *and will make War without ſpuring any Perſon, and then the Kingdom of* Luzon *ſhall be given to thoſe People that pay Acknowledgement to* China. The Viſitor General's Letter was writ on the 12th of the ſecond Month, which, according to our Reckning, is *March*; the Eunuchs on the 16th, and the Viceroys on the 22d of the ſame Month and Year.

Mandarines *Threats.*

The Governour return'd an Anſwer to theſe Letters by the ſame Meſſengers, in Terms full of Civility, and Authority. He gave an Account of the Rebellion of the *Sangleyes* from its firſt Riſe; juſtifying the *Spaniards* for their natural Defence, and the Puniſhment they had inflicted on the Criminals. He tells them, no State can ſubſiſt without puniſhing the Wicked, or rewarding the Good; and therefore he does not repent that Execution, becauſe it was to ſuppreſs thoſe that would have deſtroy'd us. That the Viſitor ought to conſider what he would do, in Caſe the like had happen'd to him in *China*. That the only Thing which troubled him was, that he could not ſave ſome *Sangley* Merchants *Anhayes*, who dy'd among the guilty; but that it was not poſſible to prevent it, becauſe the ſeverity of War will not allow the killing of ſome, and exempting of others; eſpecially, they not being known by the Soldiers in the Heat of Action. That uſing Mercy towards thoſe that were taken alive, he condemn'd them to row in the Galleys, the Puniſhment ſubſtituted among the *Caſtillas* for ſuch as deſerve Death. Yet if it ſhould be thought in *China* that it ought to be moderated, they ſhall be ſet at Liberty. But let it be conſider'd, ſaid *Don Pedro*, that the not puniſhing of ſo heinous an Offence, may be the Occaſion of their falling into it again, which would exclude all Mercy. The Goods of the *Chineſes* that were kill'd are ſafe laid up, and to ſhow I had no other Motive, but the Execution of Juſtice, I will order them to be immediately deliver'd to their Heirs, or to ſuch Perſons, as they of Right belong to. Nothing but Juſtice inclines me to any of theſe Things. Your ſaying, that unleſs I releaſe the Priſoners, there will be Leave granted in *China* to the Kindred of the ſlain in the Rebellion, to come in Arms to *Manila*, does not move me in the leaſt; becauſe I take the *Chineſes* to be ſo wiſe, that they will not go upon ſuch Undertakings upon a ſlight Occaſion; eſpecially, when no Provocation has been given them on our Side. And in Caſe they ſhould be of another Mind there, we *Spaniards* are Men that know how to defend our Right, our Religion, and our Territories. Let not the *Chineſes* think they are Lords of the World, as they pretend; for we *Caſtillas*, who have meaſur'd every Foot of it, very well know the Lands of the *Chineſes*; and therefore

The Governours Anſwer, to the Mandarines.

they ought to understand, that the King of *Spain* maintains Wars with Kings as powerful as theirs, and checks, and gives them much Trouble. Nor is it any Thing new with us, when our Enemies think they have brought us under, to be wasting and destroying their Lands, and never give over till we have cast them out of their Thrones, and wrested their Scepters out of their Hands. I should be very sorry the Commerce should be interrupted; but at the same Time, believe the *Chineses* are not willing to lose it, since it is so advantageous to them, for they carry Home our Silver, which never wastes, in Exchange for their Commodities, which are slight Things, soon spoil'd. It was discreetly done, not to admit the *English* Ships that appear'd upon the Coast, for they are not *Spaniards*, but their Enemies, and Pyrates; for which Reason they should have been punish'd, had they come to *Manila*. To conclude, for as much as we *Spaniards* always justify our Proceedings, and value our selves upon the Worlds not being able to say, we Usurp the Right of others, or make War on our Friends, what is here promis'd shall be perform'd. And the *Chineses* may take Notice, for the future, that we never do any Thing out of Fear, or on Account of our Enemies Threats. *Don Pedro* concludes, offering the Continuation of Friendship, upon new Assurances of Peace, with the Kingdom of *China*; saying, he would, at the proper Time, give Liberty to their Prisoners he had in the Galleys; Tho' he design'd first to make Use of them, and did so in his Expedition to the *Moluccos*, which he was then preparing for; and all this was punctually perform'd.

The Emperour of Japan's Letter.

He receiv'd other Letters at the same Time, from the Emperor of *Japan*, wherein, after returning him Thanks for a Present of Wine of Grapes, which *Don Pedro* had sent him, with other Things of Value, he Encourag'd him to Trade, and desir'd he would not send him any Christian Preachers, without his Consent. For, says he, this Country is call'd *Xincoco*, which signifies, *Dedicated to Idols*; which have been honour'd with much Commendation by our Fore-Fathers, whose Actions I alone can not reverse, and therefore it is not convenient that your Law be spread abroad, or preach'd in *Japan*; and if your Lordship is willing to entertain Amity with me, and these Kingdoms, do as I would have you. So says the *Japonese*. *Don Pedro* answer'd and appeas'd him, so that the preaching was continu'd in his Dominions.

Dutch *Squadron.*

This same Year 1604, the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, according to their Custom, fitted out a Squadron of twelve tall Ships, well equipp'd, with some smaller Vessels, and, as if they had been Lords of the Winds and of the Seas, set Sail for *India*, the known Way, arriving prosperously, in a short Time, at the Cape of *Good Hope*. All the Captains had been there before, and the Pilots valu'd themselves upon no less Experience. The Admiral was *Stephen Drage*. Beginning to visit their Forts, and Factories, in Order to take some Prizes, as well as Trade, they met with two small Ships, loaden with Ivory, at the Bar of *Mozambique*. They chas'd them, and tho' they fled amain, being pursu'd with no less Swiftness, the *Dutch* Robbers overtook, and after a sharp Engagement enter'd them. They burnt the one, and mann'd the other, which was a Reinforcement to prosecute their Robberies. All those Kings, and the Commanders of our Forts, receiv'd them as Friends. In *September*, they came to the Bar of *Goa*; and lay 15 Days at *Bardes*, in as much Security as if they had been at *Amsterdam*, expecting

Takes two Portugues *Ships.*

the

the *India* Ships. Thence they ſent away a Ship to *Cambaya*, to exchange the Ivory they had not long before robb'd our People of, acting not like Pyrates, but Merchants who diſpoſe of the Wealth they pick up by Trade, and ſucceeded proſperouſly in all their Undertakings. They ſent two more Ships to *Bengula*, with other Commodities; all which return'd in due Time conſiderably enrich'd. Perceiving that no Power oppos'd them, they ſailed down the Coaſt of *Malabar*, trading whereſoever they thought fit, and took another *Portugueſe* Veſſel, call'd a *Foiſt*, which had 21 Oars; and after unlading the Booty, they fitted her up their Way, and took her along with them. *And a Foiſt.*

After this they bent their Thoughts upon greater Matters, to which End they ſent an Embaſſy to the *Zamori*, which Name imports as much as *Cæſar* among us, and he is King of *Calicut*, a Friend and Confederate with the *Dutch*. Having agreed upon an Interview, they fell to Trade, and whilſt the reſt attended Commerce, and private Gain, the Admiral conſulted about State Affairs, concerting to carry on the War againſt the *Spaniards*, and more particularly the *Portugueſes*. They ſettled the Time, and the Forces they were to joyn for that Effect. Then they diverted themſelves with Feaſting and Treats. At one of which, by way of Farewel, *Zamori* gave Admiral *Drage* an Emeraud, thought to be the largeſt and beautifulleſt in the World. They went on, and took ſome Prizes on the Coaſt of *Java*, and among them a ſmall Ship, in which were *Don Manuel de Melo*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*, and his Wife, who was oblig'd to fight as well as her Huſband, and yet they could not eſcape Captivity. The nearer they drew to *Ternate*, the more conſiderable Encounters they had, for in Sight of *Amboyna* they fell in with a Frigat coming from the *Moluccos* to Anchor in that Iſland, which they took, and in her Captain *Antony Machado*, her Commander. They ſtay'd at *Amboyna*, hoping to recover what they had loſt, either by Treachery, or Force. The Year 1605 had now commenced, and they began their Work on the 23d of *February*.

Zamori *ſignifies* Cæſar.

Joins with the Dutch.

They take a Portugueſe *Frigat at* Amboyna.

Eight Ships and ſix Tenders enter'd the Port, and the Fort was ſurrender'd to them without much Difficulty, or Oppoſition. They alſo poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Portugueſe* Colony. Thoſe People ſeeing the *Dutch* ſo ſtrong in Men and Cannon, durſt not, nor could they well oppoſe them. Forty *Portugueſes* took an Oath of Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*'s Baſtard Son. They put the Commander in Chief into Irons, and deliver'd the Fort to the *Dutch*, alledging, for an Excuſe, that they had not Ammunition to defend themſelves. There was another greater Miſchief, which was, that the Natives favour'd the *Dutch*, as their Deliverers from the *Portugueſe* Yoke; and they are well belov'd there, and in all Places where they Trade, becauſe of late they have taken this Courſe, not to meddle with their Religion, nor ſo much as mention it, unleſs, where any will embrace Chriſtianity on their own Accord. They neither wrong'd nor diſtur'd any Body; and to ſhow they would always maintain them in that Security, within five Days, they fitted out 40 *Carcoas*, to defend the Natives againſt any Enemy.

Drage *takes* Amboyna.

Fits out 40 Carcoas.

The Admiral pick'd out three of the Ships, and went himſelf with them to the Iſlands of *Banda*, to load Nutmeg, Mace, and Clove, there and at *Amboyna*. The Fame of this Succeſs, and the Hatred conceiv'd againſt the *Spaniards*, were ſo favourable to this Nation, that at this Time the People

Indians *well affected to the* Dutch.

of *Amboyna*, *Ito*, *Veramula*, and other Places, had their Embassadors at *Sunda* to expect this Fleet, which came from Home at their Request. Before they set out from *Holland* they had receiv'd Embassadors from the King of *Achem* in *Sumatra*, to the same End. For this Reason the *Dutch* give out, that they come to revenge the Wrongs, the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* have done to the Natives, and to restore them to their Liberty. The Designs of these perfidious People were no longer a Secret; for the Admiral *Drage* refitted five of his Ships, and sent them to the *Moluccos*, to take the Fort and Kingdom of *Tydore*, the only one that continu'd in Subjection to *Spain*; and it was publickly reported, that the King of *Ternate* would forward the Enterprize with his Ships and Men. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral sail'd with these Ships stopping by the Way to make his Advantage, take in the Refreshments in their Factories, and lade Pepper, and other Spice. Every Thing succeeded as they could wish, tho' they aspir'd to some Matters which requir'd a greater Power than they brought. They intended to pass by the Streight of *Acapulco*, and there to lie in wait for the Ships belonging to the *Philippines* going and coming, because they knew them to be Rich, and might take them. To this End they delay'd Time, till they could be joyn'd by the two Ships they expected from *Sunda*, laden with Pepper, from that plentiful, and secure Factory of theirs.

The Dutch *prosperous.*

Aboard the eight Ships there was great Store of Bricks, Lime, and squared Stones, Wheele-Barrows, and other Tooles and Materials for Building; all which was to be carry'd from the aforesaid Streight, tho' they had already began to build it at *Amboyna*, and landing a considerable Part of those Materials, they left there 130 Soldiers, to carry on the Works, and Garrison the Fort. At the Heels of this Fleet they expected another to lay Siege to *Malaca*; designing from thence to Govern *India*, as the *Portugueses* have done. In Order to this, they had before confederated with the Kings of *Jor*, *Achem*, and *Sunda*, with whose Assistance, and that of other Native *Sangiacks*, they were to overthrow the Power of *Portugal*; for they were resolv'd not to quit *India*, and since its Commodities enrich'd them, they would pay for the Expence of the War; besides, that they were already so wealthy, that even in *Flanders* the Soldiers deserted from the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, to serve them. Notwithstanding this extraordinary Affection, wherewith the *Dutch* are entertain'd in all those Countries, before they came to *Amboyna*, two *English* Ships came to an Anchor near by, and acquainted the Natives, that a *Dutch* Squadron was coming to possess itself of the Island; but bid them not to fear, for it had none but poor scoundrel Men; and therefore they should defend themselves, offering them their Assistance, and acquainting them that the Crowns of *Spain* and *England* were then in Amity; and therefore the Subjects of them both ought to be so of Course. They slighting this favourable Opportunity, chose rather to become Subjects to Prince *Maurice*, and undergo the *Dutch* Yoke. The *English* demanded Clove, and offer'd them their own Price for it, and were so just, that they never joyn'd with the *Dutch*. In short, *Amboyna* remain'd in the Enemies Hands. The People dispers'd, many of them went to *Malaca*, and among the rest, the Commander in chief, *Don Emanuel de Melo*, with some *Portugueses*. Others repair'd to the Island of *Cebu*, part of the *Philippines* and

Materials for Building in the Dutch *Ships. Their Design against* Malaca.

The English *give the* Spaniards *Intelligence.*

Their just Dealing after the Peace.

and other Places, for they had all their Liberty. They all departed *Amboyna* about the middle of *May*, but without their Goods, or Spice; being poſitively forbid that Trade, the *Dutch* alledging it was all their own.

One of thoſe *Engliſh* Ships ſailing along thoſe Coaſts, and eſcaping the Ridges of Rocks, got before-hand to the Port of *Tydore*. They call'd the Commander in Chief of the Fort, *Peter Alvarez Abreu*, and inform'd him, that they left the *Dutch* Squadron fortifying the ſtrong Holds at *Amboyna*; and that when they had reduc'd all in thoſe Seas, they would come to fall upon *Tydore*. The Commander in Chief return'd Thanks for that friendly Intelligence; and among other Civilities that paſs'd between them, deſir'd to know the Motive that induc'd them to ſhow ſuch Kindneſs. Then the *Engliſh* told him, That their Kings were Friends, and to convince him of it, and the Danger he was in, offer'd him as much Ammunition as he ſtood in need of. They gave him Six Barrels of Powder, 100 Cannon Balls, and a Number of Head-Pieces. This made the *Tydores* and *Portugueſes* begin to fortify themſelves, and was the Product of the late Peace.

They give Intelligence of the Dutch *at* Tydore.

A Month after, four great *Dutch* Ships, and four Tenders, came to the Iſland, where two of the King's Galleons lay at Anchor, with the *Portugueſe* Ships laden with Goods and Proviſions. The *Dutch* Admiral ſent the King of *Tydore* Word, That if he would deliver him that Fort, and expell the *Portugueſes*, he would be his Friend; and deſiring he would not ſtart any Difficulties, ſince he might eaſily do it, being a peaceable King in his own Dominions; beſides that, they had Men and Strength enough aboard that Squadron, to force them to conſent to what they now courteouſly demanded. The King of *Tydore* ſent him a Cow, and anſwer'd, That he neither could, nor ought to put the *Portugueſes* out of their Forts, nor to admit of any other Nation in their Place, till they had either voluntarily, or by Force of Arms, abandon'd their Poſſeſſion. That whilſt they two decided the Quarrel, he would look on as Neuter. The *Portugueſe* Commander in Chief, underſtanding what Meſſages paſs'd, interrupted them, ſending to let the *Dutch* Men know. That it was in vain to talk of ſurrendring the Fort, whilſt he was alive, and preſent. That he was to treat with him, and the marry'd Men that liv'd in it about that Affair.

Four Dutch *Ships at* Tydore.

Their Meſſage to the King.

His Anſwer.

Bravery of the Portugueſe *Commander.*

Being come to this Reſolution, the next Morning the *Dutch* Ships remov'd, and went to board the *Portugueſes* that were at *Tydore*, two Cannon Shot from the Fort. They fought above two Hours, and ſo conſtant was Fortune to one Side, that in ſo ſhort a Time, the *Portugueſes* that remain'd alive were fain to throw themſelves into the Sea, and their Galleons were taken, one of which they immediately burnt. The next Day another Meſſage was ſent to *Tydore*, wherein the *Dutch* directed the King to propoſe the ſurrendring of the Fort to the *Portugueſes*, and he would give them the Galleon he had ſpar'd, to carry them and their Effects, whereſoever they ſhould think fit. The *Portugueſes* taking Courage, where others would be diſmay'd, anſwer'd, That the Loſs of the Galleons had not daunted them; for they would rather dye all of them, than deliver up the Fort. The *Dutch* durſt not batter it alone, but reſolv'd to joyn the King of *Ternate*, who was already ſet out with abundance of *Caracoas* to that Effect. They met him a League from the Fort, and ſpending little Time

Dutch *take two Galleons.*

Bold Anſwer of the Portugueſes.

Dutch *and* Ternates *joyn and burn a Town.*

Time in Ceremonies return'd together, burning a Town of *Tydore* by the Way, came the next Morning before the Fort.

They landed 800 *Dutch* and *Ternate* Soldiers, and having made a Trench with Barrels fill'd with Earth, batter'd the Fort for three Days from that Work, with two Pieces of Cannon. At the same Time they play'd upon it from their Ships, firing above 1500 Shot. The third Day they drew nearer; and the fourth in the Morning began to batter more furiously. They kill'd the Constable of the Castle, and in the midst of the Confusion, the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch*, that were ashore, advanc'd, drawing the Cannon under the very Fort, having surpriz'd the *Portugueses*, and falling on them unexpectedly. They soon recovering themselves, attack'd the *Dutch* afresh, who turning their Backs, behav'd themselves so basely, that they ran into the Water; abandoning the Guns they had ashore. In the Height of this Success, many *Dutch* being slain, and only four *Portugueses*, on a sudden they spy'd all the Fort in a Flame, which roar'd from the Ground to the Tops of the Houses, till a considerable Part was blown up, and almost all the rest consum'd, and lay'd flat. Six and twenty *Portugueses* were burnt, and it could never be discover'd or guess'd, how, or which Way the Powder was set a fire, to cause that mighty Destruction. The *Portugueses*, who just before were joyful for their Victory, having no Walls to shelter them, were forc'd to retire to the City of *Tydore*, and the *Dutch* and *Ternates* rallying, pursu'd them thither. The King receiv'd them in friendly Manner, and he himself went the same Day aboard the *Dutch* Ship that lay at Anchor before it, and calling the *Dutch* Admiral, propos'd to him the Affair of the Fort, and that if those who defended it had Ships allow'd them, they would go away to other Parts. He agreed to it, and though it cost the *Portugueses* all they had, they accepted of three small Tenders, a Galliot that had been the King's, and a *Dutch* Tender to secure them against the *Ternates*. The *Dutch* settled Amity with the King of *Tydore*; that they should continue in his Dominions; and erect Factories, and Trade for *Clove*, as the *Portugueses* had done. Thus the Conquer'd having bought some Ships dispers'd themselves about those Islands. Many of them went to the *Philippines*, where *Don Pedro*, the Governour, examin'd them, in order to get Information concerning the *Moluccos*.

Batter the Fort and are repuls'd.

The Fort burnt.

Tydore *taken by the* Dutch.

Antony de Silva, a *Portuguese*, was one of them that escap'd from the Fort of *Ternate*, and came to the Town of *Arevalo* in the *Philippines*: Besides being a Soldier, he was also a *Naguatato*, or Interpreter. This Man gave an Authentick Relation of that Affair, and added, That being brought Prisoner from *Amboyna*, the *Dutch* Admiral having a Sea-Chart before him, look'd for *Mindoro*, *Manila*, and for *Cabite*; and being ask'd by *Silva*, why he look'd for it, was inform'd, That his Design was, in Case he did not succeed at the *Moluccos*, to try to take some of the Ships that trade betwixt *New Spain*, and the *Philippines*. *Silva* reply'd, That he had not Time to meet either; because those that come to the *Philippines* arrive about the 10th of *May*, and the others set out on the 10th of *June*. However that was the Design of the *Dutch* Admiral, who intended to get Intelligence at *Mindoro*, thence to sail to *Macao*, send an Embassador into *China*, and revenge the Wrong *Don Pablos de Portugal* had done them

Dutch' *design to take the Ships of the* Philippines.

Silva *gives Intelligence of it.*

them in those Countries. Then to load Pepper at *Patane*; next at the Streight of *Sincapura*, to endeavour to take the *Chinese* Ships that resort to *Malaca*; and whatever happen'd, to hold on his Voyage to *Holland* that Way, loaden with Treasure. All this the *Dutch* Admiral communicated to *Antony de Silva*, as to one that was to go with him into *Holland*, because he was a Soldier, and able Interpreter in both Languages; and therefore *Stephen Drage* made much of him. This Intelligence was confirm'd by some others, who had fought and escap'd the Slaughter at *Tydore*. *Don Pedro* hearing so much, was concern'd, as a Man zealous for the Church, and for his King; and it griev'd him to consider, that the Crown of *Spain* had not a Foot of Land left it in the *Moluccos*; and that a Rebel was in quiet Possession of them all.

All the Moluccos *lost to* Spain.

Prosperity having embolden'd, and strengthen'd the *Dutch*, *Don Pedro* assembling his Council of War, order'd that the Captains *Antony Freyle*, Commander of the Squadron belonging to the *Pintados*, *Peter Sevil*, *Stephen de Alcazar*, and *Bernardine Alfonso*, should repair to the Forts of the *Pintados*, and other Islands that were in Danger, with their Companies. He refitted the Ships, and prepar'd his Cannon, as being so near a victorious Enemy, who so successfully put in Execution all their Threats. *Antony de Sylva* show'd an Original Letter, written by another *Dutch* Admiral at the Island of *Borneo*, to the King of *Ternate*, and sent by *Philip Bissegop*, Captain of a Ship, with a Present of a Quantity of fine *Holland*; Six Bales of several Vessels with Musk; Twelve Bottles of Rose-Water; Six Pounds of Dutch *Anfion*, that is, Opium, which, as has been said, disturbs the Senses, and is us'd by those People to encourage them to fight; and six Barrels of Powder. He gave him an Account of *Andrew Furtado*'s unfortunate Voyage, the Obstacles, Storms, and Enemies he had met with, since his Departure from *Ternate*, till he came to *Malaca*. He gave him the Title of Most Serene Prince, and Potent King of the *Moluccos*, *Bandas*, *Amboyna*, and innumerable other Islands. He congratulated with him for the Event of his Arrival at the *Moluccos*; promising he would return to *Ternate* with a greater Power, he expected from *Holland*, and take Possession of the Forts, to extirpate the common Enemy, the King of *Spain*; and encourag'd him with these Hopes, to hold out till then. He assur'd him, that he should scour all those Seas from the *Moluccos*, and extend his Dominions as far as *China*, without being hinder'd by the *Philippines* or *Japoneses*. To this End, he desired him to renew his Friendship with *Mindanao*, and to acquaint the King of those Islands, that he was a Friend to the *Dutch*, so to give them Admittance to those Ports, Freedom of Trade, and amicable Entertainment, as was requisite for their Undertakings; this being a Thing most Expedient, above all other Politick Considerations. He added, he might observe, and be assur'd, that nothing was so little regarded in *Spain*, as to contrive that their many Provinces should preserve some Sort of Union. That therefore all those which are very remote, and subject to that Crown, ought to take much Notice of the great Delays there, in coming to a Resolution, and sending Succours from *Spain*; because before they believe, or examine the News brought them in order to believe them, Affairs have taken a new Turn, and consequently neither the *Spanish* Councils, nor their Arms come seasonably. That Experience had

Don Pedro's *Precautions.*

Dutch *Letters and Present to the King of* Ternate.

had made most of these Things known to his Highness, and his Zeal for his Service oblig'd him to mention them. *Antony de Silva*, added, that he was very sure the King of *Ternate* had not omitted doing any Thing of what the *Dutch* Man recommended to him; and that he had already propos'd to his People to go abroad to fight, far from their own Islands. Tho' it was never apprehended he would do so, yet at that Time it much troubled *Don Pedro*, because he was so spent with the Affair of the *Sangleyes*, the Want of whom he labour'd so to supply, that no such Mischief might happen again, it being so necessary to support the Trade of the *Philippines* another Way, and procure safety at Home in Order to make War, and keep up a Reputation.

Men, Money, &c. arrive at Manila *from* New Spain.

Time, which sometimes gives Hope, and sometimes Dispair, comforted *Don Pedro* in his Affliction, bringing in a few Months after some Ships of private Persons from *New Spain*, and then in due Season the usual Fleet. They arriv'd at *Manila*, on the Eve of *S. Matthias*, and in them the *Spaniards* sent from *Spain*, for the Expedition of *Ternate*, with above 200 more from the Marquess *de Montesclaros*, Viceroy of *New Spain*, as also the other Necessaries, and Money, pursuant to the King's Order. Part of this came committed to Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, who was receiv'd with incredible Joy. He deliver'd all his Letters to the Governour, and immediate Care was taken to quarter the Officers and Soldiers, and to distribute them speedily, so that all Men might believe there was no other Design in their coming, but the Security of the *Philippine* Islands, threatned by the Emperor of *Japan*, and the Conspiracies of the *Sangleyes*. This Report was industriously so given out, that it might fly and spread abroad without the Kingdom, lest they might receive any Intelligence, who had cause to fear. Besides that, as the Fame of those great Preparations was Advantageous to the *Spaniards* in Point of Reputation, so the Reality of the Power they had, added to the Opinion conceiv'd, prov'd the Defence and Security of them all. In *Japan*, only the News that *Manila* was full of Men, and Ships of War, allay'd, or quite banish'd the Disgust of that King, on Account of *Don Pedro*'s refusing him Ship-Wrights. The People of *Chincheo* also forbore meditating Revenge against an Enemy, whose Victories were back'd with such Succours. *Don Pedro* consider'd all these Particulars, and each of them made him conclude, that he might with Safety be absent for some Time from *Manila*. However the King of *Ternate* overjoy'd that he had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke, made little Account of all that was told him, concerning its Neighbouring Kingdoms, believing they would never recover their Ancient Possessions. The *Dutch* Commanders, who were rebuilding the burnt Fort at *Tydore*, sent him a considerable Number of heavy Brass Cannon, of *Drakes*, and Muskets, and he hired some of the Ingeniers, that came in those Ships, to look to his Fortifications, and reside in them, and in his City. Some accepted of the Habitation, approving of that disorderly, and irreligious Liberty of Life allow'd in that Country; where considering the frequent Resort of Ships from the North, and the many Factories, they reckon'd themselves as good as at Home, since they could often meet with their Kindred or Friends, or at least with their Country-Men. Banish'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* arriv'd daily at the Port of *Oton*, in the *Philippine* Islands, and among

Management of the Governour.

among them *Paul de Lima*, a Perſon of great Experience, and ſtill General of the Artillery at *Tydore*, who, beſides the News of the late Deſtruction, brought an Account of the Joy wherewith the *Dutch* dug up the Guns he endeavour'd to hide, and how much they were increaſed in Strength and Shipping. He was receiv'd with much Honour, in regard to his Quality, and becauſe he was one of thoſe who had loſt Lands and Goods, taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, and his Information, and Counſel were of Uſe for what afterwards happen'd. All Men attended the Warlike Preparations, in their ſeveral Stations, but with equal Zeal; building Ships, and gathering Proviſions, Arms, and Ammunitions; and *Don Pedro* himſelf was ſo diligent and vigilant, that he attended the meaneſt Employments, giving an Example, and encouraging; ſo that it may be ſaid, he did every Thing, for he ply'd all Hands.

The End of the Ninth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY and CONQUEST OF THE *Molucco* and *Philippine* Islands, &c.

BOOK X.

Want of Political Reflections whence.

THERE is generally some Moral Instruction, which lies couch'd under the Actions of Men, and which Judicious Writers use to point at in the Relation of Events, as the Advantage of History; but what civil Rules, or Precepts for the forming of the Political Life, can we lay down, in writing the Conquest and Defence of Barbarous Countries, which all depends on Voyages, and reducing of Garrisons; notwithstanding State Craft has somewhat inform'd those Nations? Or what can occur in this Subject, which the Reader may not infer, as a necessary Consequence of the foregoing Discourse? Since then the Matter in Hand does not afford us such Reflection, let us draw to a Conclusion, in Pursuance of our Promise made at the Beginning.

Yloilo Port the Rendezvous of the Navy.

Don Pedro de Acunna, now Captain General of the Fleet that was assembled in the *Philippine* Islands, at the same time took Care to see it fitted out with Expedition, and to provide for the Security of the Province he was to forsake, that he might go upon that so difficult Undertaking. Some there were, who look'd upon it as Part of *Don Pedro*'s good Fortune, that the *Molucco* Islands had been utterly lost, that since he had the more Matter to work upon, his Victory might be the more glorious. He most industriously provided all Things requisite for the Use of War; and even for all the Accidents it might be liable to. The Point, or Promontory of *Yloilo* runs out into the Sea, not far from *Arevalo*, in the Island of *Panay*, forming

forming a Harbour proper and capacious enough to be the Place of Arms, for the Preparations then in Hand. Here the Fleet rendezvous'd, conſiſting of Six Tall Ships, Six Galleys, Three Galliots, like thoſe they call *Galizabras*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*; in one of which was *Peter Alvarez de Abreu*, Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*; the other two, under the Command of *John Rodriguez Camelo*, Commodore, ſent from *Malaca*, by the General *Andrew Furtado de Mendoza*, to be aiding with his Courage and Conduct, and to carry him an Account of the Succeſs. One flat bottom'd Galliot, to land the Artillery, and in it 300 Baſkets of Rice. Four Foiſts built purpoſely for carrying of Proviſions. Two *Champanes* of Ten Tun Burden each, with 1600 Baſkets of clean Rice. Two *Dutch* Long-Boats, which carry'd over the *Portugueſes* when the Fort of *Tydore* was loſt. Seven Frigats belonging to the King, and Seven more to private Perſons, and the like Number of *Champanes*, in all 36 Sail. *Particulars of the Fleet.*

Colonel *John de Eſquivel* brought 12 Companies of *Spaniſh* Foot; four whereof were rais'd in *Andaluzia*, being his own, and thoſe of the Captains, *Paul Garrucho*, *Peter Sevil*, and *Luke de Vergara Gaviria*. Six came from *New Spain*, under the Captains *Don Roderick de Mendoza*, Son to *Don John de Raeza y Caſtilla*, and to *Donna Maria de Mendoza*, and by her Grandſon to the Marqueſs *de Monteſclaros*, and therefore, out of Reſpect to his Kinſman, the Viceroy of *New Spain*, he came out of *Italy* to ſerve his Majeſty in the *Philippine* Iſlands; the others were Captain *Paſcual de Alarcon Pacheco*, *Martin de Eſquivel*, *Bernardine Alfonſo*, *Peter Delgado*, and *Stephen de Alcazar*. Two other Companies commanded by the Captains *John Guerra de Cervantes*, and *Chriſtopher de Villagra*, belong'd to the Forces of *Manila*, and the Province of the *Pintados*. All which, with their Officers, make up 1423 *Spaniards*. Under the Colonel *Don Guillermo*, and the Captains *Don Francis Palaot*, *Don John Lit*, *Don Lewis* and *Auguſtin Lout*, 344 *Pampangua*, and *Tagalo* Indians; beſides 620 others of the ſame Nations, for the Sea and Land Service, and 649 Rowers. All the Men in the Fleet, beſides the General's Houſehold and Family, amounted to 3095; with 75 Pieces of Cannon of all Sorts, and all other Perquiſites for Sea, Landing, Fight, and Battery. *The Land Forces.* 1423 Spaniards.

Don Pedro ſail'd from the Port of *Yloilo*, with all theſe Preparations, on the 15th of *January*, 1606, the Weather being unſettled, but he as reſolute as at other Times. He arriv'd at the Iſland *Mindanao*, then in Enmity with the *Spaniards*, and in Confederacy with the *Ternates*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caldera*, to water, where the Admiral's Ship, in which the Colonel *Eſquivel* was, began to drag her Anchors, and was forc'd to ſet her Sails to get off; but perceiving ſhe could not, by ſo doing, weather a Point, ſhe fired two Guns, in Token of Diſtreſs, at the Time when her Rudder ſtruck. The Galleys made up to tow her off, and broke ſome Ropes to no Purpoſe, the Sea and Wind being againſt them. Captain *Villagra* was entruſted to ſave the Men and Proviſions that were aboard; and he, tho' a conſiderable Part belonging to the King and private Men was loſt, with incredible Induſtry ſav'd the moſt of them, and the Goods, as alſo all the Men, Cannon, Powder, Cables, Rigging, and Sails; and that the People of *Mindanao* might not reap the Benefit of the Wreck, he *The Fleet ſails from* Yloilo. Caldera *Port.* *Admiral Ship loſt.*

set Fire to the Vessel, after taking out all the Iron Work. This Accident was much lamented, both for its own Consequence, and because the Men, who are often vainly Superstitious, put an ill Construction upon it; but the General's Wisdom made amends for all.

They sail from Caldera.

From the Port of *Caldera*, the General order'd the Colonel to sail over to that of *Talangame*, which, as has been said, is in the Island of *Ternate*; and bore him Company himself, with the Galleys, till he was out of the Streight of *Sabuanga*, which is dangerous by Reason of the Currents, and Ridges of Rocks, wherefore they tow'd the Ships, till they were out of Danger, as also because they were becalm'd. The Fleet stood out to Sea; the Galleys coasted along slowly to take in Water enough to last them to *Ternate*, the Men that had been sav'd from abroad the Admiral being distributed among them, and the other Vessels, so that their Burden and Labour was increased. The ablest Pilots in those Seas, had Charge of the Galleys, and yet notwithstanding all their Care, and that of the Captains and expert Mariners, they mistook their Course, and fell in among the Islands of *Celebes*, otherwise call'd of *Mateo*, above 60 Leagues to the Leeward of *Ternate*. The Wind was contrary, and the Error was to be retriev'd by rowing. With very much Labour they reach'd *Ternate*, on the 26th of *March*, being *Easter-Day*. That Day so joyful to all Mankind, made them forget past Toils, and convert them into Pleasure and Delight.

Through Mistake fall in with Celebes.

Arrive at Ternate.

Superstition of Moluccos *as to Ecipses.*

They were inform'd, that the Day before, an Eclipse of the Moon had been observ'd at *Ternate*, with the usual Concern. No sooner does the Darkness begin to cover the Body of the Moon, than the People with Sighs and Tears begin also to lament that Planet's Mourning; for they believe it forebodes the Death or Captivity of their King, or of some eminent Person, or some Calamity to the Publick. If the Eclipse passes over without any of these Losses, they Repair to their *Mosque* in Procession, Rank and File. Here the foremost carry large *China* Dishes. Those are follow'd by others with Launces, and Hatchets advanc'd, and Muskets rested. Next them follow three Lamps, carry'd on Men's Shoulders, as common Pictures represent the great Bunch of Grapes carry'd by the Discoverers, who went to view the Holy Land promis'd by God to his People. Next comes a Boy, in Royal Robes, and behind him another holding an Umbrello, made of various Feathers, over the Head of the first. Then follow the Women, set off with Flowers and Palm-Branches, without Order; and thus they celebrate their Thanksgiving, in the Streets and Temples, because the Eclipse pass'd over without any Detriment. The *Dutch* told them, That Eclipses were commonly known in their Country, and throughout all *Europe*; which those People either admir'd or did not believe.

Dutch Ship at Talangame.

When our Galleys came to the Port of *Talangame*, *Don Pedro* expected to have found the Colonel with the Fleet in it; but only saw a stately *Dutch* Ship, carrying 30 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Pedreroes. She fought our Ships as they pass'd by, and then drew to the Shore, and defended herself with Part of the Atillery, that was fittest for the Purpose, and being guarded by a great Number of *Ternate* Soldiers, kept close in her Fortification. *Don Pedro* took a View of her, as he pass'd by in the Galleys, tho' she made several Shot at him, and threw 18 Pound Balls into the Admiral-

miral Galley, where he was. He thought fit not to ſtay, till he heard of the Fleet which was then at *Tydore*, little above two Leagues from that Port, as was known by ſome Veſſels of the Natives, that came up board and board, in ſailing by that Harbour. The Galleys directed their Courſe to *Tydore*, led by the Joy of this good News, which eas'd *Don Pedro* of much Care he was in, knowing there was a Scarcity of Seamen aboard the Fleet, and he fear'd it might have been drove away elſewhere.

Dutch *Men at* Tydore.

Eſquivel found four *Dutch* Men at *Tydore*. One of them was the Factor who gather'd the Clove for a Company of his Countrymen, that belong'd to the Factories of *Ternate*, *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Sunda*, and other Places about them; the other three were Sailers. He examin'd all four, and they gave an Account of the Strength of that Ship, and her Guns, ſaying, She was loden with Clove; and one of the five that fought the *Portugueſes*, when the Fort of *Ternate* blew up. That they expected another Ship, which came with her from *Bantam*, and was parted in foul Weather. That the main Drift of the Agreement made between the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch*, was their Aſſiſting him againſt the *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſes*. That there were Orders at *Java* and *Sunda* for the *Dutch* Ships which paſs'd by to enquire there, whether there were any News from the *Moluccos*; and if Need were, that they ſhould leave their Loding there, and go ſuccour the King of *Ternate*.

Intelligence they give.

Before *Don Pedro* departed *Talangame*, he conſulted with his Officers, whether it were convenient to attack the *Dutch* Ship before they went upon the Enterprize of *Ternate*. Opinions varied, but it was concluded, that ſince his Majeſties Deſign was to recover the *Maluccos*, and he had order'd the Fleet to be provided for that Intent, it was not expedient to prefer any other Action. Time is ſubject to change, and ſometimes an Accident overthrows the beſt concerted Deſigns. That great Ship, ſo well ſtor'd with Guns, and Mann'd, might have ſunk ſome of ours, by which we ſhould have loſt our Cannon, and Proviſions, or ſome other Miſchief, that could not poſſibly be foreſeen might have happen'd, to the obſtructing of the main Deſign. Beſides that the *Ternates* being their Friends, in Caſe we had maſter'd the Ship, the Men might fly and ſave themſelves among their Confederates, and thus the Enterprize be rendered more difficult by their Aſſiſtance; and it was known by Spyes, that the King already had *Dutch* Gunners, and Soldiers of Courage and Conduct.

Ternate *to be attack'd before the* Dutch *Ship.*

The King was not at *Tydore* when our Fleet came into his Harbour, being gone to marry a Daughter of the King of *Bachian*; and tho' the Colonel ſent to acquaint him with his Arrival, and to deſire he would haſten his Coming, as fearing Delays; yet perceiving the Time ſlipt away, he ſet out on the laſt of *March* for *Ternate*, with his Fleet. When they were at Sea, they heard the new marryed King's Bagpipes, Baſons, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums. He having receiv'd the *Spaniards* Letters, imbark'd, bringing the New Queen along with him, and joyn'd them with his *Carcoas* full of Muſick, and Garlands of Flowers. They met with extraordinary Joy, and the King of *Tydore* expreſs'd it particularly for ſeeing of *Don Pedro de Accunna*, with whom he had before frequent Communication by Letters and Meſſengers. He ſhow'd much Concern for the Streights he had been reduc'd to by the King of *Ternate*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*. *Don Pedro*

King of Tydore *and* Don Pedro *meet at Sea.*

Pedro comforted him, declaring his Majesty's Intention, and how he had order'd him to come to his Assistance, from the *Philippine* Islands, whensoever he should require it. He visited the Bride, paying her all possible Respect; and the King of *Tydore*, telling him, he would attend the Fleet in Person, with his Ships and Men, went away then to his Island, and the next Morning, at Break of Day, according to his Promise, came into a Bay near *Ternate*, where our Fleet had anchor'd. The Rejoycings for his coming did not delay the Consultations, and Orders for the Enterprize. The Governour call'd a Council of War, where it was resolv'd, that all the Strength of the Fleet should be reduc'd to only three great Ships, to secure the Sea and Land. They were immediately sufficiently mann'd with Sea-Men and Soldiers, under the Command of *Bernardine Alfonso*, *Antony Carvenno de Valdes*, and *Don Gil Sanchez de Carranza*, all three Commanders of Repute. Other Orders were issu'd out, and presently put in Execution by the Officers. Of the three above nam'd, two dy'd in their Return Home, and only *Carreno* out liv'd it.

Orders for the Enterprize.

Don Pedro, and the King of *Tydore* landed their Men, on the first of *April*, at Break of Day; but it being difficult, and even dangerous to march so near the Water, because there was no more ground on the Shore than for five Men in Rank; it was resolv'd to make the Attack with a small Number, gradually along the Sea Coast, without ingaging too far; and at the same Time to make Way over the Top of the Mountain, with some *Panpanguo*, and *Tangalo Indian* Pioneers, and to send another Party of Men that Way, to give the Enemy a Diversion, and oblige them to divide their Forces. The King of *Ternate*, whom Experience and Fear had instructed in the Art of War, perceiving what was aim'd at, to avoid being cut off in the Rear, retir'd to his Fort, as soon as he discover'd our Army. This was the Reason why our Men met with no Opposition, whereas the General *Furtado* found so much Resistance there, three Years before, at the Seige we have spoken of, when in gaining that Pass, he lost some *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, being assisted by Captain *Gallinato*.

The Forces land April *the first.*

K. *of* Ternate *retires to his Fort.*

Gallinato *invests the Place.*

He now put our Men into good Order, leading the Van, and drew up within Musket Shot of the Wall. He told *Don Pedro*, in the Presence of the King of *Tydore*, that some Soldiers had, by his Command, taken a View of the Place, and that considering the Nature of the Situation, it was requisite to maintain that Ground till Night, when our Men should intrench, and bring up the Cannon for Battery. His Advice was approv'd of, and put in Execution; and in Regard that the Enemy did some Harm in the main Body, and Wings, with their Cannon and small Shot; *Don Pedro* to prevent it, order'd the Men to lye down. It was observ'd that there were four Eminences cover'd with wild, and full headed Trees, on which the Enemy had their Sentinels, who gave Intelligence how the *Spaniards* mov'd, and of whatsoever they order'd, or perform'd. A Captain went up to make himself Master of the Trees, and soon brought down the Enemies Sentinels. *Gallinato* perfected that Work, commanding our Sentinels to get up into those same Trees, as was done. The Enemy endeavour'd to remove them with their Cannon and small Arms, firing incessantly; but could never disturb either those that were on the Top, among the Boughs, who gave the Information, nor the others that stood at the Foot, who receiv'd and carry-

Sentinels on Trees beaten off.

ed

ed it to the Officers. The Enemy was poſſeſs'd of a Poſt near the Baſtion of *Cachil Tulo*, on the right Hand of the Wall, a little beyond the Trees, and the General thinking it neceſſary to be gain'd, commanded Captain *John de Cubas*, an old Low-Country Soldier, to attack it with 30 Musketiers, and if he thought himſelf too hard ſet, to ſend Word, and he ſhould have a good Supply of Pikes. The Captain went on by the Way of the Mountain, and the Enemy to prevent him, ſent a Body of Men out of the Fort next the Sea, whom Captain *Villagra* charg'd. Whilſt they were ingag'd, the King of *Ternate*, perceiv'd that *Cubas* was marching to gain his Poſt, and being ſenſible how prejudicial the Loſs of it would be, ſally'd out himſelf to fight him, and the *Spaniards* had enough to do. *Cubas* gain'd the higheſt Ridge; but ſo fatigued, that he was forc'd to ſend for the Supply of Pikes. The Captains *Vergara*, *Alarcon*, and *Don Roderick de Mendoza* ſupported him with 40 detatch'd Men; and before they came up more *Ternates* and *Javaneſes* ſally'd out of the Fort, with whom the Fight was renew'd in more furious Manner. Another Party of Infidels was preſently diſcover'd next the Sea, for which Reaſon, and becauſe, if the Enemy had demanded more Succours, his Poſts would be forſaken, the King order'd thoſe who fought with *Villagra* to retire, and went himſelf with them, and ſome others to ſuſtain the Reſt. His coming on like a brave, or rather a deſperate Commander, oblig'd *Cubas*, to ask for another Supply which the Captains *Villagra*, and *Cervantes* carry'd him, and charg'd the Enemy. *Cachil Amuxa*, of whoſe Bravery Mention has been made, went up to Captain *Cubas* after burning the Brims of his Hat, and the Feather in it, with a Muſket Shot, and they both fought Hand to Hand for a conſiderable Time, the one with his Sword, and the other with his *Campilane*, or Cymiter. The Sentinels on the Trees cry'd out, giving Notice of the Troops on the Shore, and that they came on towards our Van-Guard, and the Front of it. Captain *Villagra* was order'd to charge them with a Diviſion of Shot, belonging to Captain *Cervantes*, who commanded all the Halbardiers. Both Parties fought with equal Tokens of Courage, when the Sentinels from the Trees gave Notice, that *John de Cubas*, on the Right, demanded more Succours. The Captains *Don Roderick de Mendoza*, and *Paſcual de Alarcon* went with it immediately, drawing out two Diviſions of Muſketiers. The Sentinels cry'd out again, that the Enemy, who fought with Captain *Villagra* were retiring towards the Walls, and that *John de Cubas* demanded another Supply of Pikes and Halbards. Captain *Cervantes* ſupported him with 50, and *Villagra*, with the Men he commanded.

Villagra *and* Cubas *fight the* Ternates.

The Fight redoubl'd.

Single Combat.

Our Sentinels, to whoſe Vigilancy a great Part of this Succeſs is owing, gave Notice again, that upon the Approach of our Supplies, the Enemy retired in Diſorder, and our Men made up to the Wall. The Event of the Battel began now to be out of Doubt, and even in that Poſture requir'd Diverſity of Conduct. *Don Pedro* therefore order'd the Colours with the Reſt of the Pikes to march, leaving one Diviſion of Muſquetiers, and the Heavy Harquebuſſiers in the Rear, to face the Enemy, in Caſe they ſhould happen to ſally out again toward the Sea. The other Captains and Soldiers went on fighting, and at the ſet Time attack'd the Wall, helping one another to climb to the Top. The two firſt that got upon it were the Captains *John de Cubas*, and *Cervantes*, who having receiv'd ſome Wounds on it, tumbled down

Ternates *retire in Diſorder.*

down again. The Difficulty of this Enterprize increas'd as the Enemy renew'd their Efforts, doing us Harm with their heavy and small Cannon, Muskets, sundry Sort of Fireworks, Stones, and other Contrivances the *Dutch* furnish'd them with; but the Attack was made so furiously, that the *Spaniards* gave not the King, nor his Men Leisure enough to get into the old *Portuguese* Fort, within the Wall; for had they done so, they might have defended themselves some Time, and our Men would have been oblig'd to batter the Walls with Cannon; and tho' the Fort is small, and built in more unskilful Times, it would have cost Trouble.

The Place taken, and Number of the Slain.

The Place was taken with little Loss, for we had but Fifteen Men kill'd on our Side, among them was Captain *Cervantes*, who getting up the first upon the Wall, with a Design to display the King's Standard on it, was run into the Eye with a Launce, by a Barbarian, and others coming on, they threw him down to the Ground, whereof he dy'd the seventh Day, much regretted by all Men. He had before said publickly, offering to give the Charge, *Gentlemen, the Bull shall not make his Escape my Way, unless it cost me my Life*; alluding to keeping of him in at the Bull-Feasts. He was as good as his Word both ways, since he dy'd in Performance of it, with his Arms and Legs broken. No Man of any Note, either among the *Spaniards* or *Indians* escap'd unhurt. Many *Ternates* and *Javaneses* were slain, and some *Dutch* shed their Blood, like brave or desperate Men, thinking it a Misfortune, as they said, to owe their Lives to our Courtesy, or Mercy.

Cannon found in it.

It was never expected that the Success, would be in all Points answerable to the Justice of the Cause. *Don Pedro* had design'd to batter the Forts, wherein he would have met with mighty Difficulties, because the Cannon was very heavy, and hard to be drawn to the proper Posts for Battery; as also for that there was not Earth to fill the Gabions, and the Rockiness of the Ground obstructed the throwing up of the Trenches, which would have occasion'd the Loss of many Men before the Artillery could be planted. The *Spaniards* pursu'd their Success, and possessing themselves of the Fort, found in it 43 large Brass Guns, abundance of Drakes, and other Arms, besides Ammunition and Provisions.

Prisoners made Slaves.

The Men having enter'd the City, every one fell to plunder, and commit Outrages. *Don Pedro* had made Proclamation, that all the Enemies taken within four Days should be made Slaves. The Commanders halted near the ancient Church of S. *Paul*, which was fortify'd by the Enemy with Ramparts for this Service. Opinions vary'd about what was next to be done; Some were for securing what was already gain'd; Others for pushing on, to gain the main Fort. The Captains *Vergara* and *Villagra*, were for the Latter, and the Soldiers were so brisk and eager to run into any Danger, that one of them, of the Province of *Estremadura*, and belonging to the Company of Captain *Sevil*, an *Aragonian*, and notable Commander, who was also for going on, took up Captain *Villagra* in his Arms, and carry'd him above ten Paces, saying, *Good Captain, fall on, fall on*; and then set him down. The Captain struck him, for having taken him up so rudely, at such a Time; and the Soldier bowing, pleasantly and with a smiling Countenance, said to him, *God is my Life, strike again, and fall on.* In short, *Vergara* and *Villagra*, with a few Men attack'd

Eagerness of the Men.

They attack and take the main Fort.

tack'd the main Fort, and carry'd it, being themſelves the firſt that enter'd the Gates, but not the firſt that went up; for as they were running up the Stairs haſtily, and juſt going into the Hall, *Barela*, and old Soldier, and Corporal to Captain *Cervantes*, thruſt by their Side, and getting in, took a gilt Ewre, made in the Shape of an Urn, curiouſly ingrav'd, from off a rich Cupboard, or Side-board there was in the Hall, ſaying to the Captains, *Gentlemen, I take this in Token that I came in here with you*; and carry'd it away, by their Conſent. All the Palace was then expos'd to the Avarice of the Soldiers. *Don Pedro* would have given a check to it; but was not taken Notice of, till almoſt all was over.

They attack and take the main Fort.

The King's Palace plunder'd.

The King of *Ternate* had forſaken all, and ſome of the *Dutch* him, when they ſaw he was going down; none follow'd him in this Confuſion and Flight, but the *Sangiack* of *Mofaquia*, his Kinſman, who encourag'd and adviſ'd him, his Queen *Celicaya*, and ſome other Women. He embark'd with them all, Prince *Gariolano* his Son, and a few *Dutch*, in great Haſte, within the Wall, aboard ſome *Carcoas* of *Mofaquia*, and plying the Oars, or rather Flying, arriv'd in the Iſland of *Gilolo*, at a Fort there, built not long before in *Sabugu*. The reſt of the *Dutch* got off in other Veſſels to their Ship.

The King &c. fly, to Gilolo.

The whole Body of the Army now rang'd the Towns and Houſes of the Natives, wholly intent upon Plunder, and *Don Pedro* went about, giving Orders, and checking the Soldiers, that they might keep in a Body.

The Dutch *to their Ship.*

The General went on to S. *Paul's* Church, which was unroof'd and profan'd; he order'd it to be cleans'd, and immediately adorn'd with Boughs, and other Ornaments, brought thither by the diligent Soldiers, where they devoutly, with loud Voices, ſang the Hymn, *Salve Regina*, which our Church uſes to call upon the bleſſed Virgin. For the compleating of this Victory, they ſtill wanted to ſeize the King, Prince, *Sangiacks*, and Commanders that follow'd him. The General took Poſſeſſion of the Forts, ſetting up and diſplaying the Colours, with the Arms of the Crown of *Spain*, and the Name of PHILIP *THE THIRD, OUR SOVEREIGN*, the Muſick playing, and Guns firing. He order'd, that the next Day Captain *Villagra* ſhould ſet out in Purſuit of the King of *Ternate*, with 100 Men in two Galleys, and the King of *Tydore*, and the Prince his Son, with their Fleet, conſiſting of two *Janguas*, and 15 *Carcoas*, in which were 1000 Men.

Poſſeſſion taken of the Fort.

King of Ternate *purſu'd.*

The King and Prince of *Tydore*, with Captain *Villagra*, came to the Fort of *Tacome*, in *Ternate*, on the third of *April*, where they found *Cahil Amuxa*, the braveſt of the Natives of *Ternate*, Couſin German to their King, and his Captain General. *Villagra* ſent him a Meſſage by *Antony de Silva*, Interpreter of their Language, and through his Means he ſurrendred, with ſome *Dutch*; all whom he carry'd Priſoners to the City. He brought them in very honourable Manner, and they had not the dejected Looks of Men that were overcome. Being come to the City, he deliver'd them to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, who obſerving the ſame Generoſity, received and treated them courteouſly, and commended their Valour. There the *Cachil* and Captain *John de Cubas* knew one another again, remember'd the Wounds they had given and receiv'd, and were good Friends. The *Portugueſe* Commanders viſited him, and in his Preſence, after commending.

Tacome *Fort ſurrender'd to* Villagra.

The General honours the Portuguese *Commanders.*

mending the Bravery they had shown in the War, the General, with his own Hands, put weighty Gold Chains about their Necks, as was then us'd among Soldiers, desiring they would accept of that Acknowledgement of their gallant Behaviour, and excuse the Smallness of the Gift; and they on their Side, made suitable Returns of Courtesy.

Sangiack *of* Mofaquia *taken.*

Villagra went out again, and by the Way, took the *Sangiack* of *Mofaquia*, and two of his Nephews, without any Opposition. All these having desir'd Audience of *Don Pedro*, told him, they had always been desirous to return to their Subjection under his Majesty, but that their Kinsman, the King, had obstructed it, and ruin'd himself by adhereing to his own Opinion, rejecting the safest and best, which was to recover their former Favour. *This Pride*, said they, *has reduc'd him to the miserable Condition he is now in. If you please we will discourse, and perswade him to put himself into your Hands, after you have taken such Security of us as becomes conquer'd Men, and given Commission to such as you can confide in to Article with the King. It is not the Change of our Fortune that moves us to this, for none can daunt those who are prepar'd for the worst; but it is that Fidelity, which the Circumstances of the Times would not permit us to exert.*

He proposes to bring over the King.

Don Pedro's *Answer.*

Don Pedro return'd Thanks for their Zeal, and told them, The Method they had chosen was the best to oblige the King of *Spain* to use that Victory with his innate royal Goodness; and therefore empower'd them to assure the King, and his Son, that their Lives should be safe. The two *Cachiles* embarking with *Paul de Lima*, who, tho' a Native of *Ternate*, was discreet and a Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, as also well known to the King, and with Captain *Villagra*, they sail'd over together to the Fort of *Sabubu*, in the Island *Batochina*. The King embrac'd, and receiv'd them with Tears; but when they propos'd his surrend'ring himself, he would not consent without a formal safe Conduct first granted. That Satisfaction was soon given him, for *Don Pedro* sent it, with Assurance of his Life, in respectful Terms, becoming the Person of a King, and all solid and safe, according to the Power committed to him, the Rest being left at his Catholick Majesty's Disposal.

The King delivers himself up on a safe Conduct.

Embarks for Ternate.

The Instrument, which the General had drawn in Form, being read, the King resolv'd to repair to *Ternate*, with the Prince, and the other *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks*; yet contrary to the Advice of *Celicaya*, of whom he was always desperately in Love. In fine, he put himself into the Hands of *Don Pedro*, and to this Effect embark'd on three *Janguas*, and meeting with *Villagra*, they went over with all the rest into his Galleys, to be carry'd to the General. The King desir'd by the Way to visit his Mother, who was in the Fort of *Tacome*, and having propos'd it to Captain *Villagra*, he comply'd with him, and the Galleys made haste. They came to *Tacome* on the 8th of *April*, where he landed, and his Mother coming out to meet him, encourag'd him, without showing the least Dejectedness. Nothing appear'd in the Discourse between them that could be heard, that had a Womanish Air, or the Resemblance of a Motherly Tenderness, as the Interpreters declar'd, nor did she comfort him with Hopes of Revenge, but only with Reasons perswading to sute himself to his Fortune, which is the Will of Heaven.

Visits his Mother.

From

From this Place *Villagra* ſent Advice to *Don Pedro*, that the King was come, and would ſoon be with him. He having receiv'd the News, ſent Major *Aſcueta* to bid him welcome. He order'd he ſhould be treated with Reſpect, and that the Major ſhould in ſecret bid Captain *Villagra* make haſte to *Ternate*, becauſe there was much ſtill to do, and it was not proper to loſe Time. The Progreſs of Victory is not to be interrupted. They ſet out in the Evening for *Ternate*, where they arriv'd late at Night, and therefore went not into the City. The King ſtood as it were amaz'd when he ſaw the Place, and heard the Drums, and other Martial Noiſes; being ſenſible of the Yoke he had been ſo averſe to bear. However he diverted himſelf that Night, as a ſick Perſon uſes to admit of the Entertainment he receives from thoſe who are in Health. The next Day the General came aboard, whilſt the Army was forming into one great Body, and the Companies were marching, that the King might not ſtay; that Show being provided for him, and the Deſign that he ſhould be conducted in through the Midſt of the Forces. *Don Pedro* order'd, That before he landed, the King of *Tydore*, who attended in the ſame Harbour, ſhould go viſit him. He refus'd to receive him, as long as he could, and the Colonel and all the Captains intreated him to admit of the Viſit, which he at length conſented to, either being perſwaded, or yielding to Importunity. The Galley made towards the King of *Tydore*'s Fleet, and as they drew near, the Cannon fir'd. The King of *Tydore* ſtay'd aboard his Admiral, conceal'd between Curtains of Crimſon Damask, and when the two Galleys were come together board and board, after a long Silence, the Curtains were drawn. Both the Kings appear'd in their Veſſels, looking at one another, for a conſiderable Time, without ſpeaking a Word. At length he of *Ternate*, as the conquer'd, call'd to one of his Nephews, to whom kneeling, he deliver'd a Meſſage in his Ear for the King of *Tydore*. The Nephew went over to the *Carcoa*, and having made the *Zumbaya*, according to their Ceremonies, with great Tokens of Submiſſion, kneeling, joyning his Hands, and raiſing them up to his Face, kiſs'd the King of *Tydore*'s left Foot. Then he deliver'd him his Meſſage with much Deliberation, all the Standers-by obſerving the knitting of his Brows, and all the other Tokens of Admiration and Sorrow, wherewith he was heard. The Nephew withdrew as ſoon as he had done ſpeaking; and after the King of *Tydore* had continu'd a while Thoughtful, he call'd another *Cachil*, who was his Favourite, and Kinſman. He ſpoke to him in the ſame Manner, and gave him another Meſſage for the King of *Ternate*, with much Deliberation and State. This Meſſenger paid him the ſame reſpectful Ceremonies, and going over to our Galley, when he came into the Preſence of the King of *Ternate*, after performing the ſame *Zumbaya*, bow'd himſelf down, and deliver'd the Anſwer. The King receiv'd it with as much Grandeur as he could have done had he been Conqueror. Then he alſo ſtood a while muſing, and riſing went over to the Admiral of *Tydore*, which, as has been ſaid, was grappled with the Galley. The Prince, his Son, and the Commanders attended him. The King of *Tydore* ſtood up to receive him. When they met, each of them us'd tedious Civilities, and Ceremonies towards the other, about ſitting. He of *Ternate* ſat firſt, and the Prince, by his Father's Order, paid him of *Tydore*, the Reſpect of the *Zumbaya*, kiſſing

The King brought to Ternate.

The King of Tydore *goes to viſit him.*

Barbarous Ceremonies of the Kings.

Zumbaya *Ceremony.*

Meeting of the two Kings.

kissing his Foot. He to prevent obliging his Son to repay the like Compliment to the other, before the King of *Ternate* came, had order'd him aboard another Vessel, and to put out to Sea, that he might not be present at the Interview. The two Kings discours'd about several Affairs, and he of *Ternate*, of his Misfortune, tho' in manly Manner.

The two Kings land.

It being now Time for the King of *Ternate* to land, both the Kings began to draw near it, but with different Notions. The General waited in the Fort, and saw the Landing from the Top of it. The King of *Ternate* came ashore between and led by the Colonel, and *Gallinato*. After him follow'd the Prince, conducted by Captain *Villagra*, and the Major. The King march'd thro' a Lane of our Foot, and seem'd pleas'd to see them so gallant, and orderly. Thus he came to the Fort, the ancient Residence of his Predecessors, and not long since his own, *Don Pedro*, the Governour coming down to the Gate to meet him, unarm'd, richly dress'd, and with such Decency as became his Person. He would have kiss'd his Hand, but the King embrac'd him, and they went up Hand in Hand to the Lodgings; in the Stateliest whereof, they found three Chairs, with as many Cushions before them, plac'd on a rich Carpet under the Canopy. The King sat on that in the Middle, the Prince on the next, and the Governour on the third. After a short Silence, the Discourse began, *Don Pedro* telling the King, his Highness ought to bear his present Condition with Resolution, remembering the long Prosperity he had enjoy'd. That he offer'd to intercede, and use his Interest with his Majesty, that he might be restor'd to his Kingdoms; and that the Subject in Hand requiring longer and private Conferences, he for the Present would cut it short, because the settling of weighty Affairs, is not to be grounded on the Noise of Promises.

Don Pedro *receives the King.*

Comforts him.

The King's Answer.

The King return'd Thanks for the Kindness he shew'd, in promising his Restitution, and bewailing his present Condition, concluded, saying, That he took Comfort in him, considering Heaven had reserv'd him to be subdu'd by so great a Commander; in which particular he reckon'd he was much oblig'd to his Fortune; and that he confided, he would treat him with such Generosity and Goodness as was due on his own Account, and his being the Minister of so great a Monarch, without calling to mind that his own Pride had been his Ruin. The Governour satisfy'd him as to all Points, and having order'd the best House in *Ternate* to be furnish'd, and sent to it Plate, Household Goods, Linnen, Beds, Pavillions, and all Things answerable to such a Guest, he desir'd the King would be pleas'd to remove thither, and with his leave he would wait on him; and that, with his good liking, a *Spanish* Captain with his Company should guard his Person; lest the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Tydore*, his natural Enemies, who were then very Numerous in the City, seeing him alone, should offer any Rudeness. The King accepted of it, smiling in a heavy Manner, to signify that the Guard was appointed to secure him, and all the other Prisoners, and that he was sensible of the false Gloss they gave it.

A Spanish *Company guards the King.*

He desires the Company of Captain Villagra.

Captain *Peter Delgado* was order'd with his Company to guard the King's House, and attend him, till reliev'd. That Night the King was very melancholy, being among so many Strangers, and though it was late, would not go to Bed, till he had sent *Sylva*, the *Portuguese* Interpreter, to desire the General, that for some Comfort in his Solitude, this being the

Request

Requeſt of a conquer'd Perſon, he would ſend him Captain *Villagra*, whom, as the firſt *Spaniard* he had been acquainted with, he lov'd, call'd him Father and delighted in his Company. The King is reported to have ſaid, that to converſe with the Conquerors, is only to haſten being overcome, and make the Change of Fortune Habitual. The Governour was glad he could afford him that Satisfaction; and ſending immediately for Captain *Villagra*, deſir'd he would go divert the King, and make much of, and entertain him with Art, that he might be comforted. The Captain readily comply'd, and the King expreſs'd ſingular Satisfaction in his Company. He ſupp'd, and went to Bed, diſcourſing all the while with the Captain concerning Martial and Religious Affairs.

Two Days after the Governour directed Colonel *Gallinato* and Captain *Villagra*, together with *Paul de Lima*, to propoſe to the King to enter into Treaty with him, in his Majeſty's Name, for ſettling Things in a State of Security, and Safety; and to perſwade him, that was the Way to deſerve well, and put himſelf into a better Condition. They three went to him, attended by other Perſons of Note, and among them ſome religious Men of the Orders of *S. Auguſtin*, and *S. Dominick*, and the Society of *Jeſus*, who all behav'd themſelves commendably in their Stations. The King did not refuſe to capitulate, and after ſettling the Form, by the Interpoſition of *Paul. de Lima*, and granting ſome Things he deſir'd of the King of *Spain*, the following Articles were drawn and ſign'd.

Treaty ſet afoot with the King.

The firſt Thing requir'd of *Cachil Sultan Zayde*, King of *Ternate*, and of the reſt who are Priſoners with his Highneſs, is that he ſhall deliver up to his Majeſty King *Philip* our Sovereign, the Forts he is now poſſeſs'd of, being thoſe of *Gilolo*, *Sabubu*, *Gamocanora*, *Tacome*, thoſe of *Machian*, thoſe of *Sula*, and the Reſt. To this he anſwers, that he will deliver up to his Majeſty the aforeſaid Forts, and to that Effect, will ſend the Prince his Son, and his Kinſman *Cachil Amuxa*, with the Perſons appointed to take Poſſeſſion of them, and that they ſhall be deliver'd up, with all the Cannon, Ammunitions, Muſkets, and Fire-Arms there are in them.

Articles between the General and King of Ternate. *The King to deliver up all Forts.*

Secondly, That he ſhall reſtore all the Priſoners he has, either Chriſtians, or Infidels, being our Subjects, as well of the Provinces of the *Pintados*, as of the Reſt that are ſubject to the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* Iſlands. He anſwer'd, that all ſuch as can be found at preſent ſhall be deliver'd, and the Reſt hereafter as they are diſcover'd.

To releaſe Priſoners.

Thirdly, That he ſhall deliver up the *Dutch* he has in his Power. He anſwer'd, That when he departed the Fort of *Ternate*, 13 or 14 that were with him fled; and he ſuppoſes they repair'd to the *Dutch* Ship, becauſe he has not ſeen them ſince; but if they ſhall be found, he will deliver them immediately.

To deliver up the Dutch.

Fourthly, He ſhall deliver up the Renegado *Spaniards* that were in the Fort of *Ternate*. He anſwer'd, that there was but one, and he fled as well as the Reſt, the Day the Fort was taken; that he knows not where he is, but will cauſe Search to be made, and deliver him.

And Renegado Spaniards.

Fifthly, That he ſhall deliver up all the Towns which are in *Batochina*, and is call'd *El Moro*, they having been formerly Chriſtians; as alſo the Iſlands of *Moratay*, and *Herrao*, which were alſo Chriſtian, with all the Artillery and Ammunition there is in them. He anſwer'd, he is ready to deliver up all, as he had done his Perſon.

Alſo Batochina, Moratay, *&* Herrao.

Theſe

The Form of rendering the Capitulation authentick

These Articles *Don Pedro de Acunna*, Governour, and Captain General of the *Philippine* Islands, President of the Royal Court residing in them, and General of this Fleet in the *Moluccos*, committed to the General *John Xuarez Gallinato*, and to Captain *Christopher de Villagra*, who concluded them in the Form as above, by the Interposition of *Paul de Lima*, a *Portuguese* born in these Islands, who serv'd as Interpreter of the Languages. And the said King subscrib'd his Name, after his Manner. Given in the Fort of *Ternate*, on the tenth of *April*, 1606. The said General, and Captain also sign'd it, with the said *Paul de Lima*.

How it was sign'd.

The King sign'd in *Persian* Characters, with graceful Flourishes, and the *Spaniards* plainly; and this Original Capitulation was brought into *Spain*, with the other authentick Instruments.

Commanders go to take Possession.

In Pursuance to this Agreement, the Commanders imbark'd to take Possession of the several Places, carrying along with them the King and Prince, and other Prisoners in two Galleys being the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, with all *Villagra*'s Company, and Part of that of *Cervantes*. The first Place taken Possession of was the Fort of *Tacome*, next that of *Sula*, both in the Island of *Ternate*. Thence they sail'd to the great *Batochina*, where are those of *Gilolo*, formerly a flourishing Kingdom; of *Sabubu*, and *Gamocanora*, which we corruptly call *Gran Bocanora*; but in that Country Language, *Gamo* signifies Middle, and *Canora* Land, so that *Gamocanora*, altogether signifies, Mid-Land, because it lies in the midst of *Gilolo*, and *El Moro*. Possession was taken of all these Forts, none landing but *Villagra*, with *Cachil Amuxa*, *Antony de Sylva*, and *John de Vega*, who did the Part of a Notary, being appointed, and authoriz'd for that Time. The *Cachil* assembled the People at all the Forts, acquainted them with the Success of *Ternate*, and that all was now subject to the *Spaniards*, by whose Authority that Captain came to take Possession, that so all might pay their Obedience to his Majesty. The People having been attentive to what was propos'd to them, knelt down, and raising their Voices made the *Zumbaya*. Then the Captain display'd the Standard advancing it in his Majesty's Name, to denote Possession. Then he commanded the Natives to bring out the Cannon, and draw it down to the Shore, to be imbark'd aboard the Galleys. This was the Method observed at *Gilolo*, and in other Places of less Note.

Gamocanora *what it signifies.*

Manner of taking Possession.

K. of Tydore *recovers his Towns.*

In the mean while, the King of *Tydore*, making his Advantage of the Victory, sent the Prince his Son with some Troops, to possess himself of the Towns the King of *Ternate* had taken for him, as he actually did. *Don Pedro* being inform'd of it, was offended that an Enterprize should be undertaken without his Order, and thinking the King of *Tydore* had therein given Tokens of Distrust, and Disrespect, had Thoughts of taking such Satisfaction, as he judg'd the Matter deserv'd; but the King of *Tydore* reflecting on his Misbehaviour, and that the Governours Resentment swell'd up to absolute Indignation, he found Means to appease him, excusing himself, and saying, that Invasion had been carry'd on without his Order, or Knowledge; and desisting expected to be restor'd by *Don Pedro*, as we shall soon see.

The Method observ'd at other Forts, could not be followed at that of *Sabubu*, where Queen *Celycaya* was, because *Cachil Amuxa* fell sick, or pretended so to do. *Villagra* had Regard to the Circumstances of Times. *Cachil Rete*, *Sangiack* of *Gamocanora*, the King's Nephew, and a brave Soldier, landed

landed instead of the other. The People of that Town imagin'd, that *Villagra* brought considerable Forces, and therefore to secure the Queen, and themselves, they gather'd above 2500 fighting Men, under Pretence they would not suffer *Celycaya* to be taken away. They hid themselves with their Arms, yet not so but that the Captain knew of it. He took no Notice, but coming up to one of the Bastions of the Town, which were both next the River, drew off the Cannon, some few of the Natives, and those Boys helping him; the Rest waiting for more considerable Action, in Arms. Then he disarm'd the other Bastion, assisted by *Francis Romanico*, and *John Rodriguez Bermejo*, Captains of the Galleys. The Town stands on the Bank of a River, up which they had run in their Boats; but returning with the Men that row'd, the Guns were loaded, the *Sangiack Rete* forwarding of it. He finding the People in an Uproar, would not have had the Cannon carry'd away, at that Time. Possession was not taken till afterwards, out of Respect to the Queen, and by Reason of the Mutiny of the People, who escap'd not unchastis'd. The Galleys return'd to *Gamocanora*, and not being able to get into the River, nor to stay out, because of the Flats, where an indifferent Wind may do much Harm, the least Part whereof was the Loss of the Vessels; *Gallinato* therefore considering, that if they should be cast away, the King was in his own Country, whence it would be impossible to get him out again, tho' a greater Power should be gather'd for that End, than what came from the *Philippine* Islands, and having consulted with him about the Method to be us'd to get in to *Gamocanora*, the *Sangiack* of that Place said to him. *Sir, if you have such Confidence in me, as I know you may, and my Advice is of any Force with you, do not go thither with these Galleys, for you will expose them to Shoals, and Winds. Since therefore here are two* Carcoas *of* Tydore, *let the Captain* Villagra, *the Notary, and the Interpreter go aboard them, and I will go along with them to my Country, where the same shall be done, as if the Galleys went in.*

The People of Sabubu *in Arms.*

Cachil Rete.

His Advice to the Spaniards.

Gallinato consulted with *Villagra*, and they approv'd of the Method, setting out in the *Carcoas* on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, and on *Sunday* Morning a League short of the River, the *Sangiack* told the Captain, he well knew he had been long from his Country, attending the King, and that his Subjects had no certain Account of him, and therefore, they might then as they us'd to do at other Times, come out to the Mouth of the River with a Fleet, to guard the Entrance. That if it should so happen, he must not be disturb'd, for they should all serve him. The Captain, told him, how much he confided in him, since he had so easily follow'd his Advice, and was come to his Country almost Naked; and that whatsoever happen'd he would not mistrust him. Being come near the Mouth of the River, they saw 13 Vessels come out, and when in the Sea, they drew up in a half Moon, and made up to enclose the Captain's *Carcoa*. The *Sangiack* seeing them near at Hand, went foward, and calling out, commanded them to be peaceable. As soon as they knew him, they obey'd, drew together their Vessels, and came to speak to him. He enquir'd into the Posture of his Affairs, and ask'd whether his Mother was there. They said she was, and gave him a long Account of all Things. They went before to carry his Mother the News of his Coming, and he order'd them to assemble all the People of the Town, and that none should appear arm'd, for they never us'd to lay aside their *Campilanes.*

Villagra *trusts the* Sangiack

He appeases his Subjects.

Campilanes. Being come in, they found all, and even the Women got together, and imbarking again, met the *Sangiacks* Mother in the Middle of the River, she then coming down, to see her Son, in a Vessel all full of Women, clad in several Sorts of Silks, with high Feathers, and several of them arm'd. Some handed the Sails, others ply'd the Oares, and others attended about that Princesses Person, so that there was not one Man among them.

A Vessel sail'd by none but Women.

Meeting of the Sangiack *and his Mother.*

The Mother being impatient, advanc'd as soon as ever she came to her Son's *Carcoa*; but he more nimbly leap'd into that Vessel of Women, and after paying the due Respect to his Mother, there pass'd extraordinary Demonstrations of Love on both Sides, she imbracing, and kissing her Son. Thus they all went up the River, against the Stream, till they came to the Town. On both the Banks there appear'd People clad in gay Manner, with Feathers, but unarm'd, and the *Sangiack* having desir'd his Mother to go ashore, all the Prime Men to perswade her leap'd into the Water, and carryed her in their Arms. The *Sangiack* and *Villagra* came to the Market-Place, in the midst whereof they found an Arbour, or Hut made of Boughs, on Timbers, and in it two Chairs, on a Carpet. They set down with the usual Ceremonies, and the *Sangiack* declar'd to his Subjects, that all the Dominions of the King of *Ternate*, and their Persons, were then subject to the King of *Spain*, as he was himself. That hereupon follow'd the Obligation of delivering up the Forts to him, and he was possess'd of all the Rest, only that being wanting. That they should so order that Captain *Villagra* might take Possession of it and the Artillery. *Villagra* intreated the *Sangiack* to go see his Wife, and Children, and he would receive the Surrender of the Fort, and Arms, in the Afternoon; but he answer'd, that he came not to rejoyce with his Family, but to serve the King of *Spain*. Afterwards he added, If you will have me see them I will make Use of your Leave; and if you refuse it, will imbark without seeing them. *Villagra* would not allow of such rigid Nicety, pressing him to take the Satisfaction of his Family, before the Act of Possession, and in the mean while, stay'd himself with *John de Vega*, and *Antony de Sylva*.

His great Submission to the Spaniards.

As soon as the *Sangiack* came Home, he sent the Captain about 30 *Indians* loaded with Provisions, one after another, but first they brought Tables, Chairs; and Table-Linnen in their great Dishes, and Salvers, and on them the Salts, Knives, drinking Cups, and Ewres, Variety of Fruit, Pullets roasted and fry'd, Goats Flesh roasted and boil'd, and other Dishes, after the Fashion of their Country. A little before the Dinner was ended they brought a Bed, and Pillows of green Satin, which they laid upon Carpets, to take an Afternoons Nap on. It was not long before the *Sangiack* himself came, follow'd by all the People, leading his Mother, and with them many Men loaded with the Arms he was to deliver up, gather'd from private Men, as also Drakes, Muskets, and other Fire-Arms. *Indians* brought them on their Shoulders, adorn'd with Boughs, in Token of the Satisfaction they had in delivering them. The same was then done in the Fort, as had been in the others. The *Sangiack* that Night gave the Captain a Supper in the same Manner as the Dinner had been. The next Day they breakfasted, and imbarking, return'd where *Gallinato* waited for them in

His noble Entertainment.

Arms deliver'd.

in the Galleys, at *Tacome*, with some *Indians* of *Sabubu*, who came with a Message to *Villagra*, inviting him to go take Possession of the Fort.

Treacherous Design of the People of Sabubu.

He suspected they had a treacherous Design, which was, that when they came to *Sabubu*, they would endeavour to have the Galleys come into the River, the Bar being proper for them, and having 1500 Men in Ambush, on both Sides of it, they would at Night send down some Fire-Ships upon them, then those that were in Ambush giving the Alarm, they might at least rescue their King, and the other Prisoners that were aboard; and in Case the *Spaniards* would not go in with their Galleys, they would seize Captain *Villagra*, when he landed, that the Governour might, in Exchange, for him deliver them the King of *Ternate*. A *Portuguese* Woman, who retir'd to *Tacome*, flying from *Ternate* when it was taken, and marry'd to a Renegado, tho' she was herself a Christian, gave *Gallinato* Advice of this intended Treachery. He took no Notice, but privately advis'd *Villagra* to pretend he was sick. The Natives of *Sabubu*, again pressed for the Captain, that they might deliver him the Fort, and *Gallinato* desiring him to make ready to go thither, he excus'd himself, alledging his Indisposition. *Vega* and *Sylva*, and some other Officers, went without him, and did the same Thing he could have done, avoiding the Danger of the Treason.

A Portuguese Woman discovers the Design.

Don Pedro *restores Towns to the Owners.*

They return'd with the Galleys to *Ternate*, where they found *Don Pedro*, who condescending to some just Requests, and to others which depended on Courtesy, being only Matter of Bounty, restor'd several Towns, wrongfully taken. These were bestow'd on the Kings of *Tydore*, of *Bachian*, and of *Sian*. The last of these, tho' he ought to have joyn'd the Governour before the Expedition, came late, by Reason of contrary Winds. He restor'd eight Towns to the King of *Tydore*, *Cachil Mole*, he having been before possess'd of them in the Island of *Machian*. On *Cachil Raxa Laudin*, King of *Bachian*, who was always faithful to the *Spaniards*, and wounded at the Siege *Andrew Furtado* lay'd to *Ternate*, he bestow'd the Islands of *Cayoa*, *Adoba*, and *Bayloro*, which are near *Bachian*, as also *Lucabata*, *Palomata*, and other Towns. He gave *Ruy Pereyra*, the *Sangiack* of *Labua*, a notable Christian, and the King of *Spain*'s Subject, the Island of *Gane* to hold as Governour; and others to *Paul de Lima*, which his Family had formerly been possess'd of.

Don Pedro *resolves to carry the Prisoners to* Manila.

Some Assemblies were held, to consult, what was to be done with the King and his Son. Upon summing up the Votes, it was Resolv'd, that neither the one, nor the other, or any of the Prisoners of Note, being his Kinsmen, *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks* of Repute, should be left in the *Moluccos*; and that, for considerable Reasons, then appearing, it was not convenient, at that Time, to depose the King, but to allow him to appoint such peaceable Persons as he thought fit, to Govern the Kingdom. *Don Pedro* had, during this Time, writ to the King of *Spain*, acquainting him with the Success of the War, and approv'd of the Method of appointing Governours, and accordingly order'd the Captive King and Prince should be told, that this Form of Government was pitch'd upon to secure us against their Confederacies, since it was certain that they expected the *Dutch*, and had sent to invite them against the *Spaniards*. That the King was to understand, that his Liberty, and Restoration to his Kingdoms, depended on his good Behaviour for the future, and that of his Subjects; and their assisting the *Spaniards*

King of Ternate *directed to appoint Governours.*

that were to be left at *Ternate*, and their friendly Entertainment of them. This Message was deliver'd to the King by *F. Lewis Fernandez*, of the Society of *Jesus*, *Gallinato*, and *Esquivel*. They did it with much Respect, adding, that he was to go to *Manila*, and therefore he should appoint such Persons, as he would have to Govern during his Absence. The King complying, submitted to every Thing, and nam'd *Cachil Sugui*, and *Cachil Quipat*, both of them his Unkles, to be Governours, because they were of a peaceable and honest Disposition.

Cachil Sugui, *and* Cachil Quipat *Governours.*

A Day was appointed for the solemn Act of doing Homage. The great Hall in the Fort was hung with Silk, rich Canopys set up; the Governour took his Seat under the chiefest of them, all the Forces being at Arms; and then he declar'd to the Kings the Occasion of assembling them together, which was to swear Fealty to his Majesty, a Duty that had been so long put off, and at the same Time so much labour'd for by War.

Solemnity for swearing Fealty.

They swore Fealty to our Sovereign Lord King *Philip*, in the Person of the Governour *Don Pedro*. The first was *Cachil Sultan Zayde Buxey*, King of *Ternate*, and *Cachil Sulamp Gariolano*, the Prince, his Son. Then *Cachil Mole*, King of *Tydore*; *Cachil Raxa Laudin*, King of *Bachian*; *Cachil Dini*, King of *Sian*, who had never done it before, but only profess'd Friendship. After them swore the *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, *Tulo*, *Codate*, *Amuxa*, *Rete*, *Ale*, *Nayo*, *Quipate*, *Colambaboa*, *Dexebes*, *Pamuza*, *Babada*, *Barcat*, *Sugi*, *Gugu*, *Boleyfe*, *Gulila*, *Maleyto*, *Banaba*, all of them Princes, Kinsmen, and Subjects to the *Molucco* King. They promis'd not to admit of the *Dutch*, nor any other Nations, to the Trade of Clove, and to preserve it entirely for his Majesty, and his Subjects; and to be assisting with their Persons, Forces, and Ships, whensoever they should be call'd upon by the Commander of the Fort of *Ternate*, or of the *Philippines*. It was also agreed, that they should not any Way obstruct the Conversion of the Gentils that were inclin'd to embrace Christianity.

Persons that swore Fealty.

They were all satisfy'd with this Beginning of their new Subjection, because the King of *Ternate* oppress'd them, as being the most potent, and supported by the *Dutch*; nor had they any Security against his Tyranny; especially since he caus'd the King of *Tydore*'s Father to be treacherously murder'd, the King of *Bachian*'s in War, and a Kinsman of his, which they both still resented. *Don Pedro* order'd another Fort to be erected at *Tydore*, and a Captain with 50 Men to Garrison it; at the Request of the King, by whose Assistance it was finish'd. It was resolv'd, that for the present, the third Part of the Duties the People of *Ternate* us'd to pay, should be taken off, so to make them easy, that they might reap some Benefit of our Victory, and not be perswaded it tended to increase their Oppression. The old Fort being small, and unfit to make any considerable Defence, it was thought fit to build one on a higher Ground, larger, and stronger. The Plan was laid out, and Orders given for carrying on the Work. The said old Fort was brought into a narrow Compass, whilst the new one was raising, which the Governour, before he departed *Ternate*, saw finish'd, quite enclos'd, and strengthned with Ramparts. Six hundred Men, distributed into six Companies, were left in it, to defend the Island against any Invasion. Six other Captains were reform'd. There were also twelve Gunners, 65 Pioneers, 35 Masons, and two good Brigantines, which, in Case of Necessity, might

Another Fort built at Tydore

Ternate *eas'd of Duties.*

Men left at Ternate.

might be mann'd with Pioneers. Colonel *John de Esquivel* was appointed Commander in chief, and Governour of all the *Moluccos*. Esquivel *Governour*

Don Pedro, the Day before his Departure, gave the said Governour his Instructions, which had been maturely weighed, and debated, after several private Conferences with him, providing for all Accidents that might happen.

All the Prisoners, being the King and Prince of *Ternate*, and 24 *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, were put aboard the Admiral Galley, under the Care of Captain *Villagra*, with particular Orders to convey them to *Manila*. This done they set sail. Our Fleet being departed with the Booty, and Prisoners, the Colonel, *John de Esquivel*, apply'd himself diligently to the Affairs of his Charge, and to hastning on the Fortifications begun in several Parts. Whilst the Conquerors sail'd away, on the fourth of *May*, he order'd the King of *Tydore*, with his Fleet, and in it some *Spaniards*, commanded by the Captains *Pasqual de Aragon*, and *Martin de Esquivel*, to sail for *Sabubu*, to perswade the *Cachiles*, *Sugui* and *Quipati*, to return to the City; because by their Examples the Citizens and Multitude would do the like, they being fled to the Mountains on Account of the War; for so they would quit those Deserts, be encouraged to confide in the Conqueror, and settle in Peace. The King of *Tydore* arriv'd at *Sabubu*, with his Company; sent Messengers to them, who deliver'd what they were commission'd with, adding, that if they requir'd Hostages for their safe coming, they should have the *Spanish* Captains that were in the Fleet deliver'd to them. The Governours were so far from giving Ear to their Message, that they sent to conjure them to depart *Sabubu*. *Esquivel* was concern'd at this mistrustful and rough Behaviour, because the greatest Part of the People of the Island were in that strong Hold, and in *Gilolo*, and that Repulse in the Presence of the Natives that were fled, seem'd to threaten greater Opposition. Whilst he prepar'd to reduce them, he endeavour'd by fair Means to attract the Inhabitants of a Town, call'd *Tacome*, two Leagues from *Ternate*, whither also some of those that had fled were retir'd. He sent them a considerable Quantity of Plunder, plac'd Safeguards in *Tacome* and *Malayo*, to quiet, and defend them against the *Tydores*, their Enemies and Conquerors.

Prisoners shipp'd for Manila.

King of Tydore *sent to* Sabubu.

The Governours refuse to come.

The King of *Tydore*, and our Commanders, returning without any Effect from *Sabubu*, they sail'd with the Fleet to *Machian*, to recover peaceably that Part of the Island, which the Governour, *Don Pedro*, took from the King of *Ternate*, to restore it to him of *Tydore*. At the same Time two *Dutch* Ships arriv'd there; one of them was the same our Fleet found some Days before in the Fort *Talangame*; which having been a Witness to our Success, rejoyn'd the other, and both of them came together to the *Moluccos*, by Order of the *Dutch* Commander residing at *Amboyna*, to encourage the King of *Ternate* to persist in his Disobedience, and assist him against our Fleet. Our Men sent the Colonel Advice, who order'd our Galliots to set out, to find, and pursue those Ships, that so their Boats might not offer to move far from them, and to endeavour to obstruct their trading with the Natives. Tho' the Orders were obey'd, the said two Ships appear'd before *Ternate* the third Day after, and holding on their Course, anchor'd at *Gilolo*, where most of the Natives of the *Molucco* Islands, who were fled, had fortify'd themselves. These Guests, according to their Custome, call'd together all

Spanish *Ships* at Machian.

two Dutch *Ships.*

the Inhabitants, who were dispers'd about in other Towns, and resolv'd to go over to *Gilolo* and *Sabubu*. They gather'd all their Vessels, and thought, with them, and the *Dutch* Ships, to obstruct the Ravage our Galiots made, and to support their Friends. This new Rebellion was carryed on in Sight of the *Dutch* Ships lying at Anchor before *Gilolo*, and they secur'd, and defended them against our Squadrons.

Rebellion at Gilolo

The Colonel intreated the King of *Tydore*, who was newly return'd from *Machian*, to gather a greater Number of arm'd *Carcoas*, that our Infantry might be carry'd in them, and the Galiots, to attack *Gilolo*, and *Sabubu*, in Order to suppress that Mischief in its first Rise, there being other Places for our Vessels to put into, besides the Harbour where the Enemies Ships lay at Anchor. The King of *Tydore* started so many Difficulties, that *Esquivel* could not prevail upon him. Another more effectual Method was found. It being certain, that the Fugitives must bring their Provisions, and particularly Rice, from the Province *del Moro*, and Island of *Moratay*, where there is great Plenty; and that we having burnt the Ships of the *Moluccos*, during that War, they would supply the Want of them from those same Places; the Governour therefore resolv'd, that Major *Vergara*, and the King of *Tydore*, should repair thither with 120 *Spaniards*, to disappoint their Designs, that so Necessity might reduce them to submit.

Methods for suppressing it

120 Spaniards sent *to* Gilolo.

Our Forces arriv'd at the Island *Batochina*, which is the same as *Gilolo*, and where *Sabubu* stands. Leaving the Shore, they march'd over extraordinary wooded Mountains, along the Side of the River *Gabocanora*, to a great Town, the Receptacle of many of the Fugitives. They met with no Opposition, or other Obstacle in the Way, but only those sharp pointed Stakes they use to drive into the Ground. The Enemy had plac'd their greatest Defence upon the River; but abandon'd it upon the Approach of the *Spaniards*, running up into the Mountains, and leaving their Houses and Vessels. Our Men fell upon both, burnt them, and took such as durst stay behind. In fine, they all, dismay'd at the Sight of the Flames and Destruction, embrac'd more submissive methods. The City *Visoa* underwent the same Fate, and the Remains of it sued for Pardon, and comply'd.

They burn Towns and reduce the Island.

The King of *Tydore* went away from this Place with eight *Carcoas*, leaving the rest, and the Galleys, with the Major. The City *Mamuya*, having made Resistance, was also burnt. Our Men went over in small Vessels to *Galela*, a Town built in a large Lake, which held out till reduc'd by Fire and Sword, the very Children swimming away. *Tolo*, *Chiava*, and *Camafo*, which are three Leagues from *Galela*, and whose Inhabitants had been formerly Christians, prevented Military Execution, by sending Deputies from *Tolo*, the strongest of them, with Boughs of *Bonanas* in Blossom, and Green, and White Cloves. They came unarm'd, and with Musick, and express'd much Sorrow for their late Rebellion, for which *Sultan Zayde* was to blame, and for having forsaken the Christian Religion, which they were there ready to imbrace. The *Spanish* Commander prais'd, and treated them Courteously. Our Men now sickned a pace; for which Reason, as also because the westerly Winds began to grow boisterous, he was oblig'd to defer the subduing of *Moratay*. However he left some Men at *Tolo*, with the small Guns taken at *Gabocanora*, to secure the Towns that were

Galela *destroy'd.*

Tolo Chiava *and* Camafo *submit.*

were reduc'd, and defend them againſt thoſe of *Galela* and *Tabelo*, which are biger than they. This done he return'd to *Ternate*, but not without Storms, and Dangers, incurr'd by giving Credit to a *Molucco* Slave.

The Governour mann'd a Galliot, a Brigantine, and ſome ſmaller Veſſels with Soldiers, and *Chineſes* to row, under the Command of the Enſign *Chriſtopher Suarez*. He ſail'd with a fair Wind for the Iſland *Mateo*, which we call *Celebes*, the neareſt Part whereof is 30 Leagues Weſt from *Ternate*, and its Length above 150 Leagues. The furtheſt Part of it is ſubject to the King of *Macaſſar*, a *Mahometan* Prince, with whom the People of *Malaca* have Trade, as alſo with three other heathen Kings, of whom there was a Report, that they deſired to be Chriſtians; but they fell under the Tyranny of the King of *Ternate*, and ſuffer'd by his Invaſions and Burnings. *Eſquivel* ſent to acquaint them with the King of *Spain*'s Victories and Succeſs; and exhorted them to come under his Dominion, but above all to be united to the Church. He made them Preſents of *European* Commodities, which are as good as Money with them, and offer'd the Protection of the *Spaniſh* Power, which had pull'd down that Tyrant, to whom they were Tributary. He ſaid, he ſent them Ships and Arms, and that for the Time to come, they might ſafely repair to trade at the *Moluccos*. Theſe Princes were two Brothers, the one King of *Bool*, the other of *Totoli*. They rejoyc'd at the coming of the Embaſſador *Chriſtopher Suarez*, and he preſenting them ſome Pieces of Velvet, in Token of Friendſhip, they return'd other Gifts, and Abundance of Proviſions, and diſmiſs'd him, with a Letter to the Governour. Queen *Dongue* of *Cauripa*, teſtify'd to *Eſquivel* no leſs Satisfaction, and Inclination to be united to the King of *Spain* by Vaſſalage.

Meſſage from Eſquivel to the Heathen Kings of Bool, *and* Totoli.

The Garriſons of the Rebellious Towns were aſſaulted by the *Spaniards*, and compell'd to ſubmit. The King of *Tydore* made Havock on the Coaſt of *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, where he recover'd for his Majeſty, and for himſelf, the Towns and Forts that had been taken from him by the King of *Ternate*. He plunder'd the great Town of *Mira*, in *Moratay*, and made Captives of many that oppos'd him, who had alſo been Chriſtians. Among the reſt he took a *Guimala*, which ſignifies, a Chief, or Head of a Quarter, or Ward, whom he again ſet at Liberty, at the Requeſt of our Men, ſending him away with two other *Guimalas*, in the Company of Captain *John de la Torre*. The Iſlands in thoſe Parts were reducing by Degrees, with little Oppoſition. Thoſe of the *Meaos*, lying to the North-Weſt, towards *Manila*, being among, and full of large Towns, defended themſelves, with the Aſſiſtance, and Induſtry of the *Dutch*; but *B. Antony Flores*, a Lay-Brother, of the Order of S. *Auguſtin*, who fought againſt the *Sangleyes* of *Manila*, as has been ſaid above, coming thither with the Galleys, they ſubmitted. The Enſign *Lewis de Zuazo* arriv'd after the Buſineſs was over, and they being now ſucceſsful, and underſtanding that the *Dutch* Ship was ſail'd from *Gilolo*, made after her. She was ſo good a Sailer, that they labour'd in vain; but carry'd on the War at *Gilolo* and *Sahubu*, which made the *Ternate* Governours put up their Complaints, and lay aſide their Deſigns. They writ to the Governour, and he anſwer'd them, ſending a Copy of the Articles, upon which they offer'd to repair to *Ternate*, in peaceable Manner. All our Commanders were diſpers'd in ſeveral

King of Tydore's *Actions.*

Meaos *Iſlands ſubdu'd.*

Reduction of other Iſlands.

ral Places, reducing the Islands of the *Moluccos* that had Rebell'd, either by Force of Arms, or other Methods; and particularly those belonging to the *Sultan* of *Ternate*, which are few under an hundred; and thus Peace began to be establish'd, which if not Wish'd for, was at least Tolerated, and accepted of with such Appearances as are becoming to make it honourable.

The King and Molucco Prisoners attempt to escape.

Whilst the *Molucco* Islands submitted by Force to receive the Yoke, the Governour, *Don Pedro de Acunna*, was sailing for *Manila*. Captain *Villagra* was at a Distance from the Fleet, with the King, Prince, and *Sangiacks* that were Prisoners, aboard the Admiral Galley. This made them form a Design to attempt to make their Escape to *Mindanao*, and they had succeeded, if not prevented by the Soldiers that guarded them. Captain *Villagra* either Suspected, or had Information of it, and therefore doubled the Guards, and put eight of the most daring into Chains. Among the most remarkable were *Cachil Amuxa*, the *Sangiack Rete*, and he of *Mofaquia*. They all arriv'd at *Manila*, but their Fetters were taken off before they came thither, after they had worn them ten Days, with much Regret of the King, whom they satisfy'd with Hopes, and acquainting him with some of the Grounds there were to suspect, till the Danger of laying them aside ceas'd. The Hazard at *Mindanao* was, that those Islands are not Tributary, yet they value themselves upon entertaining Friendship with the King of *Ternate*; and it is most certain, that had he attempted to fly, and succeeded in it, they would have supported him there; and *Villagra* had Intelligence given him, that the King either made, or approv'd of the Proposal; tho' there was no want of Care and Vigilancy either in *Don Pedro*'s Ship, or the Admiral Galley.

During all this Time we have spoken of, the News of our Success was not brought to the *Philippine* Islands. This long Silence, and Want of Intelligence, became an Argument in those Parts, and particularly at *Manila*, that *Don Pedro* and the Fleet were lost, or at least had met with such ill Success as deserv'd to be generally lamented. Virtue never fail'd of envious Persons to persecute it, and accordingly *Don Pedro* was not without them at *Manila*; but tho' they were well known, in so much that in the general Opinion of all Men, they are suppos'd to have given the Poison, whereof that great Man was thought to have dy'd 22 Days after his Return, we will nevertheless suppress their Names, since it is not the Part of an Author, whose Duty it is to observe an exact Neutrality, and not to be led any Way by Affection, to confirm that Deposition, which, as yet, is no better grounded than on Suspicion. They are all Dead long since, and have been try'd before that great Tribunal, where the least thought cannot pass without being accounted for. These Men gave out, That *Don Pedro* attacking *Ternate*, enter'd it successfully; but that his Men had been too intent upon Plunder, the Enemy rallyed, and falling upon the *Spaniards*, beat them out again, killing most of them. And that the General being asham'd of his ill Conduct, durst not return to *Manila*.

Don Pedro de Acunna *suppos'd to be poison'd.*

False Reports abroad.

Indians begin to Mutiny.

This Report being spread abroad among the *Indians*, did so much Harm, that they began to Mutiny, especially in the Provinces of *Camarines*, and *Pintados*; in so much that the Fryers who attended their Instruction, could not deal with them any longer, for they said, That since the People

of

of the *Moluccos* were victorious, why should they be still subject to the *Spaniards*, who did not defend them against the *Moors*, and these would now plunder them daily with the Assistance of *Ternate*, and it would be worse for the Future. Nor were they satisfy'd with muttering, but proceeded to confer Notes together, and to contrive putting their Projects in Execution. But all this vanish'd at the Sight of Truth, and the News of it, brought in before the Arrival of the Conquerors, and the Preparations they saw made for their Reception, and triumphant Rejoycings. The Weather was seasonable, and favour'd them in all Respects, and they arriv'd at *Manila* on the ninth of *June*, loaded with Honour and Victory, after they had rested in the Port of *Cabite*, two Leagues distant.

Prisoners disconsolate.

The Captives diverted themselves with our Men, to put off the Remembrance of past Times, whilst rich Garments of several Sorts of Silks were provided for them at the publick Charge, which is the King's Treasury in the *Philippine* Islands. They look'd dejectedly, and with Admiration, on the Harbour, Walls, Forts, and Buildings of the City, the Sight whereof made them call to Mind the last Day on which they fell from their boasted State of Liberty. Our Commanders dropt some courteous Words of Comfort in their Discourse, telling them, that as soon as the News could come to *Spain* of their being reduc'd, and that good Order was taken against falling again into the former Dangers, the King would order them to be restor'd to their Liberty. All these Expressions were not of Force to satisfy those *Indians*, who on the contrary began to complain of the General, because they either suspected, or were told by some of our Men, that he would not observe the safe Conduct, and promise he had made them in the King's Name, and on which they had rely'd; and that in Case *Sultan Zayde* were continu'd in the *Philippine* Islands, it was certain they would send his Son, Prince *Gariolano* into *Europe*, by the Way of *New Spain*. The general being acquainted with these melancholly Reflections of theirs, thought it concern'd the Reputation of the Christian Religion in general, and of the *Spanish* Nation in particular, to dispell those Jealousies, and therefore he writ to them, and directed the Captain, who carry'd the Letters, to perswade the King not to conceive the least Mistrust of the King's Word, and Security he had confided in. This compos'd their Thoughts, and they either did, or pretended to take Comfort.

Don Pedro's Entry into Manila.

The Prisoners came with the Forces to the City, which the Fleet saluted with its Cannon, and were answer'd by the Artillery and small Shot from the Walls and Forts. The King landed in a Garden the Governour had without the Walls, where he repos'd himself that Night, and when Lodgings were provided for him, with the greatest State that could be, and answerably for other Prisoners, according to their Qualities, *Don Pedro* enter'd *Manila* with the Forces, and Ostentation of Captives and Booty. There wanted not Triumphal Arches, with such Inscriptions as are Generally set on them in Honour of Conquerors. The Habit of the Prisoners, in rich Mantles, Turbants and Plumes, was not suitable to their Fortune; as making their Countenances look more haughty, and representing Arrogancy. That King was strong body'd, and his Limbs well Knit; his Neck, and great Part of his Arms he wore naked; his Skin being of the Colour of a Cloud, rather inclin'd to Black than Tawny. The Features of his Face were like

Description of the King of Ternate.

an

an *European*. His Eyes large, full, and sparkling, to which they add the Fierceness of long Eyebrows, thick Beards and Whiskers, and lank Hair. He always wore his *Campilane*, or Cimiter, and *Criz*, or Dagger; the Hilts of them both resembling the Heads of Snakes gilt. This is affirm'd by Officers that attended, and convers'd with him familiarly, to whom he was obligingly Courteous, and it appears by Relations, and by the Picture drawn to the Life, which the General sent into *Spain* for the King.

Rejoycings The Rejoycings for the Victory were continu'd with much Solemnity, the *Indians*, who were the principal Subject of them, being present. The King of *Ternate* understanding that Messengers were sending away to *Spain* to carry the News of the Success, and Account of the Prisoners, writ a short Letter to the King, intermixt with Commendations of *Don Pedro de Acunna* and some other *Spanish* Commanders. He represented the change of his Condition, with somewhat of Submission, but not Humility, or rather Meanness; and intreated his Majesty to extend his Royal Goodness towards the Conquer'd, for his own Magnanimity's sake, and on Account of the perpetual Fidelity, and Vassalage they had sworn to him. This Letter was writ by another Hand, and in *Spanish*. When it was given him to sign, the King turn'd the upside down, and Writ his Name on the white half Page in *Persian* Characters, thinking he had sign'd at the Beginning, or Top of the Letter, as is practis'd by the Princes of those Countries. The *Moluccos* being Reduc'd, our Ministers and Preachers went over thither, and the Voice of the Gospel resounded again in the utmost Borders of the Earth.

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Directions for placing of the CUTS.

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PART OF NORTH AMERICA
PART OF VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
THE WESTERN OCEAN
ALBEMARLE COUNTY
BATH COUNTY
CLARENDON COUNTY
CRAVEN COUNTY
BERKLEY COUNTY
COLLETON COUNTY
Chisapeak Bay
Cape Henry
Table of Pines
Currituc
Cape Hatteras
Hatteras Inlet
Hatteras Sholes
Ocacok
Drum Inlet
Cape Lookout
Bogue Inlet
Sampee Bay
Cape Fair
Cape Cartaret
Charles Town
Ashly R.
Colleton Inlet
Port Royal
Hilton's Head
S. Catalina
Sapola
Wallea
R. May
S. Matheo R.
S. Augustin
the Sound
Champion Land
Lower Quarter Ind.
no poor Land here
Rich Land
Marble Rocks & Free stone
Congeree
Iron Mines
Savanna
Indian Hutts
A Plesant Vally with a Lake
Edelano Island
Tuskeraro
Wacon
Chattoka
French Plantations
Santee R.
Cooper R.
Cambahe R.
Colleton R.
MAGNUM SIGILLUM CAROLINÆ DOMINORUM.
DOMITUS CULTORIBUS ORBIS
To His Excellency
WILLIAM LORD CRAVEN Palatine;
The most Noble HENRY DUKE OF BEAUFORT,
The Right Honoble. IOHN LORD CARTERET;
The Honoble. MAURICE ASHLEY Esq.;
Sr. IOHN COLLETON BARONET;
IOHN DANSON Esq.;
And the rest of the True and Absolute LORDS PROPRIETORS of CAROLINA in AMERICA
This Map is Humbly Dedicated
By Ion. Lawson
Surveyor General of North Carolina.
1709.
A Scale of 60 British Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60
John Senex sculpsit

PREFACE.

'TIS *a great Misfortune, that moſt of our Travellers, who go to this vaſt Continent in* America, *are Perſons of the meaner Sort, and generally of a very ſlender Education; who being hir'd by the Merchants, to trade amongſt the* Indians, *in which Voyages they often ſpend ſeveral Years, are yet, at their Return, uncapable of giving any reaſonable Account of what they met withal in thoſe remote Parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curioſities worthy a nice Obſervation. In this Point, I think, the* French *outſtrip us.*

First, *By their Numerous Clergy, their Miſſionaries being obedient to their Superiors in the higheſt Degree, and that Obedience being one great Article of their Vow, and ſtrictly obſerv'd amongſt all their Orders.*

Secondly, *They always ſend abroad ſome of their Gentlemen in Company of the Miſſionaries, who, upon their Arrival, are order'd out into the Wilderneſs, to make Diſcoveries, and to acquaint themſelves with the Savages of* America; *and are oblig'd to keep a ſtrict Journal of all the Paſſages they meet withal, in order to preſent the ſame not only to their Governors and Fathers, but likewiſe to their Friends and Relations in* France; *which is induſtriouſly ſpread about that Kingdom, to their Advantage. For their Monarch being a very good Judge of Mens Deſerts, does not often let Money or Intereſt make Men of Parts give Place to others of leſs Worth. This breeds an Honourable Emulation amongſt them,*

them, to outdo one another, even in Fatigues, and Dangers; whereby they gain a good Correſpondence with the Indians, *and acquaint themſelves with their Speech and Cuſtoms; and ſo make conſiderable Diſcoveries in a ſhort time. Witneſs, their Journals from* Canada, *to the* Miſſiſipi, *and its ſeveral Branches, where they have effected great Matters, in a few Years.*

Having ſpent moſt of my Time, during my eight Years Abode in Carolina, *in travelling; I not only ſurvey'd the Sea-Coaſt and thoſe Parts which are already inhabited by the Chriſtians, but likewiſe view'd a ſpatious Tract of Land, lying betwixt the Inhabitants and the Ledges of Mountains, from whence our nobleſt Rivers have their Riſe, running towards the Ocean, where they water as pleaſant a Country as any in* Europe; *the Diſcovery of which being never yet made publick, I have, in the following Sheets, given you a faithful Account thereof, wherein I have laid down every thing with Impartiality, and Truth, which is indeed, the Duty of every* Author, *and preferable to a ſmooth Stile, accompany'd with Falſities and Hyperboles.*

Great Part of this pleaſant and healthful Country is inhabited by none but Savages, who covet a Chriſtian Neighbourhood, for the Advantage of Trade, and enjoy all the Comforts of Life, free from Care and Want.

But not to amuſe my Readers any longer with the Encomium of Carolina, *I refer em to my* Journal, *and other more particular Deſcription of that Country and its Inhabitants, which they will find after the* Natural Hiſtory *thereof, in which I have been very exact, and for Method's ſake, rang'd each Species under its diſtinct and proper Head.*

INTRO-

To His Excellency

WILLIAM Lord CRAVEN, Palatine;

The moſt Noble, HENRY Duke of BEAUFORT;

The Right Hon^ble JOHN Lord CARTERET;

The Hon^ble MAURICE ASHLEY, Eſq;

Sir JOHN COLLETON, Baronet,

JOHN DANSON, Eſq;

And the reſt of the True and Abſolute

LORDS-PROPRIETORS

OF THE

Province of *Carolina* in *America*.

MY LORDS,

AS Debts of Gratitude ought moſt punctually to be paid, ſo, where the Debtor is uncapable of Payment, Acknowledgments ought, at leaſt, to be made. I cannot, in the leaſt, pretend to retaliate *Your Lordſhips* Favours to me, but muſt farther intrude on that Goodneſs of which I have already had ſo good Experience, by laying theſe Sheets at *Your Lordſhips* Feet, where they beg Protection, as having nothing to recommend them, but Truth; a Gift which every Author may be Maſter of, if he will.

DEDICATION.

I here present *Your Lordships* with a Description of your own Country, for the most part, in her Natural Dress, and therefore less vitiated with Fraud and Luxury. A Country, whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the greatest Ease and Satisfaction, and pass away their Hours in solid Contentment.

Those Charms of *Liberty* and *Right*, the Darlings of an *English* Nature, which *Your Lordships* grant and maintain, make you appear Noble Patrons in the Eyes of all Men, and we a happy People in a Foreign Country; which nothing less than Ingratitude and Baseness can make us disown.

As Heaven has been liberal in its Gifts, so are *Your Lordships* favourable Promoters of whatever may make us an easy People; which, I hope, *Your Lordships* will continue to us and our Posterity; and that we and they may always acknowledge such Favours, by banishing from among us every Principle which renders Men factious and unjust, which is the hearty Prayer of,

MY LORDS,

Your Lordships most obliged,

most humble,

and most devoted Servant,

JOHN LAWSON.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Year 1700, when People flock'd from all Parts of the Christian World, to see the Solemnity of the Grand Jubilee at *Rome*, my Intention, at that Time, being to travel, I accidentally met with a Gentleman, who had been Abroad, and was very well acquainted with the Ways of Living in both *Indies*; of whom, having made Enquiry concerning them, he assur'd me, that *Carolina* was the best Country I could go to; and, that there then lay a Ship in the *Thames*, in which I might have my Passage. I laid hold on this Opportunity, and was not long on Board, before we fell down the River, and sail'd to *Cowes*; where, having taken in some Passengers, we proceeded on our Voyage, 'till we sprung a-leak, and were forc'd into the Islands of *Scilly*. Here we spent about 10 Days in refitting; in which Time we had a great deal of Diversion in Fishing and Shooting on those rocky Islands. The Inhabitants were very courteous and civil, especially the Governor, to whose good Company and Favour, we were very much oblig'd. There is a Town on one of these Islands, where is good Entertainment for those that happen to come in, though the Land is but mean, and Flesh-meat not Plenty. They have good Store of Rabbits, Quails, and Fish; and you see at the poor Peoples Doors great Heaps of Perriwinkle-shells, those Fish being a great Part of their Food. On the 1st Day of *May*, having a fair Wind at *East*, we put to Sea, and were on the Ocean (without speaking to any Vessel, except a Ketch bound from *New England* to *Barbadoes*, laden with Horses, Fish, and Provisions) 'till the latter End of *July*, when the Winds hung so much *Southerly*, that we could not get to our Port, but put into *Sandybook-bay*, and went up to *New York*, after a pinching Voyage, caus'd by our long Passage. We found at the Wa-

tering-Place, a *French* Man of War, who had on Board Men and Neceſſaries to make a Colony, and was intended for the *Meſſiaſippi* River, there to ſettle. The Country of *New-York* is very pleaſant in Summer, but in the Winter very cold, as all the *Northern* Plantations are. Their chief Commodities are Proviſions, Bread, Beer, Lumber, and Fiſh in abundance; all which are very good, and ſome Skins and Furrs are hence exported. The City is govern'd by a Mayor, (as in *England*) is ſeated on an Iſland, and lies very convenient for Trade and Defence, having a regular Fort, and well mounted with Guns. The Buildings are generally of a ſmaller Sort of *Flemiſh* Brick, and of the *Dutch* Faſhion, (excepting ſome few Houſes:) They are all very firm and good Work, and conveniently plac'd, as is likewiſe the Town, which gives a very pleaſant Proſpect of the neighbouring Iſlands and Rivers. A good Part of the Inhabitants are *Dutch*, in whoſe Hands this Colony once was. After a Fortnight's Stay here, we put out from *Sandyhook*, and in 14 Days after, arriv'd at *Charles-Town*, the Metropolis of *South Carolina*, which is ſcituate in 32, 45 *North* Latitude, and admits of large Ships to come over their Bar up to the Town, where is a very commodious Harbour, about 5 Miles diſtant from the Inlet, and ſtands on a Point very convenient for Trade, being ſeated between two pleaſant and navigable Rivers. The Town has very regular and fair Streets, in which are good Buildings of Brick and Wood, and ſince my coming thence, has had great Additions of beautiful, large Brick-buildings, beſides a ſtrong Fort, and regular Fortifications made to defend the Town. The Inhabitants, by their wiſe Management and Induſtry, have much improv'd the Country, which is in as thriving Circumſtances at this Time, as any Colony on the Continent of *Engliſh America*, and is of more Advantage to the Crown of *Great Britain*, than any of the other more *Northerly* Plantations, (*Virginia* and *Maryland* excepted.) This Colony was at firſt planted by a genteel Sort of People, that were well acquainted with Trade, and had either Money or Parts, to make good Uſe of the Advantages that offer'd, as moſt of them have done, by raiſing themſelves to great Eſtates, and conſiderable Places of Truſt, and Poſts of Honour,

Honour, in this thriving Settlement. Since the firſt Planters, abundance of *French* and others have gone over, and rais'd themſelves to conſiderable Fortunes. They are very neat and exact in Packing and Shipping of their Commodities; which Method has got them ſo great a Character Abroad, that they generally come to a good Market with their Commodities; when oftentimes the Product of other Plantations, are forc'd to be ſold at lower Prizes. They have a conſiderable Trade both to *Europe*, and the *Weſt Indies*, whereby they become rich, and are ſupply'd with all Things neceſſary for Trade, and genteel Living, which ſeveral other Places fall ſhort of. Their co-habiting in a Town, has drawn to them ingenious People of moſt Sciences, whereby they have Tutors amongſt them that educate their Youth a-la-mode.

Their Roads, with great Induſtry, are made very good and pleaſant. Near the Town is built a fair Parſonage-houſe, with neceſſary Offices, and the Miniſter has a very conſiderable Allowance from his Pariſh. There is likewiſe a *French* Church in Town, of the Reform'd Religion, and ſeveral Meeting-houſes for diſſenting Congregations, who all enjoy at this Day an entire Liberty of their Worſhip; the Conſtitution of this Government, allowing all Parties of well-meaning Chriſtians to enjoy a free Toleration, and poſſeſs the ſame Priviledges, ſo long as they appear to behave themſelves peaceably and well: It being the Lords Proprietors Intent, that the Inhabitants of *Carolina* ſhould be as free from Oppreſſion, as any in the Univerſe; which doubtleſs they will, if their own Differences amongſt themſelves do not occaſion the contrary.

They have a well-diſciplin'd *Militia*; their Horſe are moſt Gentlemen, and well mounted, and the beſt in *America*, and may equalize any in other Parts: Their Officers, both Infantry and Cavalry, generally appear in ſcarlet Mountings, and as rich as in moſt Regiments belonging to the Crown, which ſhews the Richneſs and Grandeur of this Colony. They are a Fronteer, and prove ſuch troubleſome Neighbours to the *Spaniards*, that they have once laid their Town of St. *Auguſtine* in Aſhes, and drove away their Cattle; beſides

many Encounters and Engagements, in which they have defeated them, too tedious to relate here. What the *French* got by their Attempt against *South Carolina*, will hardly ever be rank'd amongst their Victories; their Admiral *Meuville* being glad to leave the Enterprize, and run away, after he had suffer'd all the Loss and Disgrace he was capable of receiving. They are absolute Masters over the *Indians*, and carry so strict a Hand over such as are within the Circle of their Trade, that none does the least Injury to any of the *English*, but he is presently sent for, and punish'd with Death, or otherwise, according to the Nature of the Fault. They have an entire Friendship with the neighbouring *Indians* of several Nations, which are a very warlike People, ever faithful to the *English*, and have prov'd themselves brave and true on all Occasions; and are a great Help and Strength to this Colony. The Chief of the savage Nations have heretofore groan'd under the *Spanish* Yoke, and having experienc'd their Cruelty, are become such mortal Enemies to that People, that they never give a *Spaniard* Quarter; but generally, when they take any Prisoners, (if the *English* be not near to prevent it) sculp them, that is, to take their Hair and Skin of their Heads, which they often flea away, whilst the Wretch is alive. Notwithstanding the *English* have us'd all their Endeavours, yet they could never bring them to leave this Barbarity to the *Spaniards*; who, as they alledge, use to murder them and their Relations, and make Slaves of them to build their Forts and Towns.

This Place is more plentiful in Money, than most, or indeed any of the Plantations on the Continent; besides, they build a considerable Number of Vessels of Cedar, and other Wood, with which they trade to *Curassau*, and the *West Indies*; from one they bring Money, and from the other the Produce of their Islands, which yields a necessary Supply of both to the Colony. Their Stocks of Cattle are incredible, being from one to two thousand Head in one Man's Possession: These feed in the *Savannas*, and other Grounds, and need no Fodder in the Winter. Their Mutton and Veal is good, and their Pork is not inferior to any in *America*. As for Pitch and Tar, none of the Plantations are comparable for affording

the

the vaſt Quantities of Naval Stores, as this Place does. There have been heretofore ſome Diſcoveries of rich Mines in the mountanous Part of this Country; but being remote from the preſent Settlement, and the Inhabitants not well vers'd in ordering Minerals, they have been laid aſide 'till a more fit Opportunity happens. There are ſeveral noble Rivers, and ſpacious Tracts of rich Land in their Lordſhips Dominions, lying to the *Southward*, which are yet uninhabited, beſides *Port Royal*, a rare Harbour and Inlet, having many Inhabitants thereon, which their Lordſhips have now made a Port for Trade. This will be a moſt advantageous Settlement, lying ſo commodiouſly for Ships coming from the Gulph, and the Richneſs of the Land, which is reported to be there. Theſe more *Southerly* Parts will afford Oranges, Limons, Limes, and many other Fruits, which the *Northerly* Plantations yield not.

The Merchants of *Carolina*, are fair, frank Traders. The Gentlemen ſeated in the Country, are very courteous, live very nobly in their Houſes, and give very genteel Entertainment to all Strangers and others, that come to viſit them. And ſince the Produce of *South* and *North Carolina* is the ſame, unleſs Silk, which this Place produces great Quantities of, and very good, *North Carolina* having never made any Tryal thereof as yet, therefore I ſhall refer the natural Produce of this Country, to that Part which treats of *North Carolina*, whoſe Productions are much the ſame. The Chriſtian Inhabitants of both Colonies pretty equal, but the Slaves of *South Carolina* are far more in Number than thoſe in the *North*. I ſhall now proceed to relate my Journey thro' the Country, from this Settlement to the other, and then treat of the natural Hiſtory of *Carolina*, with other remarkable Circumſtances which I have met with, during my eight Years Abode in that Country.

A

A

JOURNAL

OF

A thouſand Miles Travel among the Indians, *from* South *to* North Carolina.

Saturday. ON *December* the 28th, 1700, I began my Voyage (for *North Carolina*) from *Charles*-Town, being ſix *Engliſh*-men in Company, with three *Indian*-men, and one Woman, Wife to our *Indian*-Guide, having five Miles from the Town to the Breach we went down in a large Canoe, that we had provided for our Voyage thither, having the Tide of Ebb along with us; which was ſo far ſpent by that Time we got down, that we had not Water enough for our Craft to go over, although we drew but two Foot, or thereabouts. This Breach is a Paſſage through a Marſh lying to the *Northward* of *Sullivans* Iſland, the Pilot's having a Look out thereon, lying very commodious for Mariners, (on that Coaſt) making a good Land-Mark in ſo level a Country, this Bar being difficult to hit, where an Obſervation hath been wanting for a Day or two; *North Eaſt* Winds bringing great Fogs, Miſts, and Rains; which, towards the cool Months of *October*, *November*, and until the latter End of *March*, often appear in theſe Parts. There are three Pilots to attend, and conduct Ships over the Bar. The Harbour where the Veſſels generally ride, is againſt the Town on *Cooper*'s River, lying within a Point which parts that and *Aſhley*-River, they being Land-lock'd almoſt on all Sides.

At

At 4 in the Afternoon, (at half Flood) we paſs'd with our Canoe over the Breach, leaving *Sullivans* Iſland on our Star-board. The firſt Place we deſign'd for, was *Santee* River, on which there is a Colony of *French* Proteſtants, allow'd and encourag'd by the Lords Proprietors. At Night we got to *Bell*'s-Iſland, a poor Spot of Land, being about ten Miles round, where liv'd (at that Time) a *Bermudian*, being employ'd here with a Boy, to look after a Stock of Cattle and Hogs, by the Owner of this Iſland. One Side of the Roof of his Houſe was thatch'd with Palmeto-leaves, the other open to the Heavens, thouſands of Muſketoes, and other troubleſome Inſects, tormenting both Man and Beaſt inhabiting theſe Iſlands. The Palmeto-trees, whoſe Leaves growing only on the Top of the Tree, in the Shape of a Fan, and in a Cluſter, like a Cabbage; this Tree in *Carolina*, when at its utmoſt Growth, is about forty or fifty Foot in Height, and two Foot through: It's worth mentioning, that the Growth of the Tree is not perceiveable in the Age of any Man, the Experiment having been often try'd in *Bermudas*, and elſewhere, which ſhews the ſlow Growth of this Vegitable, the Wood of it being porous and ſtringy, like ſome Canes; the Leaves thereof the *Bermudians* make Womens Hats, Bokeets, Baſkets, and pretty Dreſſing-boxes, a great deal being tranſported to *Penſilvania*, and other *Northern* Parts of *America*, (where they do not grow) for the ſame Manufacture. The People of *Carolina* make of the Fans of this Tree, Brooms very ſerviceable, to ſweep their Houſes withal. Palmeto-trees.

We took up our Lodging this Night with the *Bermudian*; our Entertainment was very indifferent, there being no freſh Water to be had on the Iſland.

The next Morning we ſet away thro' the Marſhes; about Noon we reach'd another Iſland, call'd *Dix*'s Iſland, much like to the former, tho' larger; there liv'd an honeſt *Scot*, who gave us the beſt Reception his Dwelling afforded, being well provided of Oat-meal, and ſeveral other Effects he had found on that Coaſt; which Goods belong'd to that unfortunate Veſſel, the *Riſing Sun*, a *Scotch* Man of War, lately arriv'd from the *Iſmus* of *Darien*, and caſt away near the Bar of *Aſhley* River, the *September* before, Capt. *Gibſon* of *Glaſco* then commanding her,

who

who, with above an hundred Men then on Board her, were every Soul drown'd in that terrible Gust which then happen'd; most of the Corps being taken up, were carefully interr'd by Mr. *Graham*, their Lieutenant, who happily was on Shore during the Tempest.

Septem. 5. 1700.

After Dinner, we left our *Scotch* Landlord, and went that Night to the *North East* Point of the Island: It being dark ere we got there, our Canoe struck on a Sand near the Breakers, and were in great Danger of our Lives, but (by God's Blessing) got off safe to the Shore, where we lay all Night.

Monday. In the Morning we set forwards on our intended Voyage. About two a Clock we got to *Bulls* Island, which is about thirty Miles long, and hath a great Number of both Cattel and Hogs upon it; the Cattel being very wild, and the Hogs very lean. These two last Islands belong to one Colonel *Cary*, an Inhabitant of *South Carolina*. Although it were Winter, yet we found such Swarms of Musketoes, and other troublesome Insects, that we got but little Rest that Night.

Tuesday. The next Day we intended for a small Island on the other Side of *Sewee*-Bay, which joining to these Islands, Shipping might come to victual or careen; but there being such a Burden of those Flies, that few or none cares to settle there; so the Stock thereon are run wild. We were gotten about half Way to *Racoon* Island, when there sprung up a tart Gale at *N. W.* which put us in some Danger of being cast away, the Bay being rough, and there running great Seas between the two Islands, which are better than four Leagues asunder, a strong Current of a Tide setting in and out; which made us turn Tail to it, and got our Canoe right before the Wind, and came safe into a Creek that is joining to the *North* End of *Bulls* Island. We sent our *Indians* to hunt, who brought us two Deers, which were very poor, and their Maws full of large Grubs.

Wednesday On the Morrow we went and visited the *Eastermost* Side of this Island, it joining to the Ocean, having very fair sandy Beeches, pav'd with innumerable sorts of curious pretty Shells, very pleasant to the Eye. Amongst the rest, we found the *Spanish* Oyster-Shell, whence come the Pearls. They are very large, and of a different Form from other Oysters; their Colour

Colour much reſembles the Tortoiſe-Shell, when it is dreſs'd. There was left by the Tide ſeveral ſtrange Species of a muciligmous ſlimy Subſtance, though living, and very aptly mov'd at their firſt Appearance; yet, being left on the dry Sand, (by the Beams of the Sun) ſoon exhale and vaniſh.

At our Return to our Quarters, the *Indians* had kill'd two more Deer, two wild Hogs, and three Racoons, all very lean, except the Racoons. We had great Store of Oyſters, Conks, and Clanns, a large Sort of Cockles. Theſe Parts being very well furniſh'd with Shell-Fiſh, Turtle of ſeveral Sorts, but few or none of the green, with other Sorts of Salt-water Fiſh, and in the Seaſon, good Plenty of Fowl, as Curleus, Gulls, Gannets, and Pellicans, beſides Duck and Mallard, Geeſe, Swans, Teal, Widgeon, *&c.*

Thurſday. On *Thurſday* Morning we left *Bulls* Iſland, and went thro' the Creeks, which lie between the Bay and the main Land. At Noon we went on Shore, and got our Dinner near a Plantation, on a Creek having the full Proſpect of *Sewee*-Bay: We ſent up to the Houſe, but found none at Home, but a Negro, of whom our Meſſenger purchas'd ſome ſmall Quantity of Tobacco and Rice. We came to a deſerted *Indian* Reſidence, call'd *Avendaugh-bough*, where we reſted that Night.

Friday. The next Day we enter'd *Santee*-River's Mouth, where is freſh Water, occaſion'd by the extraordinary Current that comes down continually. With hard Rowing, we got two Leagues up the River, lying all Night in a ſwampy Piece of Ground, the Weather being ſo cold all that Time, we were almoſt frozen ere Morning, leaving the Impreſſions of our Bodies on the wet Ground. We ſet forward very early in the Morning, to ſeek ſome better Quarters.

Saturday. As we row'd up the River, we found the Land towards the Mouth, and for about ſixteen Miles up it, ſcarce any Thing but Swamp and Percoarſon, affording vaſt Ciprus-Trees, of which the *French* make Canoes, that will carry fifty or ſixty Barrels. After the Tree is moulded and dug, they ſaw them in two Pieces, and ſo put a Plank between, and a ſmall Keel, to preſerve them from the Oyſter-Banks, which are innumerable in the Creeks and Bays betwixt the *French* Settlement and *Charles*-Town. They carry two Maſts, and Bermudas

Percoarſon, a Sort of low Land.

Sails, which makes them very handy and fit for their Purpose; for although their River fetches its first Rise from the Mountains, and continues a Current some hundreds of Miles ere it disgorges it self, having no sound Bay or Sand-Banks betwixt the Mouth thereof, and the Ocean. Notwithstanding all this, with the vast Stream it affords at all Seasons, and the repeated Freshes it so often allarms the Inhabitants with, by laying under Water great Part of their Country, yet the Mouth is barr'd, affording not above four or five Foot Water at the Entrance. As we went up the River, we heard a great Noise, as if two Parties were engag'd against each other, seeming exactly like small Shot. When we approach'd nearer the Place, we found it to be some *Sewee Indians* firing the Canes Swamps, which drives out the Game, then taking their particular Stands, kill great Quantities of both Bear, Deer, Turkies, and what wild Creatures the Parts afford.

Sewee Indians.

These *Sewees* have been formerly a large Nation, though now very much decreas'd, since the *English* hath seated their Land, and all other Nations of *Indians* are observ'd to partake of the same Fate, where the *Europeans* come, the *Indians* being a People very apt to catch any Distemper they are afflicted withal; the Small-Pox has destroy'd many thousands of these Natives, who no sooner than they are attack'd with the violent Fevers, and the Burning which attends that Distemper, fling themselves over Head in the Water, in the very Extremity of the Disease; which shutting up the Pores, hinders a kindly Evacuation of the pestilential Matter, and drives it back; by which Means Death most commonly ensues; not but in other Distempers which are epidemical, you may find among 'em Practitioners that have extraordinary Skill and Success in removing those morbifick Qualities which afflict 'em, not often going above 100 Yards from their Abode for their Remedies, some of their chiefest Physicians commonly carrying their Compliment of Drugs continually about them, which are Roots, Barks, Berries, Nuts, *&c.* that are strung upon a Thread. So like a *Pomander*, the Physician wears them about his Neck. An *Indian* hath been often found to heal an *English*-man of a Malady, for the Value of a Match-Coat; which the ablest of our *English* Pretenders in *America*, after repeated

repeated Applications, have deſerted the Patient as incurable; God having furniſh'd every Country with ſpecifick Remedies for their peculiar Diſeaſes.

Rum, a Liquor now ſo much in Uſe with them, that they will part with the deareſt Thing they have, to purchaſe it; and when they have got a little in their Heads, are the impatients Creatures living, 'till they have enough to make 'em quite drunk; and the moſt miſerable Spectacles when they are ſo, ſome falling into the Fires, burn their Legs or Arms, contracting the Sinews, and become Cripples all ther Life-time; others from Precipices break their Bones and Joints, with abundance of Inſtances, yet none are ſo great to deter them from that accurs'd Practice of Drunkenneſs, though ſenſible how many of them (are by it) hurry'd into the other World before their Time, as themſelves oftentimes will confeſs. The *Indians*, I was now ſpeaking of, were not content with the common Enemies that leſſen and deſtroy their Country-men, but invented an infallible Stratagem to purge their Tribe, and reduce their Multitude into far leſs Numbers. Their Contrivance was thus, as a Trader amongſt them inform'd me. *Rum.*

They ſeeing ſeveral Ships coming in, to bring the *Engliſh* Supplies from *Old England*, one chief Part of their Cargo being for a Trade with the *Indians*, ſome of the craftieſt of them had obſerv'd, that the Ships came always in at one Place, which made them very confident that Way was the exact Road to *England*; and ſeeing ſo many Ships come thence, they believ'd it could not be far thither, eſteeming the *Engliſh* that were among them, no better than Cheats, and thought, if they could carry the Skins and Furs they got, themſelves to *England*, which were inhabited with a better Sort of People than thoſe ſent amongſt them, that then they ſhould purchaſe twenty times the Value for every Pelt they ſold Abroad, in Conſideration of what Rates they ſold for at Home. The intended Barter was exceeding well approv'd of, and after a general Conſultation of the ableſt Heads amongſt them, it was, *Nemine Contradicente*, agreed upon, immediately to make an Addition of their Fleet, by building more Canoes, and thoſe to be of the beſt Sort, and biggeſt Size, as fit for their intended Diſcovery. Some *Indians* were employ'd about making

king the Canoes, others to hunting, every one to the Poſt he was moſt fit for, all Endeavours tending towards an able Fleet and Cargo for *Europe*. The Affair was carry'd on with a great deal of Secrecy and Expedition, ſo as in a ſmall Time they had gotten a Navy, Loading, Proviſions, and Hands ready to ſet Sail, leaving only the Old, Impotent, and Minors at Home, 'till their ſucceſsful Return. The Wind preſenting, they ſet up their Mat-Sails, and were ſcarce out of Sight, when there roſe a Tempeſt, which it's ſuppos'd carry'd one Part of theſe *Indian* Merchants, by Way of the other World, whilſt the others were taken up at Sea by an *Engliſh* Ship, and ſold for Slaves to the Iſlands. The Remainder are better ſatisfy'd with their Imbecilities in ſuch an Undertaking, nothing affronting them more, than to rehearſe their Voyage to *England*.

They never hearing more of their Fleet.

There being a ſtrong Current in *Santee*-River, caus'd us to make ſmall Way with our Oars. With hard Rowing, we got that Night to Monſ. *Eugee*'s Houſe, which ſtands about fifteen Miles up the River, being the firſt Chriſtian dwelling we met withal in that Settlement, and were very courteouſly receiv'd by him and his Wife.

Many of the *French* follow a Trade with the *Indians*, living very conveniently for that Intereſt. There is about ſeventy Families ſeated on this River, who live as decently and happily, as any Planters in theſe *Southward* Parts of *America*. The *French* being a temperate induſtrious People, ſome of them bringing very little of Effects, yet by their Endeavours and mutual Aſſiſtance amongſt themſelves, (which is highly to be commended) have out-ſtript our *Engliſh*, who brought with 'em larger Fortunes, though (as it ſeems) leſs endeavour to manage their Talent to the beſt Advantage. 'Tis admirable to ſee what Time and Induſtry will (with God's Bleſſing) effect. *Carolina* affording many ſtrange Revolutions in the Age of a Man, daily Inſtances preſenting themſelves to our View, of ſo many, from deſpicable Beginnings, which in a ſhort Time arrive to very ſplended Conditions. Here Propriety hath a large Scope, there being no ſtrict Laws to bind our Privileges. A Queſt after Game, being as freely and peremptorily enjoy'd by the meaneſt Planter, as he that is the higheſt in Dignity,

nity, or wealthieſt in the Province. Deer, and other Game that are naturally wild, being not immur'd, or preſerv'd within Boundaries, to ſatisfy the Apppetite of the Rich alone. A poor Labourer, that is Maſter of his Gun, &c. hath as good a Claim to have continu'd Coarſes of Delicacies crouded upon his Table, as he that is Maſter of a greater Purſe.

We lay all that Night at Monſ. *Eugee*'s, and the next Morning ſet out farther, to go the Remainder of our Voyage by Land: At ten a Clock we paſs'd over a narrow, deep Swamp, having left the three *Indian* Men and one Woman, that had pilotted the Canoe from *Aſhly*-River, having hir'd a *Sewee-Indian*, a tall, luſty Fellow, who carry'd a Pack of our Cloaths, of great Weight; notwithſtanding his Burden, we had much a-do to keep pace with him. At Noon we came up with ſeveral *French* Plantations, meeting with ſeveral Creeks by the Way, the *French* were very officious in aſſiſting with their ſmall Dories to paſs over theſe Waters, (whom we met coming from their Church) being all of them very clean and decent in their Apparel; their Houſes and Plantations ſuitable in Neatneſs and Contrivance. They are all of the ſame Opinion with the Church of *Geneva*, there being no Difference amongſt them concerning the *Punctilio*'s of their Chriſtian Faith; which Union hath propagated a happy and delightful Concord in all other Matters throughout the whole Neighbourhood; living amongſt themſelves as one Trible, or Kindred, every one making it his Buſineſs to be aſſiſtant to the Wants of his Country-man, preſerving his Eſtate and Reputation with the ſame Exactneſs and Concern as he does his own; all ſeeming to ſhare in the Misfortunes, and rejoyce at the Advance, and Riſe, of their Brethren.

Towards the Afternoon, we came to Monſ. *L'Jandro*, where we got our Dinner; there coming ſome *French* Ladies whilſt we were there, who were lately come from *England*, and Monſ. *L'Grand*, a worthy *Norman*, who hath been a great Sufferer in his Eſtate, by the Perſecution in *France*, againſt thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion: This Gentleman very kindly invited us to make our Stay with him all Night, but we being intended farther that Day, took our Leaves, returning Acknowledgments of their Favours.

About

About 4 in the Afternoon, we paſs'd over a large *Ciprus* run in a ſmall Canoe; the *French* Doctor ſent his Negro to guide us over the Head of a large Swamp; ſo we got that Night to Monſ. *Gallian*'s the elder, who lives in a very curious contriv'd Houſe, built of Brick and Stone, which is gotten near that Place. Near here comes in the Road from *Charles-Town*, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Settlement, it being a very good Way by Land, and not above 36 Miles, altho' more than 100 by Water; and I think the moſt difficult Way I ever ſaw, occaſion'd by Reaſon of the multitude of Creeks lying along the Main, keeping their Courſe thro' the Marſhes, turning and winding like a Labyrinth, having the Tide of Ebb and Flood twenty Times in leſs than three Leagues going.

Monday. The next Morning very early, we ferry'd over a Creek that runs near the Houſe; and, after an Hour's Travel in the Woods, we came to the River-ſide, where we ſtay'd for the *Indian*, who was our Guide, and was gone round by Water in a ſmall Canoe, to meet us at that Place wereſted at. He came after a ſmall Time, and ferry'd us in that little Veſſel over *Santee* River 4 Miles, and 84 Miles in the Woods, which the over-flowing of the Freſhes, which then came down, had made a perfect Sea of, there running an incredible Current in the River, which had caſt our ſmall Craft, and us, away, had we not had this *Sewee Indian* with us; who are excellent Artiſts in managing theſe ſmall Canoes.

Santee River, at this Time, (from the uſual Depth of Water) was riſen perpendicular 36 Foot, always making a Breach from her Banks, about this Seaſon of the Year: The general Opinion of the Cauſe thereof, is ſuppos'd to proceed from the overflowing of freſh Water-Lakes that lie near the Head of this River, and others, upon the ſame Continent: But my Opinion is, that theſe vaſt Inundations proceed from the great and repeated Quantities of Snow that falls upon the Mountains, which lie at ſo great a Diſtance from the Sea, therefore they have no Help of being diſſolv'd by thoſe ſaline, piercing Particles, as other adjacent Parts near the Ocean receive; and therefore lies and increaſes to a vaſt Bulk, until ſome mild *Southerly* Breezes coming on a ſudden, continue to unlock theſe frozen Bodies, congeal'd by the *North-Weſt* Wind, diſſipating

ting them in Liquids; and coming down with Impetuosity, fills those Branches that feed these Rivers, and causes this strange Deluge, which oft-times lays under Water the adjacent Parts on both Sides this Current, for several Miles distant from her Banks; tho' the *French* and *Indians* affirm'd to me, they never knew such an extraordinary Flood there before.

We all, by God's Blessing, and the Endeavours of our *Indian*-Pilot, pass'd safe over the River, but was lost in the Woods, which seem'd like some great Lake, except here and there a Knowl of high Land, which appear'd above Water.

We intended for Monsr. *Galliar's, jun'*, but was lost, none of us knowing the Way at that Time, altho' the *Indian* was born in that Country, it having receiv'd so strange a *Metamorphosis*. We were in several Opinions concerning the right Way, the *Indian* and my self, suppos'd the House to bear one Way, the rest thought to the contrary; we differing, it was agreed on amongst us, that one half should go with the *Indian* to find the House, and the other part to stay upon one of these dry Spots, until some of them return'd to us, and inform'd us where it lay.

My self and two more were left behind, by Reason the Canoe would not carry us all; we had but one Gun amongst us, one Load of Ammunition, and no Provision. Had our Men in the Canoe miscarry'd, we must (in all Probability) there have perish'd.

In about six Hours Time, from our Mens Departure, the *Indian* came back to us in the same Canoe he went in, being half drunk, which assur'd us they had found some Place of Refreshment. He took us three into the Canoe, telling us all was well: Padling our Vessel several Miles thro' the Woods, being often half full of Water; but at length we got safe to the Place we sought for, which prov'd to lie the same Way the *Indian* and I guess'd it did.

When we got to the House, we found our Comrades in the same Trim the *Indian* was in, and several of the *French* Inhabitants with them, who treated us very courteously, wondering at our undertaking such a Voyage, thro' a Country inhabited by none but Savages, and them of so different Nations and Tongues.

After we had refresh'd our selves, we parted from a very kind,

kind, loving, and affable People, who wiſh'd us a ſafe and proſperous Voyage.

Hearing of a Camp of *Santee Indians* not far of, we ſet out intending to take up our Quarters with them that Night. There being a deep Run of Water in the Way, one of our Company being top-heavy, and there being nothing but a ſmall Pole for a Bridge, over a Creek, fell into the Water up to the Chin; my ſelf laughing at the Accident, and not taking good Heed to my Steps, came to the ſame Misfortune: All our Bedding was wet. The Wind being at *N. W.* it froze very hard, which prepar'd ſuch a Night's Lodging for me, that I never deſire to have the like again; the wet Bedding and freezing Air had ſo qualify'd our Bodies, that in the Morning when we awak'd, we were nigh frozen to Death, until we had recruited our ſelves before a large Fire of the *Indians*.

Tueſday. Tueſday Morning we ſet towards the *Congerees*, leaving the *Indian* Guide *Scipio* drunk amongſt the *Santee-Indians*. We went ten Miles out of our Way, to head a great Swamp, the Freſhes having fill'd them all with ſuch great Quantities of Water, that the uſual Paths were render'd unpaſſable. We met in our Way with an *Indian* Hut, where we were entertain'd with a fat, boil'd Gooſe, Veniſon, Racoon, and ground Nuts. We made but little Stay; about Noon, we paſs'd by ſeveral large Savannah's, wherein is curious Ranges for Cattel, being green all the Year; they were plentifully ſtor'd with Cranes, Geeſe, *&c.* and the adjacent Woods with great Flocks of Turkies. This Day we travell'd about 30 Miles, and lay all Night at a Houſe which was built for the *Indian* Trade, the Maſter thereof we had parted with at the *French* Town, who gave us Leave to make uſe of his Manſion. Such Houſes are common in theſe Parts, and eſpecially where there is *Indian* Towns, and Plantations near at hand, which this Place is well furniſh'd withal.

Theſe *Santee-Indians* are a well-humour'd and affable People; and living near the *Engliſh*, are become very tractable. They make themſelves Cribs after a very curious Manner, wherein they ſecure their Corn from Vermin; which are more frequent in theſe warm Climates, than Countries more diſtant from the Sun. Theſe pretty Fabricks are commonly

ſup-

supported with eight Feet or Posts, about seven Foot high from the Ground, well daub'd within and without upon Laths, with Loom or Clay, which makes them tight, and fit to keep out the smallest Insect, there being a small Door at the gable End, which is made of the same Composition, and to be remov'd at Pleasure, being no bigger, than that a slender Man may creep in at, cementing the Door up with the same Earth, when they take Corn out of the Crib, and are going from Home, always finding their Granaries in the same Posture they left them; Theft to each other being altogether unpractis'd, never receiving Spoils but from Foreigners.

Hereabouts the Ground is something higher than about *Charles*-Town, there being found some Quarries of brown free Stone, which I have seen made Use of for Building, and hath prov'd very durable and good. The Earth here is mix'd with white Gravel, which is rare, there being nothing like a Stone to be found, of the natural Produce, near to *Ashly*-River.

The next Day about Noon we came to the Side of a great Swamp, where we were forc'd to strip our selves to get over it, which, with much Difficulty, we effected. Hereabouts the late Gust of Wind, which happen'd in *September* last, had torn the large Ciprus-Trees and Timbers up by the Roots, they lying confusedly in their Branches, did block up the Way, making the Passage very difficult. *Wednesday Septem.* 5. 1700.

This Night we got to one *Scipio*'s Hutt, a famous Hunter: There was no Body at Home; but we having (in our Company) one that had us'd to trade amongst them, we made our selves welcome to what his Cabin afforded, (which is a Thing common) the *Indians* allowing it practicable to the *English* Traders, to take out of their Houses what they need in their Absence, in Lieu whereof they most commonly leave some small Gratuity of Tobacco, Paint, Beads *&c.* We found great Store of *Indian* Peas, (a very good Pulse) Beans, Oyl, Think-apin Nuts, Corn, barbacu'd Peaches, and Peach-Bread; which Peaches being made into a Quiddony, and so made up into Loves like Barley-Cakes, these cut into thin Slices, and dissolv'd in Water, makes a very grateful Acid, and extraordinary beneficial in Fevers, as hath often been try'd, and approv'd on by our *English* Practitioners. The Wind being at

N.W. with cold Weather, made us make a large Fire in the *Indian*'s Cabin; being very intent upon our Cookery, we ſet the Dwelling on Fire, and with much ado, put it out, tho' with the Loſs of Part of the Roof.

Thurſday. The next Day we travell'd on our Way, and about Noon came up with a Settlement of *Santee Indians*, there being Plantations lying ſcattering here and there, for a great many Miles. They came out to meet us, being acquainted with one of our Company, and made us very welcome with fat barbacu'd Veniſon, which the Woman of the Cabin took and tore in Pieces with her Teeth, ſo put it into a Mortar, beating it to Rags, afterwards ſtews it with Water, and other Ingredients, which makes a very ſavoury Diſh.

At theſe Cabins came to viſit us the King of the *Santee* Nation. He brought with him their chief Doctor or Phyſician, who was warmly and neatly clad with a Match-Coat, made of Turkies Feathers, which makes a pretty Shew, ſeeming as if it was a Garment of the deepeſt ſilk Shag. This Doctor had the Misfortune to loſe his Noſe by the Pox, which Diſeaſe the *Indians* often get by the *Engliſh* Traders that uſe amongſt them; not but the Natives of *America* have for many Ages (by their own Confeſſion) been afflicted with a Diſtemper much like the *Lues Venerea*, which hath all the Symptoms of the Pox, being different in this only; for I never could learn, that this Country-Diſtemper, or Yawes, is begun or continu'd with a Gonorrhœa; yet is attended with nocturnal Pains in the Limbs, and commonly makes ſuch a Progreſs, as to vent Part of the Matter by Botches, and ſeveral Ulcers in the Body, and other Parts; oftentimes Death enſuing. I have known mercurial Unguents and Remedies work a Cure, following the ſame Methods as in the Pox; ſeveral white People, but chiefly the *Criolo*'s, loſing their Palates and Noſes by this devouring Vulture.

It is epidemical, viſiting theſe Parts of *America*, which is often occaſion'd thro' the immoderate drinking of Rum, by thoſe that commonly drink Water at other Times, cold Nights Lodging, and bad open Houſes, and more chiefly by often wetting the Feet, and eating ſuch Quantities of Pork as they do, which is a groſs Food, and a great Propagator of ſuch Juices

Juices as it often meets withal in human Bodies, once tainted with this Malady; which may differently (in ſome Reſpects) act its Tragedy; the Change being occaſion'd by the Difference of Climates and Bodies, as in *Europe*. We being well enough aſſur'd that the Pox had its firſt Riſe (known to us) in this new World, it being caught of the *Indian* Women, by the *Spaniſh* Soldiers that follow'd *Columbus* in one of his Expeditions to *America*; who after their Arrival in *Old Spain*, were haſten'd to the Relief of *Naples*, at that Time beſieg'd by the *French*. Proviſions growing ſcarce, the uſeleſs People were turn'd out of the City, to leſſen the Mouths; amongſt theſe, the *Curteſans* were one Part, who had frequently embrac'd the *Spaniards*, being well fraught with Riches by their new Diſcovery. The Leager Ladies had no ſooner loſt their *Spaniſh* Dons, but found themſelves as well entertain'd by the *French*, whoſe Camp they traded in, giving the Mounſieurs as large a Share of the pocky Spoils within their own Lines, as the *Spaniards* had, who took the Pains to bring it in their Breeches as far as from *America*; the large Supplies of Swines Fleſh, which that Army was chiefly victuall'd withal, made it rage. The Siege was rais'd; the *French* and *Spaniards* retreating to *Flanders*, which was s Parrade of all Nations, by which Means, this filthy Diſtemper crowded it ſelf into moſt Nations of the known World.

Now to return to our Doctor, who in the Time of his Affliction withdrew himſelf (with one that labour'd under the ſame Diſtemper) into the Woods. Theſe two perfected their Cures by proper Vegitables, *&c.* of which they have Plenty, and are well acquainted with their ſpecifick Virtue.

I have ſeen ſuch admirable Cures perform'd by theſe Savages, which would puzzle a great many graduate Practitioners to trace their Steps in Healing, with the ſame Expedition, Eaſe, and Succeſs; uſing no racking Inſtruments in their Chirurgery, nor nice Rules of Diet and Phyſick, to verify the Saying, *qui Medice vivit, miſere vivit.* In Wounds which penetrate deep, and ſeem mortal, they order a ſpare Diet, with drinking Fountain-water; if they perceive a white Matter, or Pus to ariſe, they let the Patient more at large, and preſently cure him.

After these two had perform'd their Cures at no easier Rate than the Expence of both their Noses, coming again amongst their old Acquaintance so disfigur'd, the *Indians* admir'd to see them metamorphos'd after that manner; enquir'd of them where they had been all that Time, and what were become of their Noses? They made Answer, That they had been conversing with the white Man above, (meaning God Almighty) how they were very kindly entertain'd by that Great Being; he being much pleas'd with their Ways, and had promis'd to make their Capacities equal with the white People in making Guns, Ammunition, *&c.* in Retalliation of which, they had given him their Noses. The Verity of which, they yet hold, the *Indians* being an easy, credulous People, and most notoriously cheated by their Priests and Conjurers, both Trades meeting ever in one Person, and most commonly a Spice of Quackship added to the other two Ingredients, which renders that cunning Knave the Impostor to be more rely'd upon; thence a fitter Instrument to cheat these ignorant People; the Priest and Conjurers being never admitted to their Practice, 'till Years and the Experience of repeated Services hath wrought their Esteem amongst the Nations they belong to.

The *Santee* King, who was in Company with this Nonos'd Doctor, is the most absolute *Indian* Ruler in these Parts, although he is Head but of a small People, in Respect to some other Nations of *Indians*, that I have seen: He can put any of his People to Death that hath committed any Fault which he judges worthy of so great a Punishment. This Authority is rarely found amongst these Savages, for they act not (commonly) by a determinative Voice in their Laws, towards any one that hath committed Murder, or such other great Crime, but take this Method; him to whom the Injury was done, or if dead, the nearest of his Kindred prosecutes by Way of an actual Revenge, being himself, if Opportunity serves his Intent, both Judge and Executioner, performing so much Mischief on the Offender, or his nearest Relation, until such Time that he is fully satisfy'd: Yet this Revenge is not so infallible, but it may be bought off with Beads, Tobacco, and such like Commodities that are

useful

uſeful amongſt them, though it were the moſt ſable Villany that could be acted by Mankind.

Some that attended the King, preſented me with an odoriferous, balſamick Root, of a fragrant Smell and Taſte, the Name I know not; they chew it in the Mouth, and by that ſimple Application, heal deſperate Wounds, both green and old; that ſmall Quantity I had, was given inwardly to thoſe troubl'd with the Belly-ach, which Remedy fail'd not to give preſent Help, the Pain leaving the Patient ſoon after they had taken the Root.

Near to theſe Cabins are ſeveral Tombs made after the manner of theſe *Indians*; the largeſt and the chiefeſt of them was the Sepulchre of the late *Indian* King of the *Santees*, a Man of great Power, not only amongſt his own Subjects, but dreaded by the neighbouring Nations for his great Valour and Conduct, having as large a Prerogative in his Way of Ruling, as the preſent King I now ſpoke of.

The manner of their Interment, is thus: A Mole or Pyramid of Earth is rais'd, the Mould thereof being work'd very ſmooth and even, ſometimes higher or lower, according to the Dignity of the Perſon whoſe Monument it is. On the Top thereof is an Umbrella, made Ridge-ways, like the Roof of an Houſe; this is ſupported by nine Stakes, or ſmall Poſts, the Grave being about ſix or eight Foot in Length, and four Foot in Breadth; about it is hung Gourds Feathers, and other ſuch like Trophies, plac'd there by the dead Man's Relations, in Reſpect to him in the Grave. The other Part of the Funeral-Rites are thus, As ſoon as the Party is dead, they lay the Corps upon a Piece of Bark in the Sun, ſeaſoning or embalming it with a ſmall Root beaten to Powder, which looks as red as Vermilion; the ſame is mix'd with Bear's Oil, to beautify the Hair, and preſerve their Heads from being louſy, it growing plentifully in theſe Parts of *America*. After the Carcaſs has laid a Day or two in the Sun, they remove and lay it upon Crotches cut on purpoſe for the Support thereof from the Earth; then they anoint it all over with the fore-mention'd Ingredients of the Powder of this Root, and Bear's Oil. When it is ſo done, they cover it very exactly over with Bark of the Pine or Cyprus Tree, to prevent any Rain to fall upon it,

ſweeping

ſweeping the Ground very clean all about it. Some of his neareſt of Kin brings all the temporal Eſtate he was poſſeſs'd of at his Death, as Guns, Bows, and Arrows, Beads, Feathers, Match-coat, *&c.* This Relation is the chief Mourner, being clad in Moſs, and a Stick in his Hand, keeping a mournful Ditty for three or four Days, his Face being black with the Smoak of Pitch, Pine, mingl'd with Bear's Oil. All the while he tells the dead Man's Relations, and the reſt of the Spectators, who that dead Perſon was, and of the great Feats perform'd in his Life-time; all what he ſpeaks, tending to the Praiſe of the Defunct. As ſoon as the Fleſh grows mellow, and will cleave from the Bone, they get it off, and burn it, making all the Bones very clean, then anoint them with the Ingredients aforeſaid, wrapping up the Skull (very carefully) in a Cloath artificially woven of Poſſums Hair. (Theſe *Indians* make Girdles, Saſhes, Garters, *&c.* after the ſame Manner.) The Bones they carefully preſerve in a wooden Box, every Year oiling and cleanſing them: By theſe Means preſerve them for many Ages, that you may ſee an *Indian* in Poſſeſſion of the Bones of his Grand-father, or ſome of his Relations of a larger Antiquity. They have other Sorts of Tombs; as where an *Indian* is ſlain, in that very Place they make a Heap of Stones, (or Sticks, where Stones are not to be found;) to this Memorial, every *Indian* that paſſes by, adds a Stone, to augment the Heap, in Reſpect to the deceas'd Hero.

We had a very large Swamp to paſs over near the Houſe, and would have hir'd our Landlord to have been our Guide, but he ſeem'd unwilling; ſo we preſs'd him no farther about it. He was the talleſt *Indian* I ever ſaw, being ſeven Foot high, and a very ſtrait compleat Perſon, eſteem'd on by the King for his great Art in Hunting, always carrying with him an artificial Head to hunt withal: They are made of the Head of a Buck, the back Part of the Horns being ſcrapt and hollow, for Lightneſs of Carriage. The Skin is left to the ſetting on of the Shoulders, which is lin'd all round with ſmall Hoops, and flat Sort of Laths, to hold it open for the Arm to go in. They have a Way to preſerve the Eyes, as if living. The Hunter puts on a Match-coat made of Deer's Skin, with the Hair on, and a Piece of the white Part of a Deer's Skin, that

that grows on the Breaſt, which is faſten'd to the Neck-End of this ſtalking Head, ſo hangs down. In theſe Habiliments an *Indian* will go as near a Deer as he pleaſes, the exact Motions and Behaviour of a Deer being ſo well counterfeited by 'em, that ſeveral Times it hath been known for two Hunters to come up with a ſtalking Head together, and unknown to each other, ſo that they have kill'd an *Indian* inſtead of a Deer, which hath happen'd ſometimes to be a Brother, or ſome dear Friend; for which Reaſon they allow not of that Sort of Practice, where the Nation is populous.

Within half a Mile of the Houſe, we paſs'd over a prodigious wide and deep Swamp, being forc'd to ſtrip ſtark-naked, and much a-do to ſave our ſelves from drowning in this Fatiegue. We, with much a-do, got thro', going that Day about five Miles farther, and came to three more *Indian* Cabins, call'd in the *Indian* Tongue, *Hickerau*, by the *Engliſh* Traders, the *black Houſe*, being pleaſantly ſeated on a high Bank, by a Branch of *Santee*-River. One of our Company, that had traded amongſt theſe *Indians*, told us, That one of the Cabins was his Father's-in-Law; he call'd him ſo, by Reaſon the old Man had given him a young *Indian* Girl, that was his Daughter, to lie with him, make Bread, and to be neceſſary in what ſhe was capable to aſſiſt him in, during his Abode amongſt them.

When we came thither firſt, there was no Body at Home, ſo the Son made bold to ſearch his Father's Granary for Corn, and other Proviſions. He brought us ſome *Indian* Maiz and Peas, which are of a reddiſh Colour, and eat well, yet colour the Liquor they are boil'd in, as if it were a *Lixivium* of red Tartar. After we had been about an Hour in the Houſe, where was Millions of Fleas, the *Indian* Cabins being often fuller of ſuch Vermin, than any Dog-Kennel, the old Man came in to us, and ſeem'd very glad to ſee his Son-in-Law.

This *Indian* is a great Conjurer, as appears by the Sequel. The *Seretee* or *Santee Indians* were gone to War againſt the *Hooks* and *Backhooks* Nations, living near the Mouth of *Winy-an*-River. Thoſe that were left at Home, (which are commonly old People and Children) had heard no News a long Time of their Men at Arms. This Man, at the Entreaty of theſe

theſe People, (being held to be a great Sorcerer amongſt 'em) went to know what Poſture their fighting Men were in. His Exorciſm was carry'd on thus: He dreſs'd himſelf in a clean white dreſs'd Deer-Skin; a great Fire being made in the Middle of the Plantation, the *Indians* ſitting all round it, the Conjurer was blind-folded, then he ſurrounded the Fire ſeveral Times, I think thrice; leaving the Company, he went into the Woods, where he ſtay'd about half an Hour, returning to them, ſurrounded the Fire as before; leaving them, went the ſecond Time into the Woods; at which Time there came a huge Swarm of Flies, very large, they flying about the Fire ſeveral Times, at laſt fell all into it, and were viſibly conſum'd. Immediately after the *Indian*-Conjurer made a huge Lilleloo, and howling very frightfully, preſently an *Indian* went and caught hold of him, leading him to the Fire. The old Wizard was ſo feeble and weak, being not able to ſtand alone, and all over in a Sweat, and as wet as if he had fallen into the River. After ſome Time he recover'd his Strength, aſſuring them, that their Men were near a River, and could not paſs over it 'till ſo many Days, but would, in ſuch a Time, return all in Safety, to their Nation. All which prov'd true at the *Indians* Return, which was not long after. This Story the *Engliſh*-man, his Son-in-Law, affirm'd to me.

The old Man ſtay'd with us about two Hours, and told us we were welcome to ſtay there all Night, and take what his Cabin afforded; then leaving us, went into the Woods, to ſome Hunting-Quarter not far off.

Friday. The next Morning early we purſu'd our Voyage, finding the Land to improve it ſelf in Pleaſantneſs and Richneſs of Soil. When we had gone about ten Miles, one of our Company tir'd, being not able to travel any farther; ſo we went forward, leaving the poor dejected Traveller with Tears in his Eyes, to return to *Charles*-Town, and travel back again over ſo much bad Way, we having paſs'd thro' the worſt of our Journey, the Land here being high and dry, very few Swamps, and thoſe dry, and a little Way through. We travell'd about twenty Miles, lying near a Savanna that was over-flown with Water; where we were very ſhort of Victuals, but finding the Woods newly burnt, and on fire in many Places, which gave us great Hopes that *Indians* were not far of.

Next

Next Morning very early, we waded thro' the Savanna, the Path lying there; and about ten a Clock came to a hunting Quarter, of a great many *Santees*; they made us all welcome; ſhewing a great deal of Joy at our coming; giving us barbacu'd Turkeys, Bear's Oil, and Veniſon. *Saturday* 20 *Miles.*

Here we hir'd *Santee Jack* (a good Hunter, and a well-humour'd Fellow) to be our Pilot to the *Congeree Indians*; we gave him a Stroud-water-Blew, to make his Wife an *Indian* Petticoat, who went with her Huſband. After two Hours Refreſhment, we went on, and got that Day about twenty Miles; we lay by a ſmall ſwift Run of Water, which was pav'd at the Bottom with a Sort of Stone much like to Tripoli, and ſo light, that I fancy'd it would precipitate in no Stream, but where it naturally grew. The Weather was very cold, the Winds holding *Northerly*. We made our ſelves as merry as we could, having a good Supper with the Scraps of the Veniſon we had given us by the *Indians*, having kill'd 3 Teal and a Poſſum; which Medly all together made a curious Ragoo.

This Day all of us had a Mind to have reſted, but the *Indian* was much againſt it, alledging, That the Place we lay at, was not good to hunt in; telling us, if we would go on, by Noon, he would bring us to a more convenient Place; ſo we mov'd forwards, and about twelve a Clock came to the moſt amazing Proſpect I had ſeen ſince I had been in *Carolina*; we travell'd by a Swamp-ſide, which Swamp I believe to be no leſs than twenty Miles over, the other Side being as far as I could well diſcern, there appearing great Ridges of Mountains, bearing from us *W. N. W.* One Alp with a Top like a Sugar-loaf, advanc'd its Head above all the reſt very conſiderably; the Day was very ſerene, which gave us the Advantage of ſeeing a long Way; theſe Mountains were cloth'd all over with Trees, which ſeem'd to us to be very large Timbers. *Sunday* 15 *Miles.*

At the Sight of this fair Proſpect, we ſtay'd all Night; our *Indian* going about half an Hour before us, had provided three fat Turkeys e'er we got up to him.

The Swamp I now ſpoke of, is not a miry Bog, as others generally are, but you go down to it thro' a ſteep Bank, at the Foot of which, begins this Valley, where you may go dry for perhaps 200 Yards, then you meet with a ſmall Brook,

or Run of Water, about 2 or 3 Foot deep, then dry Land for ſuch another Space, ſo another Brook, thus continuing. The Land in this Percoarſon, or Valley, being extraordinary rich, and the Runs of Water well ſtor'd with Fowl. It is the Head of one of the Branches of *Santee*-River; but a farther Diſcovery Time would not permit; only one Thing is very remarkable, there growing all over this Swamp, a tall, lofty Bay-tree, but is not the ſame as in *England*, theſe being in their Verdure all the Winter long; which appears here, when you ſtand on the Ridge, (where our Path lay) as if it were one pleaſant, green Field, and as even as a Bowling-green to the Eye of the Beholder; being hemm'd in on one Side with theſe Ledges of vaſt high Mountains.

Viewing the Land here, we found an extraordinary rich, black Mould, and ſome of a Copper-colour, both Sorts very good; the Land in ſome Places is much burthen'd with Iron, Stone, here being great Store of it, ſeemingly very good: The eviling Springs, which are many in theſe Parts, iſſuing out of the Rocks, which Water we drank of, it colouring the Excrements of Travellers (by its chalybid Quality) as black as a Coal. When we were all aſleep, in the Beginning of the Night, we were awaken'd with the diſmall'ſt and moſt hideous Noiſe that ever pierc'd my Ears: This ſudden Surprizal incapacitated us of gueſſing what this threatning Noiſe might proceed from; but our *Indian* Pilot (who knew theſe Parts very well) acquainted us, that it was cuſtomary to hear ſuch Muſick along that Swamp-ſide, there being endleſs Numbers of Panthers, Tygers, Wolves, and other Beaſts of Prey, which take this Swamp for their Abode in the Day, coming in whole Droves to hunt the Deer in the Night, making this frightful Ditty 'till Day appears, then all is ſtill as in other Places.

Monday. The next Day it prov'd a ſmall driſly Rain, which is rare, there happening not the tenth Part of Foggy-falling Weather towards theſe Mountains, as viſits thoſe Parts. Near the Sea-board, the *Indian* kill'd 15 Turkeys this Day; there coming out of the Swamp, (about Sun-riſing) Flocks of theſe Fowl, containing ſeveral hundreds in a Gang, who feed upon the Acrons, it being moſt Oak that grow in theſe Woods. There are but very few Pines in thoſe Quarters.

Early

Early the next Morning, we ſet forward for the *Congeree-Indians*, parting with that delicious Proſpect. By the Way, our Guide kill'd more Turkeys, and two Polcats, which he eat, eſteeming them before fat Turkeys. Some of the Turkeys which we eat, whilſt we ſtay'd there, I believe, weigh'd no leſs than 40 Pounds.

The Land we paſs'd over this Day, was moſt of it good, and the worſt paſſable. At Night we kill'd a Poſſum, being cloy'd with Turkeys, made a Diſh of that, which taſted much between young Pork and Veal; their Fat being as white as any I ever ſaw.

Our *Indian* having this Day kill'd good Store of Proviſion with his Gun, he always ſhot with a ſingle Ball, miſſing but two Shoots in above forty; they being curious Artiſts in managing a Gun, to make it carry either Ball, or Shot, true. When they have bought a Piece, and find it to ſhoot any Ways crooked, they take the Barrel out of the Stock, cutting a Notch in a Tree, wherein they ſet it ſtreight, ſometimes ſhooting away above 100 Loads of Ammunition, before they bring the Gun to ſhoot according to their Mind. We took up our Quarters by a Fiſh-pond-ſide; the Pits in the Woods that ſtand full of Water, naturally breed Fiſh in them, in great Quantities. We cook'd our Supper, but having neither Bread, or Salt, our fat Turkeys began to be loathſome to us, altho' we were never wanting of a good Appetite, yet a Continuance of one Diet, made us weary.

The next Morning, *Santee Jack* told us, we ſhould reach the *Indian* Settlement betimes that Day; about Noon, we paſs'd by ſeveral fair Savanna's, very rich and dry; ſeeing great Copſes of many Acres that bore nothing but Buſhes, about the Bigneſs of Box-trees; which (in the Seaſon) afford great Quantities of ſmall Black-berries, very pleaſant Fruit, and much like to our Blues, or Huckle-berries, that grow on Heaths in *England*. Hard by the Savanna's we found the Town, where we halted; there was not above one Man left with the Women, the reſt being gone a Hunting for a Feaſt. The Women were very buſily engag'd in Gaming: The Name or Grounds of it, I could not learn, tho' I look'd on above two Hours. Their Arithmetick was kept with a Heap of *Indian* *Wedneſday*

Grain. When their Play was ended, the King, or *Caſſetta*'s Wife, invited us into her Cabin. The *Indian* Kings always entertaining Travellers, either *Engliſh*, or *Indian*; taking it as a great Affront, if they paſs by their Cabins, and take up their Quarters at any other *Indian*'s Houſe. The Queen ſet Victuals before us, which good Compliment they uſe generally as ſoon as you come under their Roof.

The Town conſiſts not of above a dozen Houſes, they having other ſtragling Plantations up and down the Country, and are ſeated upon a ſmall Branch of *Santee*-River. Their Place hath curious dry Marſhes, and Savanna's adjoining to it, and would prove an exceeding thriving Range for Cattle, and Hogs, provided the *Engliſh* were ſeated thereon. Beſides, the Land is good for Plantations.

Theſe *Indians* are a ſmall People, having loſt much of their former Numbers, by inteſtine Broils; but moſt by the Small-pox, which hath often viſited them, ſweeping away whole Towns; occaſion'd by the immoderate Government of themſelves in their Sickneſs; as I have mention'd before, treating of the *Sewees*. Neither do I know any Savages that have traded with the *Engliſh*, but what have been great Loſers by this Diſtemper.

We found here good Store of Chinkapin-Nuts, which they gather in Winter great Quantities of, drying them; ſo keep theſe Nuts in great Baſkets for their Uſe; likewiſe Hickerie-Nuts, which they beat betwixt two great Stones, then ſift them, ſo thicken their Veniſon-Broath therewith; the ſmall Shells precipitating to the Bottom of the Pot, whilſt the Kernel in Form of Flower, mixes it with the Liquor. Both theſe Nuts made into Meal, makes a curious Soop, either with clear Water, or in any Meat-Broth.

From the Nation of *Indians*, until ſuch Time as you come to the *Turkeiruros* in *North Carolina*, you will ſee no long Moſs upon the Trees; which Space of Ground contains above five hundred Miles. This ſeeming Miracle in *Nature*, is occaſion'd by the Highneſs of the Land, it being dry and healthful; for tho' this moſt bears a Seed in a Sort of a ſmall Cod, yet it is generated in or near low ſwampy Grounds.

The

The *Congerees* are kind and affable to the *Engliſh*, the Queen being very kind, giving us what Rarities her Cabin afforded, as Loblolly made with *Indian* Corn, and dry'd Peaches. Theſe *Congerees* have abundance of Storks and Cranes in their Savannas. They take them before they can fly, and breed 'em as tame and familiar as a Dung-hill Fowl. They had a tame Crane at one of theſe Cabins, that was ſcarce leſs than ſix Foot in Height, his Head being round, with a ſhining natural Crimſon Hue, which they all have. Theſe are a very comely Sort of *Indians*, there being a ſtrange Difference in the Proportion and Beauty of theſe Heathens. Altho' their Tribes or Nations border one upon another, yet you may diſcern as great an Alteration in their Features and Diſpoſitions, as you can in their Speech, which generally proves quite different from each other, though their Nations be not above 10 or 20 Miles in Diſtance. The Women here being as handſome as moſt I have met withal, being ſeveral fine-finger'd Brounetto's amongſt them. Theſe Laſſes ſtick not upon Hand long, for they marry when very young, as at 12 or 14 Years of Age. The *Engliſh* Traders are ſeldom without an *Indian* Female for his Bed-fellow, alledging theſe Reaſons as ſufficient to allow of ſuch a Familiarity. Firſt, They being remote from any white People, that it preſerves their Friendſhip with the Heathens, they eſteeming a white Man's Child much above one of their getting, the *Indian* Miſtreſs ever ſecuring her white Friend Proviſions whilſt he ſtays amongſt them. And laſtly, This Correſpondence makes them learn the *Indian* Tongue much the ſooner, they being of the *French*-man's Opinion, how that an *Engliſh* Wife teaches her Huſband more *Engliſh* in one Night, than a School-maſter can in a Week.

We ſaw at the *Caſſetta*'s Cabin the ſtrangeſt Spectacle of Antiquity I ever knew, it being an old *Indian* Squah, that, had I been to have gueſs'd at her Age by her Aſpect, old *Parr*'s Head (the *Welch Methuſalem*) was a Face in Swadling-Clouts to hers. Her Skin hung in Reaves like a Bag of Tripe. By a fair Computation, one might have juſtly thought it would have contain'd three ſuch Carcaſſes as hers then was. She had one of her Hands contracted by ſome Accident in the Fire, they

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ſleeping always by it, and often fall into ſad Diſaſters, eſpecially in their drunken Moods. I made the ſtricteſt Enquiry that was poſſible, and by what I could gather, ſhe was conſiderably above 100 Years old, notwithſtanding ſhe ſmoak'd Tobacco, and eat her Victuals, to all Appearance, as heartily as one of 18. One of our Company ſpoke ſome of their Language, and having not quite forgotten his former Intrigues with the *Indian* Laſſes, would fain have been dealing with ſome of the young Female Fry; but they refus'd him, he having nothing that theſe Girls eſteem'd. At Night we were laid in the King's Cabin, where the Queen and the old Squah pig'd in with us: The former was very much disfigur'd with Tettars, and very reſerv'd, which diſappointed our fellow Traveller in his Intrigues.

The Women ſmoak much Tobacco, (as moſt *Indians* do.) They have Pipes, whoſe Heads are cut out of Stone, and will hold an Ounce of Tobacco, and ſome much leſs. They have large wooden Spoons, as big as ſmall Ladles, which they make little Uſe of, lading the Meat out of the Bowls with their Fingers.

Thurſday. In the Morning we roſe before Day, having hir'd a Guide over Night to conduct us on our Way; but it was too ſoon for him to ſtir out, the *Indians* never ſetting forward 'till the Sun is an Hour or two high, and hath exhall'd the Dew from the Earth. The Queen got us a good Breakfaſt before we left her; ſhe had a young Child, which was much afflicted with the Cholick; for which Diſtemper ſhe infus'd a Root in Water, which was held in a Goard; this ſhe took into her Mouth, and ſpurted it into the Infant's, which gave it eaſe. After we had eaten, we ſet out (with our new Guide) for the *Wateree Indians*. We went over a great deal of indifferent Land this Day. Here begins to appear very good Marble, which continues more and leſs for the Space of 500 Miles. We lay all Night by a Run of Water, as we always do, (if poſſible) for the Convenience of it. The Weather was very cold. We went this Day about 30 Miles from the *Congerees*.

Friday. In the Morning we made no Stay to get our Breakfaſt, but haſted on our Voyage, the Land increaſing in Marble and Richneſs

Richneſs of Soil. At Noon we halted, getting our Dinner upon a Marble-Stone, that roſe it ſelf half a Foot above the Surface of the Earth, and might contain the Compaſs of a Quarter of an Acre of Land, being very even, there growing upon it in ſome Places a ſmall red Berry, like a Salmon-Spawn, there boiling out of the main Rock curious Springs of as delicious Water, as ever I drank in any Parts I ever travell'd in.

Theſe Parts likewiſe affords good free Stone, fit for Building, and of ſeveral Sorts. The Land here is pleaſantly ſeated, with pretty little Hills and Valleys, the riſing Sun at once ſhewing his glorious reflecting Rays on a great many of theſe little Mountains. We went this Day about 20 Miles, our Guide walking like a Horſe, 'till we had ſadl'd him with a good heavy Pack of ſome Part of our Cloaths and Bedding; by which Means we kept Pace with him.

This Night we lay by a Run-ſide, where I found a fine yellow Earth, the ſame with Bruxels-Sand, which Goldſmiths uſe to caſt withal, giving a good Price in *England*, and other Parts. Here is likewiſe the true Blood-Stone, and conſiderable Quantities of Fullers-Earth, which I took a Proof of, by ſcouring great Spots out of Woollen, and it prov'd very good.

As we were on our Road this Morning, our *Indian* ſhot at a Tyger, that croſs'd the Way, he being a great Diſtance from us. I believe he did him no Harm, becauſe he ſat on his Breech afterwards, and look'd upon us. I ſuppoſe he expected to have had a Spaniel Bitch, that I had with me, for his Breaſtfaſt, who run towards him, but in the Midway ſtopt her Career, and came ſneaking back to us with her Tail betwixt her Legs. *Saturday.*

We ſaw in the Path a great many Trees blown up by the Roots, at the Bottom whereof ſtuck great Quantities of fine red Bole; I believe nothing inferior to that of *Venice* or *Lemna*. We found ſome Holes in the Earth, which were full of a Water as black as Ink. I thought that Tincture might proceed from ſome Mineral, but had not Time to make a farther Diſcovery. About Noon we paſs'd over a pleaſant

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ſtony Brook, whoſe Water was of a bluiſh Caſt, as it is for ſeveral hundreds of Miles towards the Heads of the Rivers, I ſuppoſe occaſion'd by the vaſt Quantities of Marble lying in the Bowels of the Earth. The Springs that feed theſe Rivulets, lick up ſome Potions of the Stones in the Brooks; which Diſſolution gives this Tincture, as appears in all, or moſt of the Rivers and Brooks of this Country, whoſe rapid Streams are like thoſe in *Yorkſhire*, and other *Northern* Counties of *England*. The *Indians* talk of many Sorts of Fiſh which they afford, but we had not Time to diſcover their Species.

I ſaw here had been ſome *Indian* Plantations formerly, there being ſeveral pleaſant Fields of clear'd Ground, and excellent Soil, now well ſpread with fine bladed Graſs, and Strawberry-Vines.

The Mould here is exceſſive rich, and a Country very pleaſing to the Eye, had it the Convenience of a navigable River, as all new Colonies (of Neceſſity) require. It would make a delightful Settlement.

We went eight Miles farther, and came to the *Wateree Chickanee Indians*. The Land holds good, there being not a Spot of bad Land to be ſeen in ſeveral Days going.

The People of this Nation are likely tall Perſons, and great Pilferers, ſtealing from us any Thing they could lay their Hands on, though very reſpectful in giving us what Victuals we wanted. We lay in their Cabins all Night, being dark ſmoaky Holes, as ever I ſaw any *Indians* dwell in. This Nation is much more populous than the *Congarees*, and their Neighbours, yet underſtand not one anothers Speech. They are very poor in *Engliſh* Effects, ſeveral of them having no Guns, making Uſe of Bows and Arrows, being a lazy idle People, a Quality incident to moſt *Indians*, but none to that Degree as theſe, as I ever met withal.

Their Country is wholly free from Swamps and Quagmires, being high dry Land, and conſequently healthful, producing large Corn-Stalks, and fair Grain.

Next Morning, we took off our Beards with a Razor, the *Indians* looking on with a great deal of Admiration. They told us, they had never ſeen the like before, and that our Knives cut far better than thoſe that came amongſt the *Indians*. They would fain have borrow'd our Razors, as they had our Knives, Sciſſors, and Tobacco-Tongs, the day before, being as ingenious at picking of Pockets, as any, I believe, the World affords; for they will ſteal with their Feet. Yeſterday, one of our Company, not walking ſo faſt as the reſt, was left behind. He being out of Sight before we miſs'd him, and not coming up to us, tho' we ſtaid a conſiderable time on the Road for him, we ſtuck up Sticks in the Ground, and left other Tokens to direct him which way we were gone: But he came not to us that Night, which gave us Occaſion to fear ſome of the Heathens had kill'd him, for his Cloaths, or the ſavage Beaſts had devour'd him in the Wilderneſs, he having nothing about him to ſtrike Fire withal. As we were debating which way we ſhould ſend to know what was become of him, he overtook us, having a *Waxſaw Indian* for his Guide. He told us, he had miſs'd the Path, and got to another Nation of *Indians*, but 3 Miles off, who at that time held great Feaſting. They had entertain'd him very reſpectfully, and ſent that *Indian* to invite us amongſt them, wondring that we would not take up our Quarters with them, but make our Abode with ſuch a poor Sort of *Indians*, that were not capable of entertaining us according to our Deſerts: We receiv'd the Meſſenger with a great many Ceremonies, acceptable to thoſe ſort of Creatures. Bidding our *Waterree* King adieu, we ſet forth towards the *Waxſaws*, going along clear'd Ground all the Way. Upon our Arrival, we were led into a very large and lightſome Cabin, the like I have not met withal. They laid Furs and Deer-Skins upon Cane Benches for us to ſit or lie upon, bringing (immediately) ſtewed Peaches and green Corn, that is preſerv'd in their Cabins before it is ripe, and ſodden and boil'd when they uſe it, which is a pretty ſort of Food, and a great Increaſer of the Blood. *Sunday.*

Theſe *Indians* are of an extraordinary Stature, and call'd by their Neighbours flat Heads, which ſeems a very ſuitable Name for them. In their Infancy, their Nurſes lay the Back-part of their Children's Heads on a Bag of Sand, (ſuch

as Engravers uſe to reſt their Plates upon.) They uſe a Roll, which is placed upon the Babe's Forehead, it being laid with its Back on a flat Board, and ſwaddled hard down thereon, from one End of this Engine, to the other. This Method makes the Child's Body and Limbs as ſtraight as an Arrow. There being ſome young *Indians* that are perhaps crookedly inclin'd, at their firſt coming into the World, who are made perfectly ſtraight by this Method. I never ſaw an *Indian* of a mature Age, that was any ways crooked, except by Accident, and that way ſeldom; for they cure and prevent Deformities of the Limbs, and Body, very exactly. The Inſtrument I ſpoke of before, being a ſort of a Preſs, that is let out and in, more or leſs, according to the Diſcretion of the Nurſe, in which they make the Child's Head flat, it makes the Eyes ſtand a prodigious Way aſunder, and the Hair hang over the Forehead like the Eves of a Houſe, which ſeems very frightful: They being ask'd the Reaſon why they practis'd this Method, reply'd, the *Indian*'s Sight was much ſtrengthened and quicker, thereby, to diſcern the Game in hunting at larger Diſtance, and ſo never miſs'd of becoming expert Hunters, the Perfection of which they all aim at, as we do to become experienced Soldiers, learned School-Men, or Artiſts in Mechanicks: He that is a good Hunter never miſſes of being a Favourite amongſt the Women; the prettieſt Girls being always beſtow'd upon the chiefeſt Sports-Men, and thoſe of a groſſer Mould, upon the uſeleſs *Lubbers*. Thus they have a Graduation amongſt them, as well as other Nations. As for the Solemnity of Marriages amongſt them, kept with ſo much Ceremony as divers Authors affirm, it never appear'd amongſt thoſe many Nations I have been withal, any otherwiſe than in the Manner I have mention'd hereafter.

The Girls at 12 or 13 Years of Age, as ſoon as Nature prompts them, freely beſtow their Maidenheads on ſome Youth about the ſame Age, continuing her Favours on whom ſhe moſt affects, changing her Mate very often, few or none of them being conſtant to one, till a greater Number of Years has made her capable of managing domeſtick Affairs, and ſhe hath try'd the Vigour of moſt of the Nation ſhe belongs to; Multiplicity of Gallants never being a Stain to a Female's Reputation, or the leaſt Hindrance of her Advancement,

vancement, but the more *Whoriſh*, the more *Honourable*, and they of all moſt coveted, by thoſe of the firſt Rank, to make a Wife of. The *Flos Virginis*, ſo much coveted by the *Europeans*, is never valued by theſe Savages. When a Man and Woman have gone through their Degrees, (there being a certain Graduation amongſt them) and are allow'd to be Houſe-Keepers, which is not till they arrive at ſuch an Age, and have paſt the Ceremonies practis'd by their Nation, almoſt all Kingdoms differing in the Progreſs thereof, then it is that the Man makes his Addreſſes to ſome one of theſe thorough-paced Girls, or other, whom he likes beſt. When ſhe is won, the Parents of both Parties, (with Advice of the King) agree about the Matter, making a Promiſe of their Daughter, to the Man, that requires her, it often happening that they converſe and travel together, for ſeveral Moons before the Marriage is publiſh'd openly; After this, at the leaſt Diſlike the Man may turn her away, and take another; or if ſhe diſapproves of his Company, a Price is ſet upon her, and if the Man that ſeeks to get her, will pay the Fine to her Husband, ſhe becomes free from Him: Likewiſe ſome of their War Captains, and great Men, very often will retain 3 or 4 Girls at a time for their own Uſe, when at the ſame time, he is ſo impotent and old, as to be incapable of making Uſe of one of them; ſo that he ſeldom miſſes of wearing greater Horns than the Game he kills. The Husband is never ſo enrag'd as to put his Adultereſs to Death; if ſhe is caught in the Fact, the Rival becomes Debtor to the cornuted Husband, in a certain Quantity of Trifles valuable amongſt them, which he pays as ſoon as diſcharg'd, and then all Animoſity is laid aſide bewixt the Husband, and his Wife's Gallant. The Man proves often ſo good humour'd as to pleaſe his Neighbour and gratify his Wife's Inclinations, by letting her out for a Night or two, to the Embraces of ſome other, which perhaps ſhe has a greater Liking to, tho' this is not commonly practis'd.

They ſet apart the youngeſt and prettieſt Faces for trading Girls; theſe are remarkable by their Hair, having a particular Tonſure by which they are known, and diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe engag'd to Husbands. They are mercenary, and whoever makes Uſe of them, firſt hires them, the greateſt Share of the Gain going to the King's Purſe, who is the chief Bawd, exerciſing his Perogative over all the Stews of his Nation, and

his own Cabin (very often) being the chiefeſt Brothel-Houſe. As they grow in Years, the hot Aſſaults of Love grow cooler; and then they commonly are ſo ſtaid, as to engage themſelves with more Conſtancy to each other. I have ſeen ſeveral Couples amongſt them, that have been ſo reſerv'd, as to live together for many Years, faithful to each other, admitting none to their Beds but ſuch as they own'd for their Wife or Husband: So continuing to their Life's end.

At our *Waxſaw* Landlord's Cabin, was a Woman employ'd in no other Buſineſs than Cookery; it being a Houſe of great Reſort. The Fire was ſurrounded with Roaſt-meat, or *Barbakues*, and the Pots continually boiling full of Meat, from Morning till Night. This She-Cook was the cleanlieſt I ever ſaw amongſt the Heathens of *America*, waſhing her Hands before ſhe undertook to do any Cookery; and repeated this unuſual Decency very often in a day. She made us as White-Bread as any *Engliſh* could have done, and was full as neat, and expeditious, in her Affairs. It happen'd to be one of their great Feaſts, when we were there: The firſt day that we came amongſt them, arriv'd an Ambaſſador from the King of *Sapona*, to treat with theſe *Indians* about ſome important Affairs. He was painted with Vermillion all over his Face, having a very large Cutlaſs ſtuck in his Girdle, and a Fuſee in his Hand. At Night, the Revels began where this Foreign *Indian* was admitted; the King, and War Captain, inviting us to ſee their Maſquerade: This Feaſt was held in Commemoration of the plentiful Harveſt of Corn they had reap'd the Summer before, with an united Supplication for the like plentiful Produce the Year enſuing. Theſe Revels are carried on in a Houſe made for that purpoſe, it being done round with white Benches of fine Canes, joining along the Wall; and a place for the Door being left, which is ſo low, that a Man muſt ſtoop very much to enter therein. This Edifice reſembles a large Hay-Rick; its Top being Pyramidal, and much bigger than their other Dwellings, and at the Building whereof, every one aſſiſts till it is finiſh'd. All their Dwelling-Houſes are cover'd with Bark, but this differs very much; for, it is very artificially thatch'd with Sedge and Ruſhes: As ſoon as finiſh'd, they place ſome one of their chiefeſt Men to dwell therein, charging him with the diligent Preſervation thereof, as a Prince commits the Charge

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and Government of a Fort or Caſtle, to ſome Subject he thinks worthy of that Truſt. In theſe State-Houſes is tranſacted all Publick and Private Buſineſs, relating to the Affairs of the Government, as the Audience of Foreign Ambaſſadors from other *Indian* Rulers, Conſultation of waging and making War, Propoſals of their Trade with neighbouring *Indians*, or the *Engliſh*, who happen to come amongſt them. In this Theater, the moſt Aged and Wiſeſt meet, determining what to Act, and what may be moſt convenient to Omit, Old Age being held in as great Veneration amongſt theſe Heathens, as amongſt any People you ſhall meet withal in any Part of the World.

Whenſoever an Aged Man is ſpeaking, none ever interrupts him, (the contrary Practice the *Engliſh*, and other *Europeans*, too much uſe) the Company yielding a great deal of Attention to his Tale, with a continued Silence, and an exact Demeanour, during the Oration. Indeed, the *Indians* are a People that never interrupt one another in their Diſcourſe; no Man ſo much as offering to open his Mouth, till the Speaker has utter'd his Intent: When an *Engliſh*-Man comes amongſt them, perhaps every one is acquainted with him, yet, firſt, the King bids him Welcome, after him the War-Captain, ſo on gradually from High to Low; not one of all theſe ſpeaking to the White Gueſt, till his Superiour has ended his Salutation. Amongſt Women, it ſeems impoſſible to find a Scold; if they are provok'd, or affronted, by their Husbands, or ſome other, they reſent the Indignity offer'd them in ſilent Tears, or by refuſing their Meat. Would ſome of our *European* Daughters of Thunder ſet theſe *Indians* for a Pattern, there might be more quiet Families found amongſt them, occaſion'd by that unruly Member, the Tongue.

Feſtination proceeds from the Devil, (*ſays a Learned* Doctor) a Paſſion the *Indians* ſeem wholly free from; they determining no Buſineſs of Moment, without a great deal of Deliberation and Warineſs. None of their Affairs appear to be attended with Impetuoſity, or Haſte, being more content with the common Accidents incident to humane Nature, (as Loſſes, contrary Winds, bad Weather, and Poverty) than thoſe of more civilized Countries.

Now, to return to our State-Houſe, whither we were invited by the Grandees; As ſoon as we came into it, they plac'd

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our *Engliſhmen* near the King; it being my Fortune to ſit next him, having his great General, or War-Captain, on my other Hand. The Houſe is as dark as a Dungeon, and as hot as one of the *Dutch*-Stoves in *Holland*. They had made a circular Fire of ſplit Canes in the middle of the Houſe. It was one Man's Employment to add more ſplit Reeds to the one end as it conſum'd at the other, there being a ſmall Vacancy left to ſupply it with Fewel. They brought in great ſtore of Loblolly, and other Medleys, made of *Indian* Grain, ſtewed Peaches, Bear-Veniſon, *&c.* every one bringing ſome Offering to enlarge the Banquet, according to his Degree and Quality. When all the *Viands* were brought in, the firſt Figure began with kicking out the Dogs, which are ſeemingly Wolves, made tame with ſtarving and beating; they being the worſt Dog-Maſters in the World; ſo that it is an infallible Cure for Sore-Eyes, ever to ſee an *Indian*'s Dog fat. They are of a quite contrary Diſpoſition to Horſes; ſome of their Kings having gotten, by great chance, a Jade, ſtolen by ſome neighbouring *Indian*, and tranſported farther into the Country, and ſold; or bought ſometimes of a *Chriſtian*, that trades amongſt them. Theſe Creatures they continually cram, and feed with Maiz, and what the Horſe will eat, till he is as fat as a Hog; never making any farther uſe of him than to fetch a Deer home, that is killed ſomewhere near the *Indian*'s Plantation.

After the Dogs had fled the Room, the Company was ſummon'd by Beat of Drum; the Muſick being made of a dreſs'd Deer's Skin, tied hard upon an Earthen Porridge-Pot. Preſently in came fine Men dreſs'd up with Feathers, their Faces being covered with Vizards made of Gourds; round their Ancles and Knees, were hung Bells of ſeveral ſorts, having Wooden Falchions in their Hands, (ſuch as Stage-Fencers commonly uſe;) in this Dreſs they danced about an Hour, ſhewing many ſtrange Geſtures, and brandiſhing their Wooden Weapons, as if they were going to fight each other; oftentimes walking very nimbly round the Room, without making the leaſt Noiſe with their Bells, (a thing I much admired at;) again, turning their Bodies, Arms and Legs, into ſuch frightful Poſtures, that you would have gueſs'd they had been quite raving mad: At laſt, they cut two or three high Capers, and left the Room. In their ſtead, came in a parcel

cel of Women and Girls, to the Number of Thirty odd; every one taking place according to her Degree of Stature, the talleſt leading the Dance, and the leaſt of all being plac'd laſt; with theſe they made a circular Dance, like a Ring, repreſenting the Shape of the Fire they danced about: Many of theſe had great Horſe-Bells about their Legs, and ſmall Hawk's Bells about their Necks. They had Muſicians, who were two Old Men, one of whom beat a Drum, while the other rattled with a Gourd, that had Corn in it, to make a Noiſe withal: To theſe Inſtruments, they both ſung a mournful Ditty; the Burthen of their Song was, in Remembrance of their former Greatneſs, and Numbers of their Nation, the famous Exploits of their Renowned Anceſtors, and all Actions of Moment that had (in former Days) been perform'd by their Forefathers. At theſe Feſtivals it is, that they give a Traditional Relation of what hath paſs'd amongſt them, to the younger Fry. Theſe verbal Deliveries being always publiſh'd in their moſt Publick Aſſemblies, ſerve inſtead of our Traditional Notes, by the uſe of Letters. Some *Indians*, that I have met withal, have given me a very curious Deſcription of the great Deluge, the Immortality of the Soul, with a pithy Account of the Reward of good and wicked Deeds in the Life to come; having found, amongſt ſome of them, great Obſervers of Moral Rules, and the Law of Nature; indeed, a worthy Foundation to build Chriſtianity upon, were a true Method found out, and practis'd, for the Performance thereof.

Their way of Dancing, is nothing but a ſort of ſtamping Motion, much like the treading upon Founders Bellows. This Female-Gang held their Dance for above ſix Hours, being all of them of a white Lather, like a Running Horſe that has juſt come in from his Race. My Landlady was the Ring-leader of the *Amazons*, who, when in her own Houſe, behav'd herſelf very diſcreetly, and warily, in her Domeſtick Affairs; yet, Cuſtom had ſo infatuated her, as to almoſt break her Heart with Dancing amongſt ſuch a confuſed Rabble. During this Dancing, the Spectators do not neglect their Buſineſs, in working the Loblolly-Pots, and the other Meat that was brought thither; more or leſs of them being continually Eating, whilſt the others were Dancing. When the Dancing was ended, every Youth that was ſo diſpoſed, catch'd hold

hold of the Girl he liked beſt, and took her that Night for his Bed-Fellow, making as ſhort Courtſhip and expeditious Weddings, as the Foot-Guards us'd to do with the *Trulls* in *Salisbury-Court*.

Next we ſhall treat of the Land hereabouts, which is a Marl as red as Blood, and will lather like Soap. The Town ſtands on this Land, which holds conſiderably farther in the Country, and is in my Opinion, ſo durable that no Labour of Man, in one or two Ages, could make it poor. I have formerly ſeen the like in *Leiceſterſhire*, bordering upon *Rutland*. Here were Corn-Stalks in their Fields as thick as the Small of a Man's Leg, and they are ordinarily to be ſeen.

We lay with theſe *Indians* one Night, there being by my Bed-ſide one of the largeſt Iron Pots I had ever ſeen in *America*, which I much wondred at, becauſe I thought there might be no navigable Stream near that Place. I ask'd them, where they got that Pot? They laugh'd at my Demand, and would give me no Anſwer, which makes me gueſs it came from ſome Wreck, and that we were nearer the Ocean, or ſome great River, than I thought.

Monday. The next day about Noon, we accidentally met with a *Southward Indian*, amongſt thoſe that us'd to trade backwards and forwards, and ſpoke a little *Engliſh*, whom we hir'd to go with us to the *Eſaw Indians*, a very large Nation containing many thouſand People. In the Afternoon we ſet forward, taking our Leaves of the *Wiſack Indians*, and leaving them ſome Trifles. On our Way, we met with ſeveral Towns of *Indians*, each Town having its Theater or State Houſe, ſuch Houſes being found all along the Road, till you come to *Sapona*, and then no more of thoſe Buildings, it being about 170 Miles. We reach'd 10 Miles this day, lying at another Town of the *Wiſacks*. The Man of the Houſe offer'd us Skins to ſell, but they were too heavy Burdens for our long Voyage.

Tueſday. Next Morning we ſet out early, breaking the Ice we met withal, in the ſtony Runs, which were many. We paſs'd by ſeveral Cottages, and about 8 of the Clock came to a pretty big Town, where we took up our Quarters, in one of their State Houſes, the Men being all out, hunting in the Woods, and none but Women at home. Our Fellow Traveller of whom I ſpoke before at the *Congerees*, having a great Mind for an *Indian* Laſs, for his Bed-Fellow that Night,

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ſpoke to our Guide, who ſoon got a Couple, reſerving one for himſelf. That which fell to our Companion's Share, was a pretty young Girl. Tho' they could not underſtand one Word of what each other ſpoke, yet the Female *Indian*, being no Novice at her Game, but underſtanding what ſhe came thither for, acted her Part dexterouſly enough with her Cully, to make him ſenſible of what ſhe wanted; which was to pay the Hire, before he rode the Hackney. He ſhew'd her all the Treaſure he was poſſeſs'd of, as Beads, Red Cadis, *&c.* which ſhe lik'd very well, and permitted him to put them into his Pocket again, endearing him with all the Charms, which one of a better Education than Dame Nature had beſtow'd upon her, could have made uſe of, to render her Conſort a ſurer Captive. After they had us'd this Sort of Courtſhip a ſmall time, the Match was confirm'd by both Parties, with the Approbation of as many *Indian* Women, as came to the Houſe, to celebrate our *Wincheſter*-Wedding. Every one of the Bride-Maids were as great Whores, as Mrs. Bride, tho' not quite ſo handſome. Our happy Couple went to Bed together before us all, and with as little Bluſhing, as if they had been Man and Wife for 7 Years. The reſt of the Company being weary with travelling, had more Mind to take their Reſt, than add more Weddings to that hopeful one already conſummated; ſo that tho' the other Virgins offer'd their Service to us, we gave them their Anſwer, and went to ſleep. About an Hour before day, I awak'd, and ſaw ſomebody walking up and down the Room in a ſeemingly deep Melancholy. I call'd out to know who it was, and it prov'd to be Mr. Bridegroom, who in leſs than 12 Hours, was Batchelor, Husband, and Widdower, his dear Spouſe having pick'd his Pocket of the Beads, Cadis, and what elſe ſhould have gratified the *Indians* for the Victuals we receiv'd of them. However, that did not ſerve her turn, but ſhe had alſo got his Shooes away, which he had made the Night before, of a dreſt Buck-Skin. Thus dearly did our Spark already repent his new Bargain, walking bare-foot, in his Penitentials, like ſome poor Pilgrim to *Loretto*.

After the *Indians* had laugh'd their Sides ſore at the Figure Mr. Bridegroom made, with much ado, we muſter'd up another Pair of Shooes, or *Moggiſons*, and ſet forward on our intended Voyage, the Company (all the way) lifting up their

Prayers for the new married Couple, whose Wedding had made away with that, which should have purchas'd our Food.

Wednesday. Relying wholly on Providence, we march'd on, now and then paying our Respects to the new-married Man. The Land held rich and good; in many Places there were great Quantities of Marble. The Water was still of a wheyish Colour. About 10 of the Clock, we waded thro' a River, (about the Bigness of *Derwent*, in *Yorkshire*) which I take to be one of the Branches of *Winjaw* River. We saw several Flocks of Pigeons, Field-Fares, and Thrushes, much like those of *Europe*. The *Indians* of these Parts use Sweating very much. If any Pain seize their Limbs, or Body, immediately they take Reeds, or small Wands, and bend them Umbrella-Fashion, covering them with Skins and Matchcoats: They have a large Fire not far off, wherein they heat Stones, or (where they are wanting) Bark, putting it into this Stove, which casts an extraordinary Heat: There is a Pot of Water in the *Bagnio*, in which is put a Bunch of an Herb, bearing a Silver Tassel, not much unlike the *Aurea Virga*. With this Vegetable they rub the Head, Temples, and other Parts, which is reckon'd a Preserver of the Sight and Strengthener of the Brain. We went, this day, about 12 Miles, one of our Company being lame of his Knee. We pass'd over an exceeding rich Tract of Land, affording Plenty of great free Stones, and marble Rocks, and abounding in many pleasant and delightsome Rivulets. At Noon, we stay'd and refresh'd ourselves at a Cabin, where we met with one of their War-Captains, a Man of great Esteem among them. At his Departure from the Cabin, the Man of the House scratch'd this War-Captain on the Shoulder, which is look'd upon as a very great Compliment among them. The Captain went two or three Miles on our way, with us, to direct us in our Path. One of our Company gave him a Belt, which he took very kindly, bidding us call at his House, (which was in our Road) and stay till the lame Traveller was well, and speaking to the *Indian*, to order his Servant to make us welcome. Thus we parted, he being on his Journey to the *Congerees*, and *Savannas*, a famous, warlike, friendly Nation of *Indians*, living to the *South*-End of *Ashly* River. He had a Man-Slave with him, who was loaded with *European* Goods, his Wife and Daughter being in Company. He told us, at his Departure, that *James* had sent Knots to all the *Indians* thereabouts, for every

every Town to ſend in 10 Skins, meaning Captain *Moor*, then Governour of *South-Carolina*. The Towns being very thick hereabouts, at Night we took up our Quarters at one of the chief Mens Houſes, which was one of the Theaters I ſpoke of before. There ran, hard-by this Town, a pleaſant River, not very large, but, as the *Indians* told us, well ſtor'd with Fiſh. We being now among the powerful Nation of *Eſaws*, our Landlord entertain'd us very courteouſly, ſhewing us, that Night, a pair of Leather-Gloves, which he had made; and comparing them with ours, they prov'd to be very ingeniouſly done, conſidering it was the firſt Tryal.

In the Morning, he deſired to ſee the lame Man's affected Part, to the end he might do ſomething, which (he believ'd) would give him Eaſe. After he had viewed it accordingly, he pull'd out an Inſtrument, ſomewhat like a Comb, which was made of a ſplit Reed, with 15 Teeth of Rattle-Snakes ſet at much the ſame diſtance, as in a large Horn-Comb: With theſe he ſcratch'd the place where the Lameneſs chiefly lay, till the Blood came, bathing it, both before and after Inciſion, with warm Water, ſpurted out of his Mouth. This done, he ran into his Plantation, and got ſome *Saſſafras* Root, (which grows here in great plenty) dry'd it in the Embers, ſcrap'd off the outward Rind, and having beat it betwixt two Stones, apply'd it to the Part afflicted, binding it up well. Thus, in a day or two, the Patient became ſound. This day, we paſs'd through a great many Towns, and Settlements, that belong to the *Sugeree-Indians*, no barren Land being found amongſt them, but great plenty of Free-Stone, and good Timber. About three in the Afternoon, we reach'd the *Kadapau* King's Houſe, where we met with one *John Stewart*, a *Scot*, then an Inhabitant of *James*-River in *Virginia*, who had traded there for many Years. Being alone, and hearing that the *Sinnagers* (*Indians* from *Canada*) were abroad in that Country, he durſt not venture homewards, till he ſaw us, having heard that we were coming, above 20 days before. It is very odd, that News ſhould fly ſo ſwiftly among theſe People. Mr. *Stewart* had left *Virginia* ever ſince the *October* before, and had loſt a day of the Week, of which we inform'd him. He had brought ſeven Horſes along with him, loaded with *Engliſh* Goods for the *Indians*; and having ſold moſt of his Cargo, told *Thurſday.*

told us, if we would ſtay two Nights, he would go along with us. Company being very acceptable, we accepted the Propoſal.

Friday. The next day, we were preparing for our Voyage, and baked ſome Bread to take along with us. Our Landlord was King of the *Kadapau Indians*, and always kept two or three trading Girls in his Cabin. Offering one of theſe to ſome of our Company, who refus'd his Kindneſs, his Majeſty flew into a violent Paſſion, to be thus ſlighted, telling the *Engliſhmen*, they were good for nothing. Our old Gameſter, particularly, hung his Ears at the Propoſal, having too lately been a Loſer by that ſort of Merchandize. It was obſervable, that we did not ſee one Partridge from the *Waterrees* to this place, tho' my Spaniel-Bitch, which I had with me in this Voyage, had put up a great many before.

Saturday. On *Saturday* Morning, we all ſet out for *Sapona*, killing, in theſe Creeks, ſeveral Ducks of a ſtrange Kind, having a red Circle about their Eyes, like ſome Pigeons that I have ſeen, a Top-knot reaching from the Crown of their Heads, almoſt to the middle of their Backs, and abundance of Feathers of pretty Shades and Colours. They prov'd excellent Meat. Likewiſe, here is good ſtore of Woodcocks, not ſo big as thoſe in *England*, the Feathers of the Breaſt being of a Carnation-Colour, exceeding ours for Delicacy of Food. The Marble here is of different Colours, ſome or other of the Rocks repreſenting moſt Mixtures, but chiefly the white having black and blue Veins in it, and ſome that are red. This day, we met with ſeven heaps of Stones, being the Monuments of ſeven *Indians*, that were ſlain in that place by the *Sinnagers*, or *Troquois*. Our *Indian* Guide added a Stone to each heap. We took up our Lodgings near a Brook-ſide, where the *Virginia* Man's Horſes got away; and went back to the *Kadapau*'s.

Sunday. This day, one of our Company, with a *Sapona Indian*, who attended *Stewart*, went back for the Horſes. In the mean time, we went to ſhoot Pigeons, which were ſo numerous in theſe Parts, that you might ſee many Millions in a Flock; they ſometimes ſplit off the Limbs of ſtout Oaks, and other Trees, upon which they rooſt o' Nights. You may find ſeveral *Indian* Towns, of not above 17 Houſes, that have more than 100 Gallons of Pigeons Oil, or Fat; they uſing it with

Pulſe,

Pulſe, or Bread, as we do Butter, and making the Ground as white as a Sheet with their Dung. The *Indians* take a Light, and go among them in the Night, and bring away ſome thouſands, killing them with long Poles, as they rooſt in the Trees. At this time of the Year, the Flocks, as they paſs by, in great meaſure, obſtruct the Light of the day.

On *Monday*, we went about 25 Miles, travelling through a pleaſant, dry Country, and took up our Lodgings by a Hill-ſide, that was one entire Rock, out of which guſh'd out pleaſant Fountains of well-taſted Water. *Monday.*

The next day, ſtill paſſing along ſuch Land as we had done for many days before, which was, Hills and Vallies, about 10 a Clock we reach'd the Top of one of theſe Mountains, which yielded us a fine Proſpect of a very level Country, holding ſo, on all ſides, farther than we could diſcern. When we came to travel through it, we found it very ſtiff and rich, being a ſort of Marl. This Valley afforded as large Timber as any I ever met withal, eſpecially of Cheſnut-Oaks, which render it an excellent Country for raiſing great Herds of Swine. Indeed, were it cultivated, we might have good hopes of as pleaſant and fertile a Valley, as any our *Engliſh* in *America* can afford. At Night, we lay by a ſwift Current, where we ſaw plenty of Turkies, but pearch'd upon ſuch lofty Oaks, that our Guns would not kill them, tho' we ſhot very often, and our Guns were very good. Some of our Company ſhot ſeveral times, at one Turkey, before he would fly away, the Pieces being loaded with large Gooſe-ſhot. *Tueſday.*

Next Morning, we got our Breakfaſts; roaſted Acorns being one of the Diſhes. The *Indians* beat them into Meal, and thicken their Veniſon-Broth with them; and oftentimes make a palatable Soop. They are uſed inſtead of Bread, boiling them till the Oil ſwims on the top of the Water, which they preſerve for uſe, eating the Acorns with Fleſh-meat. We travell'd, this day, about 25 Miles, over pleaſant *Savanna* Ground, high, and dry, having very few Trees upon it, and thoſe ſtanding at a great diſtance. The Land was very good, and free from Grubs or Underwood. A Man near *Sapona* may more eaſily clear 10 Acres of Ground, than in ſome places he can one; there being much looſe Stone upon the Land, lying very convenient for making of dry Walls, or any other ſort of durable Fence. This Country *Wedneſday.*

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abounds likewiſe with curious bold Creeks, (navigable for ſmall Craft) diſgorging themſelves into the main Rivers, that vent themſelves into the Ocean. Theſe Creeks are well ſtor'd with ſundry ſorts of Fiſh, and Fowl, and are very convenient for the Tranſportation of what Commodities this Place may produce. This Night, we had a great deal of Rain, with Thunder and Lightning.

Thurſday. Next Morning, it proving delicate Weather, three of us ſeparated ourſelves from the Horſes, and the reſt of the Company, and went directly for *Sapona* Town. That day, we paſs'd through a delicious Country, (none that I ever ſaw exceeds it.) We ſaw fine bladed Graſs, ſix Foot high, along the Banks of theſe pleaſant Rivulets: We paſs'd by the Sepulchres of ſeveral ſlain *Indians*. Coming, that day, about 30 Miles, we reach'd the fertile and pleaſant Banks of *Sapona* River, whereon ſtands the *Indian* Town and Fort. Nor could all *Europe* afford a pleaſanter Stream, were it inhabited by *Chriſtians*, and cultivated by ingenious Hands. Theſe *Indians* live in a clear Field, about a Mile ſquare, which they would have ſold me; becauſe I talked ſometimes of coming into thoſe Parts to live. This moſt pleaſant River may be ſomething broader than the *Thames* at *Kingſton*, keeping a continual pleaſant warbling Noiſe, with its reverberating on the bright Marble Rocks. It is beautified with a numerous Train of Swans, and other ſorts of Water-Fowl, not common, though extraordinary pleaſing to the Eye. The forward Spring welcom'd us with her innumerable Train of ſmall Choriſters, which inhabit thoſe fair Banks; the Hills redoubling, and adding Sweetneſs to their melodious Tunes by their ſhrill Echoes. One ſide of the River is hemm'd in with mountainy Ground, the other ſide proving as rich a Soil to the Eye of a knowing Perſon with us, as any this Weſtern World can afford. We took up our Quarters at the King's Cabin, who was a good Friend to the *Engliſh*, and had loſt one of his Eyes in their Vindication. Being upon his march towards the *Appallatche* Mountains, amongſt a Nation of *Indians* in their Way, there happen'd a Difference, while they were meaſuring of Gunpowder; and the Powder, by accident, taking fire, blew out one of this King's Eyes, and did a great deal more miſchief, upon the ſpot: Yet this *Sapona* King ſtood firmly to the *Engliſh* Man's Intereſt, with whom he was in Company, ſtill

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ſiding with him againſt the *Indians*. They were intended for the *South Sea*, but were too much fatigued by the vaſt Ridge of Mountains, tho' they hit the right Paſſage; it being no leſs than five days Journey through a Ledge of Rocky Hills, and ſandy Deſarts. And which is yet worſe, there is no Water, nor ſcarce a Bird to be ſeen, during your Paſſage over theſe barren Crags and Valleys. The *Sapona* River proves to be the *Weſt* Branch of *Cape-Fair*, or *Clarendon* River, whoſe Inlet, with other Advantages, makes it appear as noble a River to plant a Colony in, as any I have met withal.

The *Saponas* had (about 10 days before we came thither) taken Five Priſoners of the *Sinnagers* or *Jennitos*, a Sort of People that range ſeveral thouſands of Miles, making all Prey they lay their Hands on. Theſe are fear'd by all the ſavage Nations I ever was among, the Weſtward *Indians* dreading their Approach. They are all forted in, and keep continual Spies and Out-Guards for their better Security. Thoſe Captives they did intend to burn, few Priſoners of War eſcaping that Puniſhment. The Fire of Pitch-Pine being got ready, and a Feaſt appointed, which is ſolemnly kept at the time of their acting this Tragedy, the Sufferer has his Body ſtuck thick with Light-Wood-Splinters, which are lighted like ſo many Candles, the tortur'd Perſon dancing round a great Fire, till his Strength fails, and diſables him from making them any farther Paſtime. Moſt commonly, theſe Wretches behave themſelves (in the Midſt of their Tortures) with a great deal of Bravery and Reſolution, eſteeming it Satisfaction enough, to be aſſur'd, that the ſame Fate will befal ſome of their Tormentors, whenſoever they fall into the Hands of their Nation. More of this you will have in the other Sheets.

The *Toteros*, a neighbouring Nation, came down from the Weſtward Mountains, to the *Saponas*, deſiring them to give them thoſe Priſoners into their Hands, to the Intent they might ſend them back into their own Nation, being bound in Gratitude to be ſerviceable to the *Sinnagers*, ſince not long ago, thoſe Northern-*Indians* had taken ſome of the *Toteros* Priſoners, and done them no Harm, but treated them civilly whilſt among them, ſending them, with Safety, back to their own People, and affirming, that it would be the beſt Method to preſerve Peace on all Sides. At that, time theſe

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Toteros, *Saponas*, and the *Keyauwees*, 3 ſmall Nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they ſhould ſtrengthen themſelves, and become formidable to their Enemies. The Reaſons offer'd by the *Toteros* being heard, the *Sapona* King, with the Conſent of his Counſellors, deliver'd the *Sinnagers* up to the *Toteros*, to conduct them home.

Friday. *Friday* Morning, the old King having ſhew'd us 2 of his Horſes, that were as fat, as if they had belong'd to the *Dutch* Troopers, left us, and went to look after his Bever-Traps, there being abundance of thoſe amphibious Animals in this River, and the Creeks adjoining. Taken with the Pleaſantneſs of the Place, we walk'd along the River-ſide, where we found a very delightful Iſland, made by the River, and a Branch; there being ſeveral ſuch Plots of Ground environ'd with this Silver Stream, which are fit Paſtures for Sheep, and free from any offenſive Vermin. Nor can any thing be deſired by a contented Mind, as to a pleaſant Situation, but what may here be found; Every Step preſenting ſome new Object, which ſtill adds Invitation to the Traveller in theſe Parts. Our *Indian* King and his Wife entertain'd us very reſpectfully.

Saturday. Jan. 31. On *Saturday*, the *Indians* brought in ſome Swans, and Geeſe, which we had our Share of. One of their Doctors took me to his Cabin, and ſhew'd me a great Quantity of medicinal Drugs, the Produce of thoſe Parts; Relating their Qualities as to the Emunctories they work'd by, and what great Maladies he had heal'd by them. This Evening, came to us the Horſes, with the Remainder of our Company, their *Indian* Guide (who was a Youth of this Nation) having kill'd, in their Way, a very fat Doe, Part of which they brought to us.

Sunday. This day, the King ſent out all his able Hunters, to kill Game for a great Feaſt, that was to be kept at their Departure, from the Town, which they offer'd to ſell me for a ſmall matter. That Piece of Ground, with a little Trouble, would make an *Engliſhman* a moſt curious Settlement, containing above a Mile ſquare of rich Land. This Evening, came down ſome *Toteros*, tall, likely Men, having great Plenty of Buffelos, Elks, and Bears, with other ſort of Deer amongſt them, which ſtrong Food makes large, robuſt Bodies. Enquiring of them, if they never got any of the *Be-*

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zoar Stone, and giving them a Deſcription how it was found, the *Indians* told me, they had great plenty of it; and ask'd me, What uſe I could make of it? I anſwer'd them, That the white Men us'd it in Phyſick, and that I would buy ſome of them, if they would get it againſt I came that way again. Thereupon, one of them pull'd out a Leather-Pouch, wherein was ſome of it in Powder; he was a notable Hunter, and affirm'd to me, That that Powder, blown into the Eyes, ſtrengthen'd the Sight and Brain exceedingly, that being the moſt common Uſe they made of it. I bought, for 2 or 3 Flints, a large Peach-Loaf, made up with a pleaſant ſort of Seed; and this did us a ſingular Kindneſs, in our Journey. Near the Town, within their clear'd Land, are ſeveral *Bagnios*, or Sweating-Houſes, made of Stone, in Shape like a large Oven. Theſe they make much Uſe of; eſpecially, for any Pains in the Joints, got by Cold, or Travelling. At Night, as we lay in our Beds, there aroſe the moſt violent N. W. Wind I ever knew. The firſt Puff blew down all the *Paliſadoes* that fortify'd the Town; and I thought it would have blown us all into the River, together with the Houſes. Our one-ey'd King, who pretends much to the Art of Conjuration, ran out in the moſt violent Hurry, and in the Middle of the Town, fell to his Necromantick Practice; tho' I thought he would have been blown away or kill'd, before the *Devil* and he could have exchang'd half a dozen Words; but in two Minutes, the Wind was ceas'd, and it became as great a Calm, as ever I knew in my Life. As I much admir'd at that ſudden Alteration, the old Man told me, the *Devil* was very angry, and had done thus, becauſe they had not put the *Sinnagers* to Death.

On *Monday* Morning, our whole Company, with the Horſes, ſet out from the *Sapona-Indian* Town, after having ſeen ſome of the Locuſt, which is gotten thereabouts, the ſame Sort that bears Honey. Going over ſeveral Creeks, very convenient for Water-Mills, about 8 Miles from the Town, we paſs'd over a very pretty River, call'd Rocky River, a fit Name, having a Ridge of high Mountains running from its Banks, to the Eaſtward; and diſgorging itſelf into *Sapona*-River; ſo that there is a moſt pleaſant and convenient Neck of Land, betwixt both Rivers, lying upon a Point, where many thouſand Acres may be fenced in, without *Monday.*

much Coſt or Labour. You can ſcarce go a Mile, without meeting with one of theſe ſmall ſwift Currents, here being no Swamps to be found, but pleaſant, dry Roads all over the Country. The Way that we went this day, was as full of Stones, as any which *Craven*, in the Weſt of *Yorkſhire*, could afford, and having nothing but *Maggiſons* on my Feet, I was ſo lam'd by this ſtony Way, that I thought I muſt have taken up ſome Stay in thoſe Parts. We went, this day, not above 15 or 20 Miles. After we had ſupp'd, and all lay down to ſleep, there came a Wolf cloſe to the Fire-ſide, where we lay. My Spaniel ſoon diſcover'd him, at which, one of our Company fir'd a Gun at the Beaſt; but, I believe, there was a Miſtake in the loading of it, for it did him no Harm. The Wolf ſtay'd till he had almoſt loaded again, but the Bitch making a great Noiſe, at laſt left us and went aſide. We had no ſooner laid down, but he approach'd us again, yet was more ſhy, ſo that we could not get a Shot at him.

Tueſday. Next day, we had 15 Miles farther to the *Keyauwees*. The Land is more mountainous, but extremely pleaſant, and an excellent Place for the breeding Sheep, Goats, and Horſes; or Mules, if the *Engliſh* were once brought to the Experience of the Uſefulneſs of thoſe Creatures. The Valleys are here very rich. At Noon, we paſs'd over ſuch another ſtony River, as that eight Miles from *Sapona*. This is call'd *Heighwaree*, and affords as good blue Stone for Mill-Stones, as that from *Cologn*, good Rags, ſome Hones, and large Pebbles, in great abundance, beſides Free-Stone of ſeveral Sorts, all very uſeful. I knew one of theſe Hones made uſe of by an Acquaintance of mine, and it prov'd rather better than any from *Old Spain*, or elſewhere. The Veins of Marble are very large and curious on this River, and the Banks thereof.

Five Miles from this River, to the N. W. ſtands the *Keyauwees* Town. They are fortify'd in, with wooden Puncheons, like *Sapona*, being a People much of the ſame Number. Nature hath ſo fortify'd this Town, with Mountains, that were it a Seat of War, it might eaſily be made impregnable; having large Corn-Fields joining to their Cabins, and a *Savanna* near the Town, at the Foot of theſe Mountains, that is capable of keeping ſome hundred Heads of Cattle. And all this environ'd round with very high Mountains, ſo that no hard Wind ever troubles theſe Inhabitants. Thoſe high Clifts

Clifts have no Graſs growing on them, and very few Trees, which are very ſhort, and ſtand at a great Diſtance one from another. The Earth is of a red Colour, and ſeems to me to be wholly deſign'd by Nature for the Production of Minerals, being of too hot a Quality, to ſuffer any Verdure upon its Surface. Theſe *Indians* make uſe of Lead-Ore, to paint their Faces withal, which they get in the neighbouring Mountains. As for the refining of Metals, the *Indians* are wholly ignorant of it, being content with the *Realgar*. But if it be my Chance, once more to viſit theſe Hilly Parts, I ſhall make a longer Stay amongſt them: For were a good Vein of Lead found out, and work'd by an ingenious Hand, it might be of no ſmall Advantage to the Undertaker, there being great Convenience for ſmelting, either by Bellows or Reverberation; and the Working of theſe Mines might diſcover ſome that are much richer.

At the Top of one of theſe Mountains, is a Cave that 100 Men may ſit very conveniently to dine in; whether natural, or artificial, I could not learn. There is a fine Bole between this Place, and the *Saps*. Theſe Valleys thus hemm'd in with Mountains, would (doubtleſs) prove a good place for propagating ſome ſort of Fruits, that our Eaſterly Winds commonly blaſt. The Vine could not miſs of thriving well here; but we of the Northern Climate are neither Artiſts, nor curious, in propagating that pleaſant and profitable Vegetable. Near the Town, is ſuch another Current, as *Heighwaree*. We being ſix in Company, divided ourſelves into Two Parties; and it was my Lot to be at the Houſe of *Keyauwees Jack*, who is King of that People. He is a *Congeree-Indian*, and ran away when he was a Boy. He got this Government by Marriage with the Queen; the Female Iſſue carrying the Heritage, for fear of Impoſtors; the Savages well knowing, how much Frailty poſſeſſes the *Indian* Women, betwixt the Garters and the Girdle.

The next day, having ſome occaſion to write, the *Indian* King, who ſaw me, believ'd that he could write as well as I. Whereupon, I wrote a Word, and gave it him to copy, which he did with more Exactneſs, than any *European* could have done, that was illiterate. It was ſo well, that he who could read mine, might have done the ſame by his. Afterwards, he took great Delight in making Fiſh-hooks of his *Wedneſday.*

own Invention, which would have been a good Piece for an Antiquary to have puzzled his Brains withal, in tracing out the Characters of all the Oriental Tongues. He sent for several *Indians* to his Cabin, to look at his Handy-work, and both he and they thought, I could read his Writing as well as I could my own. I had a Manual in my Pocket, that had King *David*'s Picture in it, in one of his private Retirements. The *Indian* ask'd me, Who that Figure represented? I told him, It was the Picture of a good King, that liv'd according to the Rules of Morality, doing to all as he would be done by, ordering all his Life to the Service of the Creator of all things; and being now above us all, in Heaven, with God Almighty, who had rewarded him with all the delightful Pleasures imaginable in the other World, for his Obedience to him in this; I concluded, with telling them, that we received nothing here below, as Food, Raiment, *&c.* but what came from that Omnipotent Being. They listned to my Discourse with a profound Silence, assuring me, that they believ'd what I said to be true. No Man living will ever be able to make these *Heathens* sensible of the Happiness of a future State, except he now and then mentions some lively carnal Representation, which may quicken their Apprehensions, and make them thirst after such a gainful Exchange; for, were the best Lecture that ever was preach'd by Man, given to an ignorant sort of People, in a more learned Style, than their mean Capacities are able to understand, the Intent would prove ineffectual, and the Hearers would be left in a greater Labyrinth than their Teacher found them in. But dispense the Precepts of our Faith according to the Pupil's Capacity, and there is nothing in our Religion, but what an indifferent Reason is, in some measure, able to comprehend; tho' a *New-England* Minister blames the *French* Jesuits for this way of Proceeding, as being quite contrary to a true Christian Practice, and affirms it to be no ready, or true Method, to establish a lively Representation of our Christian Belief amongst these Infidels.

All the *Indians* hereabouts carefully preserve the Bones of the Flesh they eat, and burn them, as being of Opinion, that if they omitted that Custom, the Game would leave their Country, and they should not be able to maintain themselves by their Hunting. Most of these *Indians* wear Mustachoes, or Whiskers, which is rare; by reason the *Indians* are a Peo-

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ple that commonly pull the Hair of their Faces, and other Parts, up by the Roots, and suffer none to grow. Here is plenty of Chesnuts, which are rarely found in *Carolina*, and never near the Sea, or Salt-Water; tho' they are frequently in such Places in *Virginia*.

At the other House, where our Fellow-Travellers lay, they had provided a Dish, in great Fashion amongst the *Indians*, which was Two young Fawns, taken out of the Doe's Bellies, and boil'd in the same slimy Bags Nature had plac'd them in, and one of the Country-Hares, stew'd with the Guts in her Belly, and her Skin with the Hair on. This new-fashion'd Cookery wrought Abstinence in our Fellow-Travellers, which I somewhat wonder'd at, because one of them made nothing of eating *Allegators*, as heartily as if it had been Pork and Turneps. The *Indians* dress most things after the Wood-cock Fashion, never taking the Guts out. At the House we lay at, there was very good Entertainment of Venison, Turkies, and Bears; and which is customary amongst the *Indians*, the Queen had a Daughter by a former Husband, who was the beautifullest *Indian* I ever saw, and had an Air of Majesty with her, quite contrary to the general Carriage of the *Indians*. She was very kind to the *English*, during our Abode, as well as her Father and Mother.

This Morning, most of our Company having some Inclination to go straight away for *Virginia*, when they left this Place; I and one more took our leaves of them, resolving (with God's Leave) to see *North-Carolina*, one of the *Indians* setting us in our way. The rest being indifferent which way they went, desired us, by all means, to leave a Letter for them, at the *Achonechy*-Town. The *Indian* that put us in our Path, had been a Prisoner amongst the *Sinnagers*; but had out-run them, although they had cut his Toes, and half his Feet away, which is a Practice common amongst them. They first raise the Skin, then cut away half the Feet, and so wrap the Skin over the Stumps, and make a present Cure of the Wounds. This commonly disables them from making their Escape, they being not so good Travellers as before, and the Impression of their Half-Feet making it easy to trace them. However, this Fellow was got clear of them, but had little Heart to go far from home, and carry'd always a Case of Pistols in his Girdle, besides a Cutlass, and a Fuzee. *Thursday.*

Leaving

Leaving the reſt of our Company at the *Indian*-Town, we travell'd, that day, about 20 Miles, in very cold, froſty Weather; and paſs'd over two pretty Rivers, ſomething bigger than *Heighwaret*, but not quite ſo ſtony. We took theſe two Rivers to make one of the Northward Branches of *Cape-Fair* River, but afterwards found our Miſtake.

Friday. The next day, we travell'd over very good Land, but full of Free-Stone, and Marble, which pinch'd our Feet ſeverely. We took up our Quarters in a ſort of *Savanna*-Ground, that had very few Trees in it. The Land was good, and had ſeveral Quarries of Stone, but not looſe, as the others us'd to be.

Saturday. Next Morning, we got our Breakfaſts of Parch'd Corn, having nothing but that to ſubſiſt on for above 100 Miles. All the Pine-Trees were vaniſh'd, for we had ſeen none for two days. We paſs'd through a delicate rich Soil this day; no great Hills, but pretty Riſings, and Levels, which made a beautiful Country. We likewiſe paſs'd over three Rivers this day; the firſt about the bigneſs of *Rocky* River, the other not much differing in Size. Then we made not the leaſt Queſtion, but we had paſs'd over the North-Weſt Branch of *Cape-Fair*, travelling that day above 30 Miles. We were much taken with the Fertility and Pleaſantneſs of the Neck of Land between theſe two Branches, and no leſs pleas'd, that we had paſs'd the River, which us'd to frighten Paſſengers from fording it. At laſt, determining to reſt on the other ſide of a Hill, which we ſaw before us; when we were on the Top thereof, there appear'd to us ſuch another delicious, rapid Stream, as that of *Sapona*, having large Stones, about the bigneſs of an ordinary Houſe, lying up and down the River. As the Wind blew very cold at N. W. and we were very weary, and hungry, the Swiftneſs of the Current gave us ſome cauſe to fear; but, at laſt, we concluded to venture over that Night. Accordingly, we ſtripp'd, and with great Difficulty, (by God's Aſſiſtance) got ſafe to the North-ſide of the famous *Hau*-River, by ſome called *Reatkin*; the *Indians* differing in the Names of Places, according to their ſeveral Nations. It is call'd *Hau*-River, from the *Siſſipahau Indians*, who dwell upon this Stream, which is one of the main Branches of *Cape-Fair*, there being rich Land enough to contain ſome Thouſands of Fa-

Families; for which Reaſon, I hope, in a ſhort time, it will be planted. This River is much ſuch another as *Sapona*; both ſeeming to run a vaſt way up the Country. Here is plenty of good Timber, and eſpecially, of a Scaly-bark'd Oak; And as there is Stone enough in both Rivers, and the Land is extraordinary Rich, no Man that will be content within the Bounds of Reaſon, can have any grounds to diſlike it. And they that are otherwiſe, are the beſt Neighbours, when fartheſt of.

As ſoon as it was day, we ſet out for the *Achonechy*-Town, it being, by Eſtimation, 20 Miles off, which, I believe, is pretty exact. We were got about half way, (meeting great Gangs of Turkies) when we ſaw, at a Diſtance, 30 loaded Horſes, coming on the Road, with four or five Men, on other Jades, driving them. We charg'd our Piece, and went up to them: Enquiring, whence they came from? They told us, from *Virginia*. The leading Man's Name was *Maſſey*, who was born about *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*. He ask'd, from whence we came? We told him. Then he ask'd again, Whether we wanted any thing that he had? telling us, we ſhould be welcome to it. We accepted of Two Wheaten Biskets, and a little Ammunition. He adviſed us, by all means, to ſtrike down the Country for *Ronoach*, and not think of *Virginia*, becauſe of the *Sinnagers*, of whom they were afraid, tho' ſo well arm'd, and numerous. They perſuaded us alſo, to call upon one *Enoe Will*, as we went to *Adſhuſheer*, for that he would conduct us ſafe among the *Engliſh*, giving him the Character of a very faithful *Indian*, which we afterwards found true by Experience. The *Virginia*-Men asking our Opinion of the Country we were then in? we told them, it was a very pleaſant one. They were all of the ſame Opinion, and affirm'd, That they had never ſeen 20 Miles of ſuch extraordinary rich Land, lying all together, like that betwixt *Hau*-River and the *Achonechy* Town. Having taken our Leaves of each other, we ſet forward; and the Country, thro' which we paſs'd, was ſo delightful, that it gave us a great deal of Satisfaction. About Three a Clock, we reach'd the Town, and the *Indians* preſently brought us good fat Bear, and Veniſon, which was very acceptable at that time. Their Cabins were hung with a good ſort of Tapeſtry, as fat Bear, and barbakued or dried Veniſon; no *Indians* having greater Plenty

Sundry.

ty of Proviſions than theſe. The Savages do, indeed, ſtill poſſeſs the Flower of *Carolina*, the *Engliſh* enjoying only the Fag-end of that fine Country. We had not been in the Town 2 Hours, when *Enoe-Will* came into the King's Cabin; which was our Quarters. We ask'd him, if he would conduct us to the *Engliſh*, and what he would have for his Pains; he anſwer'd, he would go along with us, and for what he was to have, he left that to our Diſcretion.

Monday. The next Morning, we ſet out, with *Enoe-Will*, towards *Adſhuſheer*, leaving the *Virginia* Path, and ſtriking more to the Eaſtward, for *Ronoack*. Several *Indians* were in our Company belonging to *Will's* Nation, who are the *Shoccories*, mixt with the *Enoe-Indians*, and thoſe of the Nation of *Adſhuſheer*. *Enoe-Will* is their chief Man, and rules as far as the Banks of *Reatkin*. It was a ſad ſtony Way to *Adſhuſheer*. We went over a ſmall River by *Achonechy*, and in this 14 Miles, through ſeveral other Streams, which empty themſelves into the Branches of *Cape-Fear*. The ſtony Way made me quite lame; ſo that I was an Hour or two behind the reſt; but honeſt *Will* would not leave me, but bid me welcome when we came to his Houſe, feaſting us with hot Bread, and Bears-Oil; which is wholſome Food for Travellers. There runs a pretty Rivulet by this Town. Near the Plantation, I ſaw a prodigious overgrown Pine-Tree, having not ſeen any of that Sort of Timber for above 125 Miles: They brought us 2 Cocks, and pull'd their larger Feathers off, never plucking the leſſer, but ſingeing them off. I took one of theſe Fowls in my Hand, to make it cleaner than the *Indian* had, pulling out his Guts and Liver, which I laid in a Baſon; notwithſtanding which, he kept ſuch a Struggling for a conſiderable time, that I had much ado to hold him in my Hands. The *Indians* laugh'd at me, and told me, that *Enoe-Will* had taken a Cock of an *Indian* that was not at home, and the Fowl was deſign'd for another Uſe. I conjectur'd, that he was deſign'd for an Offering to their God, who, they ſay, hurts them, (which is the Devil.) In this Struggling, he bled afreſh, and there iſſued out of his Body more Blood than commonly ſuch Creatures afford. Notwithſtanding all this, we cook'd him, and eat him; and if he was deſign'd for him, cheated the Devil. The *Indians* keep many Cocks, but ſeldom above one Hen, uſing very often ſuch wicked Sacrifices, as I miſtruſted this Fowl was deſign'd for.

Our

Our Guide and Landlord *Enoe-Will* was of the beſt and moſt agreeable Temper that ever I met with in an *Indian*, being always ready to ſerve the *Engliſh*, not out of Gain, but real Affection; which makes him apprehenſive of being poiſon'd by ſome wicked *Indians*, and was therefore very earneſt with me, to promiſe him to revenge his Death, if it ſhould ſo happen. He brought ſome of his chief Men into his Cabin, and 2 of them having a Drum, and a Rattle, ſung by us, as we lay in Bed, and ſtruck up their Muſick to ſerenade and welcome us to their Town. And tho' at laſt, we fell aſleep, yet they continu'd their Conſort till Morning. Theſe *Indians* are fortify'd in, as the former, and are much addicted to a Sport they call *Chenco*, which is carry'd on with a Staff and a Bowl made of Stone, which they trundle upon a ſmooth Place, like a Bowling-Green, made for that Purpoſe, as I have mention'd before.

Next Morning, we ſet out, with our Guide, and ſeveral other *Indians*, who intended to go to the *Engliſh*, and buy Rum. We deſign'd for a Nation about 40 Miles from *Adſhuſheer*, call'd the Lower Quarter: The firſt Night, we lay in a rich *Perkoſon*, or low Ground, that was hard-by a Creek, and good dry Land. *Tueſday.*

The next day, we went over ſeveral Tracts of rich Land, but mix'd with Pines and other indifferent Soil. In our way, there ſtood a great Stone about the Size of a large Oven, and hollow; this the *Indians* took great Notice of, putting ſome Tobacco into the Concavity, and ſpitting after it. I ask'd them the Reaſon of their ſo doing, but they made me no Anſwer. In the Evening, we paſs'd over a pleaſant Rivulet, with a fine gravelly Bottom, having come over ſuch another that Morning. On the other ſide of this River, we found the *Indian* Town, which was a Parcel of naſty ſmoaky Holes, much like the *Waterrees*; their Town having a great Swamp running directly through the Middle thereof. The Land here begins to abate of its Height, and has ſome few Swamps. Moſt of theſe *Indians* have but one Eye; but what Miſchance or Quarrel has bereav'd them of the other I could not learn. They were not ſo free to us, as moſt of the other *Indians* had been; Victuals being ſomewhat ſcarce among them. However, we got enough to ſatisfy our Appetites. I ſaw, among theſe Men, very long Arrows, headed with Pieces of *Wedneſday.*

Glass, which they had broken from Bottles. They had shap'd them neatly, like the Head of a Dart; but which way they did it, I can't tell. We had not been at this Town above an Hour, when two of our Company, that had bought a Mare of *John Stewart*, came up to us, having receiv'd a Letter by one of *Will*'s *Indians*, who was very cautious, and asked a great many Questions, to certifie him of the Person, e'er he would deliver the Letter. They had left the Trader, and one that came from *South-Carolina* with us, to go to *Virginia*; these Two being resolved to go to *Carolina* with us.

Thursday. This Day fell much Rain, so we staid at the *Indian* Town.

Friday. This Morning, we set out early, being four *English*-Men, besides several *Indians*. We went 10 Miles, and were then stopp'd by the Freshes of *Enoe*-River, which had rais'd it so high, that we could not pass over, till it was fallen. I enquir'd of my Guide, Where this River disgorg'd it self? He said, It was *Enoe*-River, and run into a Place call'd *Enoe*-Bay, near his Country, which he left when he was a Boy; by which I perceiv'd, he was one of the *Cores* by Birth: This being a Branch of *Neus*-River.

Saturday. This Day, our Fellow-Traveller's Mare ran away from him; wherefore, *Will* went back as far as the lower Quarter, and brought her back.

Sunday. The next Day, early, came two *Tuskeruro Indians* to the other side of the River, but could not get over. They talk'd much to us, but we understood them not. In the Afternoon, *Will* came with the Mare, and had some Discourse with them; they told him, The *English*, to whom he was going, were very wicked People; and, That they threatned the *Indians* for Hunting near their Plantations. These Two Fellows were going among the *Schoccores* and *Achonechy Indians*, to sell their Wooden Bowls and Ladles for Raw-Skins, which they make great Advantage of, hating that any of these Westward *Indians* should have any Commerce with the *English*, which would prove a Hinderance to their Gains. Their Stories deterr'd an Old *Indian* and his Son, from going any farther; but *Will* told us, Nothing they had said should frighten him, he believing them to be a couple of Hog-stealers; and that the *English* only sought Restitution of their Losses, by them; and that this was the only ground for their Report. *Will* had a Slave, a *Sisipahaw-Indian* by Nation, who killed us several Turkies, and other Game, on which we feasted.

Monday. This River is near as large as *Reatkin*; the South-side having curious Tracts of good Land, the Banks high, and Stone-Quarries. The *Tuskeruros* being come to us, we ventur'd over the River, which we found to be a strong Current, and the Water about Breast-high. However, we all got safe to the North-Shore, which is but poor, white, sandy Land, and bears no Timber, but small shrubby Oaks. We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Wa-

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ter-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Neus*-Creek, called by the *Indians*, *Wee quo Whom*. We lay here all Night. My Guide *Will* desiring to see the Book that I had about me, I lent it him; and as he soon found the Picture of King *David*, he asked me several Questions concerning the Book, and Picture, which I resolv'd him, and invited him to become a Christian. He made me a very sharp Reply, assuring me, That he lov'd the *English* extraordinary well, and did believe their Ways to be very good for those that had already practis'd them, and had been brought up therein; But as for himself, he was too much in Years to think of a Change, esteeming it not proper for Old People to admit of such an Alteration. However, he told me, If I would take his Son *Jack*, who was then about 14 Years of Age, and teach him to talk in that Book, and make Paper speak, which they call our Way of Writing, he would wholly resign him to my Tuition; telling me, he was of Opinion, I was very well affected to the *Indians*.

The next Morning, we set out early, and I perceiv'd that these *Indians* were in some fear of Enemies; for they had an Old Man with them, who was very cunning and circumspect, wheresoever he saw any Marks of Footing, or of any Fire that had been made; going out of his Way, very often, to look for these Marks. We went, this day, above 30 Miles, over a very level Country, and most Pine Land, yet intermix'd with some Quantities of Marble; a good Range for Cattel, though very indifferent for Swine. We had now lost our rapid Streams, and were come to slow, dead Waters, of a brown Colour, proceeding from the *Swamps*, much like the Sluices in *Holland*, where the Track-*Scoots* go along. In the Afternoon, we met two *Tuskeruros*, who told us, That there was a Company of Hunters not far of, and if we walk'd stoutly, we might reach them that Night. But *Will* and He that own'd the Mare, being gone before, and the Old *Indian* tired, we rested, that Night, in the Woods, making a good light Fire, Wood being very plentiful in these Parts. *Tuesday.*

Next Day, about 10 a Clock, we struck out of the Way, by the Advice of our Old *Indian*. We had not gone past two Miles, e'er we met with about 500 *Tuskeruros* in one Hunting-Quarter. They had made themselves Streets of Houses, built with Pine-Bark, not with round Tops, as they commonly use, but Ridge-Fashion, after the manner of most other *Indians*. We got nothing amongst them but Corn, Flesh being not plentiful, by reason of the great Number of their People. For tho' they are expert Hunters, yet they are too populous for one Range; which makes Venison very scarce to what it is amongst other *Indians*, that are fewer; no Savages living so well for Plenty, as those near the Sea. I saw, amongst these, a Hump-back'd *Indian*, which was the only crooked one I ever met with all. About two a Clock, we reach'd one of their Towns, in which there was no body left, but an Old Woman or two; the rest being gone to *Wednesday.*

their

their Hunting-Quarters. We could find no Proviſion at that Place. We had a *Tuskeruro* that came in company with us, from the lower Quarter, who took us to his Cabin, and gave us what it afforded, which was Corn-meat.

Thurſday. This Day, we paſs'd through ſeveral Swamps, and going not above a dozen Miles, came to a Cabin, the Maſter whereof us'd to trade amongſt the *Engliſh*. He told us, If we would ſtay Two Nights, he would conduct us ſafe to them, himſelf deſigning, at that time, to go and fetch ſome Rum; ſo we reſolved to tarry for his Company. During our Stay, there happen'd to be a Young Woman troubled with Fits. The Doctor who was ſent for to aſſiſt her, laid her on her Belly, and made a ſmall Inciſion with Rattle-Snake-Teeth; then laying his Mouth to the Place, he ſuck'd out near a Quart of black conglutinated Blood, and *Serum*. Our Landlord gave us the Tail of a Bever, which was a

Friday. choice Food. There happen'd alſo to be a Burial of one of their Dead, which Ceremony is much the ſame with that of the *Santees*, who make a great Feaſt at the Interment of their Corps. The ſmall Runs of Water hereabout, afford great Plenty of Craw-Fiſh, full as large as thoſe in *England*, and nothing inferior in Goodneſs.

Saturday. *Saturday* Morning, our Patron, with *Enoe Will*, and his Servant, ſet out with us, for the *Engliſh*. In the Afternoon, we ferried over a River, (in a *Canoe*) called by the *Indians*, *Chattookau*, which is the N. W. Branch of *Neus*-River. We lay in the *Swamp*, where ſome *Indians* invited us to go to their Quarters, which ſome of our Company accepted, but got nothing extraordinary, except a dozen Miles March out of their Way: The Country here is very thick of *Indian* Towns and Plantations.

Sunday. We were forced to march, this day, for Want of Proviſions. About 10 a Clock, we met an *Indian* that had got a parcel of Shad-Fiſh ready barbaku'd. We bought 24 of them, for a dreſs'd Doe-Skin, and ſo went on, through many *Swamps*, finding, this day, the long ragged Moſs on the Trees, which we had not ſeen for above 600 Miles. In the Afternoon, we came upon the Banks of *Pampticough*, about 20 Miles above the *Engliſh* Plantations by Water, though not ſo far by Land. The *Indian* found a *Canoe*, which he had hidden, in which we all got over, and went about ſix Miles farther. We lay, that Night, under two or three Pieces of Bark, at the Foot of a large Oak. There fell abundance of Snow and Rain in the Night, with much Thunder and Lightning.

Monday. Next Day, it clear'd up, and it being about 12 Miles to the *Engliſh*, about half-way we paſſed over a deep Creek, and came ſafe to Mr. *Richard Smith*'s, of *Pampticough*-River, in *North-Carolina*; where being well receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and pleas'd with the Goodneſs of the Country, we all reſolv'd to continue.

F I N I S.

A DESCRIPTION OF *North-CAROLINA.*

THE Province of *Carolina* is separated from *Virginia* by a due West-Line, which begins at *Currituck*-Inlet, in 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes, of Northern-Latitude, and extends indefinitely to the Westward, and thence to the Southward, as far as 29 Degrees; which is a vast Tract of Sea-Coast. But having already treated, as far as is necessary, concerning South-*Carolina*, I shall confine myself, in the ensuing Sheets, to give my Reader a Description of that Part of the Country only, which lies betwixt *Currituck* and *Cape-Fair*, and is almost 34 Deg. North. And this is commonly call'd *North Carolina*. Carolina *how bounded.*

This Part of *Carolina* is faced with a Chain of Sand-Banks, which defends it from the Violence and Insults of the *Atlantick* Ocean; by which Barrier, a vast Sound is hemm'd in, which fronts the Mouths of the Navigable and Pleasant Rivers of this Fertile Country, and into which they disgorge themselves. Thro' the same are Inlets of several Depths of Water. Some of their Channels admit only of Sloops, Brigantines, small Barks, and Ketches; and such are *Currituck*, *Ronoak*, and up the Sound above *Hatteras*: Whilst others can receive Ships of Burden, as *Ocacock*, *Topsail*-Inlet, and *Cape-Fair*; as appears by my Chart. *Inlets.*

First Colony of Carolina.

The first Discovery and Settlement of this Country was by the Procurement of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in Conjunction with some publick-spirited Gentlemen of that Age, under the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*; for which Reason it was then named *Virginia*, being begun on that Part called *Ronoak*-Island, where the Ruins of a Fort are to be seen at this day, as well as some old *English* Coins which have been lately found; and a Brass-Gun, a Powder-Horn, and one small Quarter deck-Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies.

Hatteras Indians.

A farther Confirmation of this we have from the *Hatteras Indians*, who either then lived on *Ronoak*-Island, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these *Indians*, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the *English*, and are ready to do them all friendly Offices. It is probable, that this Settlement miscarry'd for want of timely Supplies from *England*; or thro' the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the *English* were forced to cohabit with them, for Relief and Conversation; and that in process of Time, they conform'd themselves to the Manners of their *Indian* Relations. And thus we see, how apt Humane Nature is to degenerate.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Ship.*

I cannot forbear inserting here, a pleasant Story that passes for an uncontested Truth amongst the Inhabitants of this Place; which is, that the Ship which brought the first Colonies, does often appear amongst them, under Sail, in a gallant Posture, which they call Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Ship; And the truth of this has been affirm'd to me, by Men of the best Credit in the Country.

Second Settlement of North-Carolina.

A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago, in that part we now call *Albemarl*-County, and chiefly in *Chowon* Precinct, by several substantial Planters, from *Virginia*, and other Plantations; Who finding mild Winters, and a fertile Soil, beyond Expectation, producing every thing that was planted, to a prodigious Increase; their Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine, breeding very

very fast, and passing the Winter, without any Assistance from the Planter; so that every thing seem'd to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost void of Care, and free from those Fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries, for providing Fodder and other Necessaries; these Encouragements induc'd them to stand their Ground, altho' but a handful of People, seated at great Distances one from another, and amidst a vast number of *Indians* of different Nations, who were then in *Carolina*. Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new-discover'd Summer-Country spread thro' the neighbouring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable Number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in, (had they been many Thousands more) and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And indeed, most of the Plantations in *Carolina* naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savanna's, and fine Meadows, with their green Liveries, interwoven with beautiful Flowers, of most glorious Colours, which the several Seasons afford; hedg'd in with pleasant Groves of the ever-famous Tulip-tree, the stately Laurel, and Bays, equalizing the Oak in Bigness and Growth; Myrtles, Jessamines, Wood-bines, Honysuckles, and several other fragrant Vines and Ever-greens, whose aspiring Branches shadow and interweave themselves with the loftiest Timbers, yielding a pleasant Prospect, Shade and Smell, proper Habitations for the Sweet-singing Birds, that melodiously entertain such as travel thro' the Woods of *Carolina*.

Pleasantness of Carolina.

The Planters possessing all these Blessings, and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and *Indian* Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful, as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, and Furs; for these Commodities the *New-England*-Men and *Bermudians* visited *Carolina* in their Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them, in Exchange, Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molosses, and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant Prices.

As the Land is very fruitful, so are the Planters kind and hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few Housekeepers, but what live very nobly, and give away more Provisions to Coasters and Guests who

come to see them, than they expend amongst their own Families.

Of the Inlets and Havens of this Country.

Currituck *Inlet.* The Bar of *Currituck* being the Northermost of this Country, presents itself first to be treated of. It lies in 36 deg. 30 min. and the Course over is S. W. by W. having not above seven or eight Foot on the Bar, tho' a good Harbour, when you are over, where you may ride safe, and deep enough; but this Part of the Sound is so full of Shoals, as not to suffer any thing to trade thro' it, that draws above three Foot Water, which renders it very incommodious. However, this affects but some part of the Country, and may be easily remedied, by carrying their Produce, in small Craft, down to the Vessels, which ride near the Inlet.

Ronoak *Inlet.* *Ronoak* Inlet has Ten Foot Water; the Course over the Bar is almost W. which leads you thro' the best of the Channel. This Bar, as well as *Currituck*, often shifts by the Violence of the N. E. Storms, both lying expos'd to those Winds. Notwithstanding which, a considerable Trade might be carry'd on, provided there was a Pilot to bring them in; for it lies convenient for a large Part of this Colony, whose Product would very easily allow of that Charge; Lat. 35 deg. 50 min.

Hatteras *Inlet.* The Inlet of *Hatteras* lies to the Westward of the Cape, round which is an excellent Harbour. When the Wind blows hard at N. or N. E. if you keep a small League from the Cape-Point, you will have 3, 4, and 5 Fathom, the outermost Shoals lying about 7 or 8 Leagues from Shoar. As you come into the Inlet, keep close to the South Breakers, till you are over the Bar, where you will have two Fathom at Low-Water. You may come to an Anchor in two Fathom and a Half when you are over, then steer over close aboard the North Shoar, where is four Fathom, close to a Point of Marsh; then steer up the Sound a long League, till you bring the North Cape of the Inlet to bear S. S. E. half E. then steer W. N. W. the East-point of Bluff-Land at *Hatteras* bearing E. N. E. the Southermost large Hammock towards *Ocacock*, bearing S. S. W. half S. then you are in the Sound, over the Bar of Sand, whereon is but 6 Foot Water;

Water; then your Course to *Pampticough* is almost West. It flows on these three Bars S. E. by E. ½ E. about Eight of the Clock, unless there is a hard Gale of Wind at N. E. which will make it flow two hours longer; but as soon as the Wind is down, the Tides will have their natural Course: A hard Gale at N. or N. W. will make the Water ebb sometimes 24 hours, but still the Tide will ebb and flow, tho' not seen by the turning thereof, but may be seen by the Rising of the Water, and Falling of the same, Lat. 35° 20″.

Ocacock is the best Inlet and Harbour yet in this Country; and has 13 Foot at Low-water upon the Bar. There are two Channels; one is but narrow, and lies close aboard the South Cape; the other in the Middle, *viz.* between the Middle Ground, and the South Shoar, and is above half a Mile wide. The Bar itself is but half a Cable's Length over, and then you are in 7 or 8 Fathom Water; a good Harbour. The Course into the Sound is N. N. W. At High-water, and Neap-tides, here is 18 Foot Water. It lies S. W. from *Hatteras* Inlet. Lat. 35° 8″. Ocacock *Inlet.*

Topsail Inlet is above two Leagues to the Westward of *Cape Look-out*. You have a fair Channel over the Bar, and two Fathom thereon, and a good Harbour in five or six Fathom to come to an Anchor. Your Course over this Bar is almost N. W. Lat. 34° 44″. Topsail *Inlet.*

As for the Inlet and River of *Cape Fair*, I cannot give you a better Information thereof, than has been already deliver'd by the Gentlemen, who were sent on purpose, from *Barbados*, to make a Discovery of that River, in the Year 1663. which is thus. Cape Fair *Inlet and River.*

From *Tuesday* the 29th of *September*, to *Friday* the 2d of *October*, we rang'd along the Shoar from Lat. 32 deg. 20 min. to Lat. 33 deg. 11 min. but could discern no Entrance for our Ship, after we had pass'd to the Northward of 32 deg. 40 min. On *Saturday*, *Octob.* 3. a violent Storm overtook us, the Wind between North and East; which Easterly Winds and Foul Weather continu'd till *Monday* the 12th; by reason of which Storms and Foul Weather, we were forced to get off to Sea, to secure Ourselves and Ship, and were driven by the Rapidity of a strong Current to Cape *Hatteras* in Lat. 35 deg. 30 min. On *Monday* the 12th aforesaid

ſaid, we came to an Anchor in ſeven Fathom at *Cape-Fair* Road, and took the Meridian Altitude of the Sun, and were in Latitude 33 deg. 43 min. the Wind continuing ſtill eaſterly, and foul Weather, till *Thurſday* the 15th; and on *Friday* the 16th, the Wind being at N. W. we weigh'd and ſail'd up *Cape-Fair*-River, ſome 4 or 5 Leagues, and came to an Anchor in 6 or 7 Fathom, at which time ſeveral *Indians* came on board, and brought us great Store of freſh Fiſh, large Mullets, young Baſs, Shads, and ſeveral other Sorts of very good well-taſted Fiſh. On *Saturday* the 17th, we went down to the *Cape*, to ſee the *Engliſh* Cattle, but could not find 'em, tho' we rounded the *Cape*: And having an *Indian* Guide with us, here we rode till *Oct.* 24. The Wind being againſt us, we could not go up the River with our Ship; but went on ſhoar, and view'd the Land of thoſe Quarters. On *Saturday*, we weigh'd, and ſail'd up the River ſome 4 Leagues, or thereabouts. *Sunday* the 25th, we weigh'd again, and row'd up the River, it being calm, and got up ſome 14 Leagues from the Harbour's Mouth, where we mor'd our Ship. On *Monday Oct.* the 26th, we went down with the Yawl, to *Necoes*, an *Indian* Plantation, and view'd the Land there. On *Tueſday* the 27th, we row'd up the main River, with our Long-Boat, and 12 Men, ſome 10 Leagues, or thereabouts. On *Wedneſday* the 28th, we row'd up about 8 or 10 Leagues more. *Thurſday* the 29th, was foul Weather, with much Rain and Wind, which forc'd us to make Huts, and lie ſtill. *Friday* the 30th, we proceeded up the main River, 7 or 8 Leagues. *Saturday* the 31ſt, we got up 3 or 4 Leagues more, and came to a Tree that lay croſs the River; but becauſe our Proviſions were almoſt ſpent, we proceeded no farther, but return'd downward before Night, and on *Monday* the 2d of *November*, we came aboard our Ship. *Tueſday* the 3d, we lay ſtill, to refreſh ourſelves. On *Wedneſday* the 4th, we went 5 or 6 Leagues up the River, to ſearch a Branch that run out of the main River towards the N. W. In which Branch we went up 5 or 6 Leagues; but not liking the Land, return'd on board that Night about Midnight, and call'd that Place *Swampy-Branch*. *Thurſday*, *November* the 5th, we ſtay'd aboard. On *Friday* the 6th, we went up *Greens-River*, the Mouth of it being againſt the Place at which rode our Ship. On *Saturday* the 7th, we proceeded up the ſaid River, ſome

ſome 14 or 15 Leagues in all, and found it ended in ſeveral ſmall Branches; The Land, for the moſt part, being marſhy and Swamps, we return'd towards our Ship, and got aboard it in the Night. *Sunday November* the 8th, we lay ſtill, and on *Monday* the 9th, went again up the main River, being well ſtock'd with Proviſions, and all things neceſſary, and proceeded upwards till *Thurſday* noon, the 12th, at which time we came to a Place, where were two Iſlands in the Middle of the River; and by reaſon of the Crookedneſs of the River at that Place, ſeveral Trees lay croſs both Branches, which ſtop'd the Paſſage of each Branch, ſo that we could proceed no farther with our Boat; but went up the River ſide by Land, ſome 3 or 4 Miles, and found the River wider and wider. So we return'd, leaving it, as far as we could ſee up a long Reach, running N. E. we judging ourſelves near fifty Leagues North from the River's Mouth. In our Return, we view'd the Land on both Sides the River, and found as good Tracts of dry, well-wooded, pleaſant, and delightful Ground, as we have ſeen any where in the World, with abundance of long thick Graſs on it, the Land being very level, with ſteep Banks on both Sides the River, and in ſome Places very high, the Woods ſtor'd every where, with great Numbers of Deer and Turkies, we never going on Shoar, but we ſaw of each Sort; as alſo great Store of Partridges, Cranes, and Conies, in ſeveral Places; we likewiſe heard ſeveral Wolves howling in the Woods, and ſaw where they had torn a Deer in Pieces. Alſo in the River we ſaw great Store of Ducks, Teal, Widgeon; and in the Woods, great Flocks of Parrakeeto's. The Timber that the Woods afford, for the moſt part, conſiſts of Oaks of four or five Sorts, all differing in Leaves, but each bearing very good Acorns. We meaſur'd many of the Oaks in ſeveral Places, which we found to be, in Bigneſs, ſome Two, ſome Three, and others almoſt Four Fathom in Height, before you come to Boughs or Limbs; forty, fifty, ſixty Foot, and ſome more; and thoſe Oaks very common in the upper Parts of both Rivers; alſo a very tall large Tree of great Bigneſs, which ſome call *Cyprus*, the right Name we know not, growing in Swamps. Likewiſe Walnut, Birch, Beech, Maple, Aſh, Bay, Willow, Alder, and Holly; and in the lowermoſt Parts innumerable Pines, tall and good for Boards or Maſts,

grow-

growing, for the moſt part, in barren and ſandy, but in ſome Places up the River, in good Ground, being mixt amongſt Oaks and other Timbers. We ſaw Mulberry-Trees, Multitudes of Grape-Vines, and ſome Grapes which we eat of. We found a very large and good Tract of Land, on the N. W. Side of the River, thin of Timber, except here and there a very great Oak, and full of Graſs, commonly as high as a Man's Middle, and in many Places to his Shoulders, where we ſaw many Deer, and Turkies; one Deer having very large Horns, and great Body, therefore call'd it *Stag-Park*. It being a very pleaſant and delightful Place, we travell'd in it ſeveral Miles, but ſaw no End thereof. So we return'd to our Boat, and proceeded down the River, and came to another Place, ſome twenty five Leagues from the River's Mouth on the ſame Side, where we found a Place, no leſs delightful than the former; and as far as we could judge, both Tracts came into one. This lower Place we call'd *Rocky Point*, becauſe we found many Rocks and Stones, of ſeveral Sizes, upon the Land, which is not common. We ſent our Boat down the River before us; ourſelves travelling by Land, many Miles. Indeed we were ſo much taken with the Pleaſantneſs of the Country, that we travell'd into the Woods too far to recover our Boat and Company that Night. The next day being *Sunday*, we got to our Boat; and on *Monday* the 16th of *November*, proceeded down to a Place on the Eaſt-Side of the River, ſome 23 Leagues from the Harbour's Mouth, which we call'd *Turky-Quarters*, becauſe we kill'd ſeveral Turkies thereabouts; we view'd the Land there, and found ſome Tracts of good Ground, and high, facing upon the River about one Mile inward, but backwards ſome two Miles, all Pine Land, but good Paſture Ground: We return'd to our Boat, and proceeded down ſome 2 or 3 Leagues, where we had formerly view'd, and found it a Tract of as good Land, as any we have ſeen, and had as good Timber on it. The Banks on the River being high, therefore we call'd it *High-Land-Point*. Having view'd that, we proceeded down the River, going on Shoar in ſeveral Places on both Sides, it being generally large Marſhes, and many of them dry, that they may more fitly be call'd Meadows. The Wood-Land againſt them is, for the moſt part, Pine, and in ſome Places as barren, as ever we ſaw Land, but in other Places good

good Pasture-Ground. On *Tuesday*, *November* the 17th, we got aboard our Ship, riding against the Mouth of *Green*'s River, where our Men were providing Wood, and fitting the Ship for the Sea: In the interim, we took a View of the Country on both sides of the River there, finding some good Land, but more bad, and the best not comparable to that above. *Friday* the 20th was foul Weather; yet in the Afternoon we weigh'd, went down the River about two Leagues, and came to an Anchor against the Mouth of *Hilton*'s River, and took a View of the Land there on both sides, which appear'd to us much like that at *Green*'s River. *Monday* the 23d, we went, with our Long-Boat well victuall'd and mann'd, up *Hilton*'s River; and when we came three Leagues, or thereabouts, up the same, we found this and *Green*'s River to come into one, and so continu'd for four or five Leagues, which makes a great Island betwixt them. We proceeded still up the River, till they parted again, keeping up *Hilton*'s River on the Larboard side, and follow'd the said River five or six Leagues farther, where we found another large Branch of *Green*'s River to come into *Hilton*'s, which makes another great Island. On the Starboard side going up, we proceeded still up the River some four Leagues, and return'd, taking a View of the Land on both sides, and then judg'd ourselves to be from our Ship some 18 Leagues W. and by N. One League below this Place, came four *Indians* in a Canoe to us, and sold us several Baskets of Acorns, which we satisfy'd them for, and so left them; but one of them follow'd us on the Shoar some two or three Miles, till he came on the Top of a high Bank, facing on the River; and as we row'd underneath it, the Fellow shot an Arrow at us, which very narrowly miss'd one of our Men, and stuck in the upper edge of the Boat; but broke in pieces, leaving the Head behind. Hereupon, we presently made to the Shoar, and went all up the Bank (except Four to guide the Boat) to look for the *Indian*, but could not find him: At last, we heard some sing, farther in the Woods, which we look'd upon as a Challenge to us, to come and fight them. We went towards them with all Speed; but before we came in Sight of them, heard two Guns go off from our Boat; whereupon we retreated, as fast as we could, to secure our Boat and Men. When we

came to them, we found all well, and demanded the Reaſon of their firing the Guns: They told us, that an *Indian* came creeping along the Bank, as they ſuppos'd, to ſhoot at them; and therefore they ſhot at him at a great diſtance, with ſmall Shot, but thought they did him no Hurt; for they ſaw him run away. Preſently after our Return to the Boat, and while we were thus talking, came two *Indians* to us, with their Bows and Arrows, crying *Bonny, Bonny.* We took their Bows and Arrows from them, and gave them Beads, to their Content; then we led them, by the Hand, to the Boat, and ſhew'd them the Arrow-head ſticking in her Side, and related to them the whole Paſſage; which when they underſtood, both of them ſhew'd a great Concern, and ſignify'd to us, by Signs, that they knew nothing of it; ſo we let them go, and mark'd a Tree on the Top of the Bank, calling the Place *Mount-Skerry.* We look'd up the River, as far as we could diſcern, and ſaw that it widen'd, and came running directly down the Country: So we return'd, viewing the Land on both ſides the River, and finding the Banks ſteep in ſome places, but very high in others. The Bank-ſides are generally Clay, and as ſome of our Company did affirm, ſome Marl. The Land and Timber up this River is no way inferiour to the beſt in the other, which we call the main River. So far as we could diſcern, this ſeem'd as fair, if not fairer, than the former, and we think runs farther into the Country, becauſe a ſtrong Current comes down, and a great deal more Drift-Wood. But, to return to the Buſineſs of the Land and Timber: We ſaw ſeveral Plots of Ground clear'd by the *Indians*, after their weak manner, compaſs'd round with great Timber Trees, which they are no-wiſe able to fell, and ſo keep the Sun from Corn-Fields very much; yet nevertheleſs, we ſaw as large Corn-ſtalks, or larger, than we have ſeen any where elſe: So we proceeded down the River, till we found the Canoe the *Indian* was in, who ſhot at us. In the Morning, we went on Shoar, and cut the ſame in pieces. The *Indians* perceiving us coming towards them, ran away. Going to his Hutt, we pull'd it down, broke his Pots, Platters, and Spoons, tore the Deer-Skins and Matts in pieces, and took away a Basket of Acorns; and afterwards proceeded down the River 2 Leagues,

or

or thereabouts, and came to another Place of *Indians*, bought Acorns and ſome Corn of them, and went downwards 2 Leagues more. At laſt, eſpying an *Indian* peeping over a high Bank, we held up a Gun at him; and calling to him, *Skerry*, preſently ſeveral *Indians* came in Sight of us, and made great Signs of Friendſhip, ſaying *Bonny*, *Bonny*. Then running before us, they endeavour'd to perſuade us to come on ſhoar; but we anſwer'd them with ſtern Countenances, and call'd out, *Skerry*, taking up our Guns, and threatning to ſhoot at them, but they ſtill cry'd *Bonny*, *Bonny*: And when they ſaw they could not prevail, nor perſuade us to come on ſhoar, two of them came off to us in a Canoe, one paddling with a great Cane the other with his Hand. As ſoon as they overtook us, they laid hold of our Boat, ſweating and blowing, and told us, it was *Bonny* on ſhoar, and at laſt perſuaded us to go on ſhoar with them. As ſoon as we landed, ſeveral *Indians*, to the Number of near 40 luſty Men, came to us, all in a great Sweat, and told us *Bonny*: We ſhew'd 'em the Arrow-Head in the Boat-Side, and a Piece of the Canoe we had cut in Pieces: Whereupon, the chief Man amongſt them made a long Speech, threw Beads into our Boat, which is a Sign of great Love and Friendſhip, and gave us to underſtand, that when he heard of the Affront which we had receiv'd, it caus'd him to cry; and that he and his Men were come to make Peace with us, aſſuring us, by Signs, that they would tye the Arms, and cut off the Head, of the Fellow who had done us that Wrong; And for a farther Teſtimony of their Love and Good-Will towards us, they preſented us with two very handſome, proper, young *Indian* Women, the talleſt that ever we ſaw in this Country; which we ſuppos'd to be the King's Daughters, or Perſons of Diſtinction amongſt them. Thoſe young Women were ſo ready to come into our Boat; that one of them crowded in, and would hardly be perſuaded to go out again. We preſented the King with a Hatchet and ſeveral Beads, and made Preſents of Beads alſo to the young Women, the chief Men, and the reſt of the *Indians*, as far as our Beads would go. They promis'd us, in four Days, to come on board our Ship, and ſo departed from us. When we left the Place, which was ſoon after, we call'd it *Mount-Bonny*, becauſe we had there concluded a firm Peace. Proceeding down the River 2 or 3 Leagues farther, we came to a Place where were 9 or 10 Ca-

noes all together. We went aſhoar there, and found ſeveral *Indians*; but moſt of them were the ſame which had made Peace with us before. We ſtaid very little at that Place, but went directly down the River, and came to our Ship, before day. *Thurſday* the 26th of *November*, the Wind being at South, we could not go down to the River's Mouth; but on *Friday* the 27th, we weigh'd at the Mouth of *Hilton*'s River, and got down a League towards the Harbour's Mouth. On *Sunday* the 29th, we got down to *Crane-Iſland*, which is 4 Leagues or thereabouts, above the Entrance of the Harbour's Mouth. On *Tueſday* the 1ſt of *December*, we made a Purchaſe of the River and Land of *Cape-Fair*, of *Wat-Cooſa*, and ſuch other *Indians*, as appear'd to us to be the chief of thoſe Parts. They brought us Store of freſh Fiſh aboard, as Mullets, Shads, and other ſorts very good. This River is all freſh Water, fit to drink. Some 8 Leagues within the Mouth, the Tide runs up about 35 Leagues, but ſtops and riſes a great deal farther up. It flows at the Harbour's Mouth, S. E. and N. W. 6 Foot at Neap-Tides, and 8 Foot at Spring-Tides. The Channel on the Eaſt ſide, by the *Cape*-Shoar, is the beſt, and lies cloſe aboard the *Cape*-Land, being 3 Fathoms at high Water, in the ſhalloweſt Place in the Channel, juſt at the Entrance; But as ſoon as you are paſt that Place, half a Cables Length inward, you have 6 or 7 Fathoms, a fair turning Channel into the River, and ſo continuing 5 or 6 Leagues upwards. Afterwards the Channel is more difficult, in ſome Places 6 or 7 Fathoms, in others 4 or 5, and in others but 9 or 10 Foot, eſpecially where the River is broad. When the River comes to part, and grows narrow, there it is all Channel from ſide to ſide, in moſt Places; tho' in ſome you ſhall have 5, 6, or 7 Fathoms, but generally 2 or 3, Sand and Oaze. We view'd the *Cape*-Land, and judg'd it to be little worth, the Woods of it being ſhrubby and low, and the Land ſandy and barren; in ſome Places Graſs and Ruſhes, in others nothing but clear Sand: A Place fitter to ſtarve Cattle, in our Judgment, than to keep 'em alive; yet the *Indians*, as we underſtand, keep the *Engliſh* Cattle down there, and ſuffer them not to go off of the ſaid *Cape*, (as we ſuppoſe) becauſe the Country *Indians* ſhall have no Part with them; and therefore 'tis likely, they have fallen out about them, which ſhall have the greateſt Share. They brought on board our Ship

Ship very good and fat Beef ſeveral times, which they ſold us at a very reaſonable Price; alſo fat and very large Swine, good and cheap; but they may thank their Friends of *New-England*, who brought their Hogs to ſo fair a Market. Some of the *Indians* brought very good Salt aboard us, and made Signs, pointing to both ſides of the River's Mouth, that there was great Store thereabouts. We ſaw up the River, ſeveral good Places for the ſetting up of Corn or Saw-Mills. In that time, as our Buſineſs call'd us up and down the River and Branches, we kill'd of wild Fowl, 4 Swans, 10 Geeſe, 29 Cranes, 10 Turkies, 40 Ducks and Mallards, 3 dozen of Parrakeeto's, and 6 dozen of other ſmall Fowls, as Curlues and Plover, *&c.*

Whereas there was a Writing left in a Poſt, at the Point of *Cape-Fair* River, by thoſe *New-England*-Men, that left Cattle with the *Indians* there, the Contents whereof tended not only to the Diſparagement of the Land about the ſaid River, but alſo to the great Diſcouragement of all ſuch as ſhould hereafter come into thoſe Parts to ſettle: In anſwer to that ſcandalous Writing, We, whoſe Names are underwritten, do affirm, That we have ſeen, facing both ſides the River and Branches of *Cape-Fair* aforeſaid, as good Land, and as well timber'd, as any we have ſeen in any other Part of the World, ſufficient to accommodate Thouſands of our *Engliſh* Nation, and lying commodiouſly by the ſaid River's Side.

On *Friday* the 4th of *December*, the Wind being fair, we put out to Sea, bound for *Barbados*; and, on the 6th of *February*, 166¾, came to an Anchor in *Carliſle*-Bay; it having pleas'd God, after ſeveral apparent Dangers both by Sea and Land, to bring us all in Safety to our long-wiſh'd-for and much-deſir'd Port, to render an Account of our Diſcovery; the Verity of which we do aſſert.

Anthony Long.
William Hilton.
Peter Fabian.

Thus you have an Account of the Latitude, Soil, and Advantages of *Cape-Fair*, or *Clarendon*-River, which was ſettled in the Year 1661, or thereabouts; and had it not been for the irregular Practices of ſome of that Colony againſt the *Indians*,

Indians, by ſending away ſome of their Children, (as I have been told) under Pretence of inſtructing 'em in Learning, and the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; which ſo diſguſted the *Indians*, that tho' they had then no Guns, yet they never gave over, till they had entirely rid themſelves of the *Engliſh*, by their Bows and Arrows; with which they did not only take off themſelves, but alſo their Stocks of Cattle; And this was ſo much the more ruinous to them, in that they could have no Aſſiſtance from South-*Carolina*, which was not then planted; and the other Plantations were but in their Infancy. Were it not for ſuch ill Practices, I ſay, it might, in all Probability, have been, at this day, the beſt Settlement in their Lordſhips great Province of *Carolina*.

Albemarl *Sound and Rivers.*

The Sound of *Albemarl*, with the Rivers and Creeks of that Country, afford a very rich and durable Soil. The Land, in moſt Places, lies indifferent low, (except in *Chowon*, and high up the Rivers) but bears an incredible Burden of Timber; the Low-Grounds being cover'd with Beech; and the High-Land yielding lofty Oaks, Walnut-Trees, and other uſeful Timber. The Country, in ſome Plantations, has yearly produc'd *Indian* Corn, or ſome other Grain, ever ſince this Country was firſt ſeated, without the Trouble of Manuring or Dreſſing; and yet (to all appearance) it ſeems not to be, in the leaſt, impoveriſh'd, neither do the Planters ever miſs of a good Crop, unleſs a very unnatural Seaſon viſits them, which ſeldom happens.

Of the Corn of Carolina.

Wheat.

THE Wheat of this Place is very good, ſeldom yielding leſs than thirty fold, provided the Land is good where it is ſown; Not but that there has been Sixty-ſix Increaſe for one meaſure ſown in Piny-Land, which we account the meaneſt Sort. And I have been inform'd, by People of Credit, that Wheat which was planted in a very rich Piece of Land, brought a hundred and odd Pecks, for one. If our Planters, when they found ſuch great Increaſe, would be ſo curious as to make nice Obſervations of the Soil, and other remarkable Accidents, they would ſoon be acquainted with the Nature of the Earth and Climate, and be better qualified to manage

nage their Agriculture to more Certainty, and greater Advantage; whereby they might arrive to the Crops and Harveſts of *Babylon*, and thoſe other fruitful Countries ſo much talk'd of. For I muſt confeſs, I never ſaw one Acre of Land manag'd as it ought to be in *Carolina*, ſince I knew it; and were they as negligent in their Husbandry in *Europe*, as they are in *Carolina*, their Land would produce nothing but Weeds and Straw.

Rye. They have try'd Rye, and it thrives very well; but having ſuch Plenty of Maiz, they do not regard it, becauſe it makes black Bread, unleſs very curiouſly handled.

Barley. Barley has been ſowed in ſmall quantities, and does better than can be expected; becauſe that Grain requires the Ground to be very well work'd with repeated Ploughings, which our general Way of breaking the Earth with Hoes, can, by no means, perform, tho' in ſeveral Places we have a light, rich, deep, black Mould, which is the particular Soil in which Barley beſt thrives.

Oats. The naked Oats thrive extraordinary well; and the other would prove a very bold Grain; but the Plenty of other Grains makes them not much coveted.

Maiz. The *Indian* Corn, or *Maiz*, proves the moſt uſeful Grain in the World; and had it not been for the Fruitfulneſs of this Species, it would have proved very difficult to have ſettled ſome of the Plantations in *America*. It is very nouriſhing, whether in Bread, ſodden, or otherwiſe; And thoſe poor Chriſtian Servants in *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and the other northerly Plantations, that have been forced to live wholly upon it, do manifeſtly prove, that it is the moſt nouriſhing Grain, for a Man to ſubſiſt on, without any other Victuals. And this Aſſertion is made good by the *Negro*-Slaves, who, in many Places, eat nothing but this *Indian* Corn and Salt. Pigs and Poultry fed with this Grain, eat the ſweeteſt of all others. It refuſes no Grounds, unleſs the barren Sands, and when planted in good Ground, will repay the Planter ſeven or eight hundred fold; beſides the Stalks bruis'd and boil'd, make very pleaſant Beer, being ſweet like the Sugar-Cane.

Rice. There are ſeveral ſorts of Rice, ſome bearded, others not, beſides the red and white; But the white Rice is the beſt. Yet there is a ſort of perfum'd Rice in the *Eaſt-Indies*,

Indies, which gives a curious Flavour, in the Dreſſing. And with this ſort *America* is not yet acquainted; neither can I learn, that any of it has been brought over to *Europe*; the Rice of *Carolina* being eſteem'd the beſt that comes to that Quarter of the World. It is of great Increaſe, yielding from eight hundred to a thouſand-fold, and thrives beſt in wild Land, that has never been broken up before.

Buck-Wheat. Buck-Wheat is of great Increaſe in *Carolina*; but we make no other uſe of it, than inſtead of Maiz, to feed Hogs and

Guinea-Wheat. Poultry: And *Guinea* Corn, which thrives well here, ſerves for the ſame uſe.

Pulſe. Of the Pulſe-kind, we have many ſorts. The firſt is the

Buſhel-Bean. Buſhel-Bean, which is a ſpontaneous Product. They are ſo called, becauſe they bring a Buſhel of Beans for one that is planted. They are ſet in the Spring, round Arbours, or at the Feet of Poles, up which they will climb, and cover the Wattling, making a very pretty Shade to ſit under. They continue flowering, budding, and ripening all the Summer long, till the Froſt approaches, when they forbear their Fruit, and die. The Stalks they grow on, come to the Thickneſs of a Man's Thumb; and the Bean is white and mottled, with a purple Figure on each ſide it, like an Ear. They are very flat, and are eaten as the *Windſor*-Bean is, being an extraordinary well-reliſh'd Pulſe, either by themſelves, or with Meat.

Indian Rounce-vals. We have the *Indian Rounceval*, or *Miraculous Peaſe*, ſo call'd from their long Pods, and great Increaſe. Theſe are latter Peaſe, and require a pretty long Summer to ripen in. They

Peaſe and Beans. are very good; and ſo are the *Bonavis*, *Calavancies*, *Nanticokes*, and abundance of other Pulſe, too tedious here to name, which we found the *Indians* poſſeſs'd of, when firſt we ſettled in *America*; ſome of which ſorts afford us two Crops in one Year; as the *Bonavis* and *Calavancies*, beſides ſeveral others of that kind.

Now I am launch'd into a Diſcourſe of the Pulſe, I muſt

Eng. Bean. acquaint you, that the *European* Bean planted here, will, in time, degenerate into a dwarfiſh ſort, if not prevented by a yearly Supply of foreign Seed, and an extravagant rich Soil; yet theſe Pigmy-Beans are the ſweeteſt of that kind I ever met withal.

As

As for all the ſorts of *Engliſh* Peaſe that we have yet made tryal of, they thrive very well in *Carolina*. Particularly, the white and gray *Rouncival*, the common *Field-Peaſe*, and *Sickle-Peaſe* yield very well, and are of a good Reliſh. As for the other ſorts, I have not ſeen any made tryal of as yet, but queſtion not their coming to great Perfection with us. *Peaſe.*

The Kidney-Beans were here before the *Engliſh* came, being very plentiful in the *Indian* Corn-Fields. *Kidney-Bean.*

The Garden-Roots that thrive well in *Carolina*, are Carrots, Leeks, Parſnips, Turneps, Potatoes, of ſeveral delicate ſorts, Ground Artichokes, Radiſhes, Horſe-Radiſh, Beet, both ſorts, Onions, Shallot, Garlick, Cives, and the Wild-Onions. *Roots.*

The Sallads are the Lettice, Curl'd, Red, Cabbage, and *Savoy*. The Spinage round and prickly, Fennel, ſweet and the common Sort, Samphire in the Marſhes excellent, ſo is the Dock or Wild-Rhubarb, Rocket, Sorrel, *French* and *Engliſh*, Creſſes of ſeveral Sorts, Purſlain wild, and that of a larger Size which grows in the Gardens; for this Plant is never met withal in the *Indian* Plantations, and is, therefore, ſuppos'd to proceed from Cow-Dung, which Beaſt they keep not. Parſley two Sorts; Aſparagus thrives to a Miracle, without hot Beds or dunging the Land, White-Cabbage from *European* or *New-England* Seed, for the People are negligent and unskilful, and don't take care to provide Seed of their own. The Colly-Flower we have not yet had an Opportunity to make Tryal of, nor has the Artichoke ever appear'd amongſt us, that I can learn. Coleworts plain and curl'd, *Savoys*; beſides the Water-Melons of ſeveral Sorts, very good, which ſhould have gone amongſt the Fruits. Of Musk-Melons we have very large and good, and ſeveral Sorts, as the Golden, Green, Guinea, and Orange. Cucumbers long, ſhort, and prickly, all theſe from the Natural Ground, and great Increaſe, without any Helps of Dung or Reflection. Pompions yellow and very large, Burmillions, Caſhaws, an excellent Fruit boil'd; Squaſhes, Simnals, Horns, and Gourds; beſides many other Species, of leſs Value, too tedious to name. *Sallads.* *No Purſlain in* Indian *Fields.*

Our Pot-herbs and others of uſe, which we already poſſeſs, are Angelica wild and tame, Balm, Bugloſs, Borage, Burnet, Clary, *Pot-herbs, and others for Phyſick.*

Clary, Marigold, Pot-Marjoram, and other Marjorams, Summer and Winter Savory, Columbines, Tanſey, Wormwood, Nep, Mallows ſeveral Sorts, Drage red and white, Lambs Quarters, Thyme, Hyſſop of a very large Growth, ſweet Bazil, Roſemary, Lavender: The more Phyſical, are *Carduus Benedictus*, the Scurvy-graſs of *America*, I never here met any of the *European* ſort; *Tobacco* of many ſorts, Dill, Carawa, Cummin, Aniſe, Coriander, all ſorts of Plantain of *England*, and two ſorts ſpontaneous, good Vulneraries; Elecampane, Comfrey, Nettle, the Seed from *England*, none Native; Monks Rhubarb, Burdock, Aſarum wild in the Woods, reckon'd one of the Snake-Roots; Poppies in the Garden, none wild yet diſcover'd; Wormſeed, Feverfew, Rue, Ground-Ivy ſpontaneous, but very ſmall and ſcarce, *Aurea virga*, four ſorts of Snake-Roots, beſides the common Species, which are great Antidotes againſt that Serpent's Bite, and are eaſily rais'd in the Garden; Mint; *James-Town-Weed*, ſo called from *Virginia*, the Seed it bears is very like that of an Onion; it is excellent for curing Burns, and aſſwaging Inflammations, but taken inwardly brings on a ſort of drunken Madneſs. One of our Marſh-Weeds, like a Dock, has the ſame Effect, and poſſeſſes the Party with Fear and Watchings. The Red-Root whoſe Leaf is like Spear-Mint, is good for Thruſhes and ſore Mouths; Camomil, but it muſt be kept in the Shade, otherwiſe it will not thrive; Houſleek firſt from *England*; Vervin; Night-Shade, ſeveral kinds; Harts-Tongue; Yarrow abundance, Mullein the ſame, both of the Country; Sarſaparilla, and abundance more I could name, yet not the hundredth part of what remains, a Catalogue of which is a Work of many Years, and without any other Subject, would ſwell to a large Volume, and requires the Abilities of a skilful Botaniſt: Had not the ingenious Mr. *Baniſter* (the greateſt *Virtuoſo* we ever had on the Continent) been unfortunately taken out of this World, he would have given the beſt Account of the Plants of *America*, of any that ever yet made ſuch an Attempt in theſe Parts. Not but we are ſatisfy'd, the Species of Vegetables in *Carolina*, are ſo numerous, that it requires more than one Man's Age to bring the chiefeſt Part of them into regular Claſſes; the Country being ſo different in its Situation and Soil, that what one place plentifully affords, another is abſolutely

Rattle-Snakes.

James-Town-Weed, the Seed like Onion Seed.

ſolutely a ſtranger to; yet we generally obſerve, that the greateſt Variety is found in the Low Grounds, and Savanna's.

Flowers. The Flower-Garden in *Carolina* is as yet arriv'd but to a very poor and jejune Perfection. We have only two ſorts of Roſes; the Clove-July-Flowers, Violets, Princes Feather, and *Tres Colores*. There has been nothing more cultivated in the Flower-Garden, which, at preſent, occurs to my Memory; but as for the wild ſpontaneous Flowers of this Country, Nature has been ſo liberal, that I cannot name one tenth part of the valuable ones; And ſince, to give Specimens, would only ſwell the Volume, and give little Satisfaction to the Reader, I ſhall therefore proceed to the *Preſent State of Carolina*, and refer the Shrubs and other Vegetables of larger Growth, till hereafter, and then ſhall deliver them and the other Species in their Order.

The Preſent State of Carolina.

WHen we conſider the Latitude and convenient Situation of *Carolina*, had we no farther Confirmation thereof, our Reaſon would inform us, that ſuch a Place lay fairly to be a delicious Country, being placed in that Girdle of the World which affords Wine, Oil, Fruit, Grain, and Silk, with other rich Commodities, beſides a ſweet Air, moderate Climate, and fertile Soil; theſe are the Bleſſings (under Heaven's Protection) that ſpin out the Thread of Life to its utmoſt Extent, and crown our Days with the Sweets of Health and Plenty, which, when join'd with Content, renders the Poſſeſſors the happieſt Race of Men upon Earth.

The Preſent State of Carolina. The Inhabitants of *Carolina*, thro' the Richneſs of the Soil, live an eaſy and pleaſant Life. The Land being of ſeveral ſorts of Compoſt, ſome ſtiff, others light, ſome marl, others rich black Mould; here barren of Pine, but affording Pitch, Tar, and Maſts; there vaſtly rich, eſpecially on the Freſhes of the Rivers, one part bearing great Timbers, others being Savanna's or natural Meads, where no Trees grow for ſeveral Miles, adorn'd by Nature with a pleaſant Verdure, and beautiful Flowers, frequent in no other Places, yielding abundance of Herbage for Cattle, Sheep, and Horſe. The Country in general affords pleaſant Seats, the Land (except in ſome few Places) being dry and high Banks, parcell'd out into moſt convenient Necks, (by the Creeks) eaſy to be fenced in for ſecuring their Stocks to more ſtrict Boundaries, whereby,

Necks of Land.

whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every Man may enjoy, to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park. These, with the other Benefits of Plenty of Fish, Wild-Fowl, Venison, and the other Conveniencies which this Summer-Country naturally furnishes, has induc'd a great many Families to leave the more Northerly Platations, and sit down under one of the mildest Governments in the World; in a Country that, with moderate Industry, will afford all the Necessaries of Life. We have yearly abundance of Strangers come among us, who chiefly strive to go Southerly to settle, because there is a vast Tract of rich Land betwixt the Place we are seated in, and *Cape-Fair*, and upon that River, and more Southerly, which is inhabited by none but a few *Indians*, who are at this time well affected to the *English*, and very desirous of their coming to live among them. The more Southerly, the milder Winters, with the Advantages of purchasing the Lords Land at the most easy and moderate Rate of any Lands in *America*, nay (allowing all Advantages thereto annex'd) I may say, the Universe does not afford such another; Besides, Men have a great Advantage of choosing good and commodious Tracts of Land at the first Seating of a Country or River, whereas the later Settlers are forced to purchase smaller Dividends of the old Standers, and sometimes at very considerable Rates; as now in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, where a thousand Acres of good Land cannot be bought under twenty Shillings an Acre, besides two Shillings yearly Acknowledgment for every hundred Acres; which Sum, be it more or less, will serve to put the Merchant or Planter here into a good posture of Buildings, Slaves, and other Necessaries, when the Purchase of his Land comes to him on such easy Terms. And as our Grain and Pulse thrives with us to admiration, no less do our Stocks of Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine multiply.

Purchase of Land.

Land in Virginia *and* Maryland.

Stocks. Increase.

Beef.

The Beef of *Carolina* equalizes the best that our neighbouring Colonies afford; the Oxen are of a great size when they are suffer'd to live to a fit Age. I have seen fat and good Beef at all times of the Year, but *October* and the cool Months are the Seasons we kill our Beeves in, when we intend them for Salting or Exportation; for then they are in their prime of Flesh, all coming from Grass, we never using any other Food for our Cattle. The Heifers bring Calves at eighteen or twenty

Heifers.

twenty Months old, which makes such a wonderful Increase, that many of our Planters, from very mean Beginnings, have rais'd themselves, and are now Masters of hundreds of fat Beeves, and other Cattle.

Veal. The Veal is very good and white, so is the Milk very pleasant and rich, there being, at present, considerable Quantities of Butter and Cheese made, that is very good, not only serving our own Necessities, but we send out a great deal among our Neighbours.

Sheep. The Sheep thrive very well at present, having most commonly two Lambs at one yeaning: As the Country comes to be open'd, they prove still better, Change of Pasture being agreeable to that useful Creature. Mutton is (generally) exceeding Fat, and of a good Relish; their Wool is very fine, and proves a good Staple.

Horses. The Horses are well-shap'd and swift; the best of them would sell for ten or twelve Pounds in *England*. They prove excellent Drudges, and will travel incredible Journeys. They are troubled with very few Distempers, neither do the cloudy-fac'd grey Horses go blind here, as in *Europe*. As for *Spavins*, *Splints*, and *Ring-Bones*, they are here never met withal, as I can learn. Were we to have our Stallions and choice of Mares from *England*, or any other of a good Sort, and careful to keep them on the Highlands, we could not fail of a good Breed; but having been supply'd with our first Horses from the neighbouring Plantations, which were but mean, they do not as yet come up to the Excellency of the *English* Horses; tho' we generally find, that the Colt exceeds, in Beauty and Strength, its Sire and Dam.

Swine. The Pork exceeds any in *Europe*; the great Diversity and Goodness of the Acorns and Nuts which the Woods afford, making that Flesh of an excellent Taste, and produces great Quantities; so that *Carolina* (if not the chief) is not inferior, in this one Commodity, to any Colony in the hands of the *English*.

Goats. As for Goats, they have been found to thrive and increase well, but being mischievous to Orchards and other Trees, makes People decline keeping them.

Produce. Our Produce for Exportation to *Europe* and the Islands in *America*, are Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Pitch, Tar, Wheat, *Indian*-Corn, Pease, Masts, Staves, Heading,

Heading, Boards, and all sorts of Timber and Lumber for *Madera* and the *West-Indies*; Rozin, Turpentine, and several sorts of Gums and Tears, with some medicinal Drugs, are here produc'd; Besides Rice, and several other foreign Grains, which thrive very well. Good Bricks and Tiles are made, and several sorts of useful Earths, as Bole, Fullers-Earth, Oaker, and Tobacco-pipe-Clay, in great plenty; Earths for the Potters Trade, and fine Sand for the Glass-makers. In building with Bricks, we make our Lime of Oyster-Shells, tho' we have great Store of Lime-stone, towards the Heads of our Rivers, where are Stones of all sorts that are useful, besides vast Quantities of excellent Marble. Iron-Stone we have plenty of, both in the Low-Grounds and on the Hills; Lead and Copper has been found, so has Antimony heretofore; But no Endeavours have been us'd to discover those Subteraneous Species; otherwise we might, in all probability, find out the best of Minerals, which are not wanting in *Carolina*. Hot Baths we have an account of from the *Indians* that frequent the Hill-Country, where a great likelihood appears of making Salt-peter, because the Earth, in many places, is strongly mix'd with a nitrous Salt, which is much coveted by the Beasts, who come at some Seasons in great Droves and Herds, and by their much licking of this Earth, make great Holes in those Banks, which sometimes lie at the heads of great Precipices, where their Eagerness after this Salt hastens their End, by falling down the high Banks, so that they are dash'd in Pieces. It must be confess'd, that the most noble and sweetest Part of this Country, is not inhabited by any but the Savages; and a great deal of the richest Part thereof, has no Inhabitants but the Beasts of the Wilderness: For, the *Indians* are not inclinable to settle in the richest Land, because the Timbers are too large for them to cut down, and too much burthen'd with Wood for their Labourers to make Plantations of; besides, the Healthfulness of those Hills is apparent, by the Gigantick Stature, and Gray-Heads, so common amongst the Savages that dwell near the Mountains. The great Creator of all things, having most wisely diffus'd his Blessings, by parcelling out the Vintages of the World, into such Lots, as his wonderful Foresight saw most proper, requisite, and convenient for the Habitations of his Creatures. Towards

Salt-peter.

wards the Sea, we have the Conveniency of Trade, Transportation, and other Helps the Water affords; but oftentimes, those Advantages are attended with indifferent Land, a thick Air, and other Inconveniences; when backwards, near the Mountains, you meet with the richest Soil, a sweet, thin Air, dry Roads, pleasant small murmuring Streams, and several beneficial Productions and Species, which are unknown in the *European* World. One Part of this Country affords what the other is wholly a Stranger to.

We have *Chalybeate* Waters of several Tastes and different Qualities; some purge, others work by the other Emunctories. We have, amongst the Inhabitants, a Water, that is, inwardly, a great Aperitive, and, outwardly, cures Ulcers, Tettars, and Sores, by washing therewith. *Chaly-beate Waters.*

There has been a Coal-Mine lately found near the *Manna-kin* Town, above the Falls of *James*-River in *Virginia*, which proves very good, and is us'd by the *Smiths*, for their Forges; and we need not doubt of the same amongst us, towards the Heads of our Rivers; but the Plenty of Wood (which is much the better Fuel) makes us not inquisitive after Coal-Mines. Most of the *French*, who lived at that Town on *James*-River, are remov'd to *Trent*-River, in *North-Carolina*, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in *August*, 1708. They are much taken with the Pleasantness of that Country, and, indeed, are a very industrious People. At present, they make very good Linnen-Cloath and Thread, and are very well vers'd in cultivating Hemp and Flax, of both which they raise very considerable Quantities; and design to try an Essay of the Grape, for making of Wine. *Coal-Mine in* Virginia. *French Refugees.*

As for those of our own Country in *Carolina*, some of the Men are very laborious, and make great Improvements in their Way; but I dare hardly give 'em that Character in general. The easy Way of living in that plentiful Country, makes a great many Planters very negligent, which, were they otherwise, that Colony might now have been in a far better Condition than it is, (as to Trade, and other Advantages) which an universal Industry would have led them into. *Planters.*

The

Women good Housewives. The Women are the most industrious Sex in that Place, and, by their good Housewifry, make a great deal of Cloath of their own Cotton, Wool and Flax; some of them keeping their Families (though large) very decently apparel'd, both with Linnens and Woollens, so that they have no occasion to run into the Merchant's Debt, or lay their Money out on Stores for Cloathing.

Natives of Carolina. The *Christian* Natives of *Carolina* are a straight, clean-limb'd People; the Children being seldom or never troubled with Rickets, or those other Distempers, that the *Europeans* are visited withal. 'Tis next to a Miracle, to see one of them deform'd in Body. The Vicinity of the Sun makes Impression on the Men, who labour out of doors, or use the Water. *Beautiful.* As for those Women, that do not expose themselves to the Weather, they are often very fair, and generally as well featur'd, as you shall see any where, and have very brisk charming Eyes, which sets them off to Advantage. They marry very young; some at Thirteen or Fourteen; and She that stays till Twenty, is reckon'd a stale Maid; which is a very indifferent Character in that warm Country. The Women are very fruitful; most Houses being full of Little Ones. It has been observ'd, that Women long marry'd, and without Children, in other Places, have remov'd to *Carolina*, and become joyful Mothers. They have very easy Travail in their Child-bearing, in which they are so happy, as seldom to miscarry. *Not Passionate.* Both Sexes are generally spare of Body, and not Cholerick, nor easily cast down at Disappointments and Losses, seldom immoderately grieving at Misfortunes, unless for the Loss of their neareſt Relations and Friends, which seems to make a more than ordinary Impression upon them. Many of the Women are very handy in Canoes, and will manage them with great Dexterity and Skill, which they become accustomed to in this watry Country. *Good Wives.* They are ready to help their Husbands in any servile Work, as Planting, when the Season of the Weather requires Expedition; Pride seldom banishing good Housewifry. The Girls are not bred up to the Wheel, and Sewing only; but the Dairy and Affairs of the House they are very well acquainted withal; so that you shall see them, whilst very young, manage their Business with a great deal of Conduct and Alacrity. *Natives are docile.* The Children of both Sexes are very docile, and learn any thing with a great

a great deal of Eaſe and Method; and thoſe that have the Advantages of Education, write good Hands, and prove good Accountants, which is moſt coveted, and indeed moſt neceſſary in theſe Parts. The young Men are commonly of a baſhful, ſober Behaviour; few proving Prodigals, to conſume what the Induſtry of their Parents has left them, but commonly improve it. The marrying ſo young, carries a double Advantage with it; and that is, that the Parents ſee their Children provided for in Marriage, and the young married People are taught by their Parents, how to get their Living; for their Admonitions make great Impreſſions on their Children. I had heard (before I knew this new World) that the Natives of *America* were a ſhort-liv'd People, which, by all the Obſervations I could ever make, proves quite contrary; for thoſe who are born here, and in other Colonies, live to as great Ages as any of the *Europeans*, the Climate being free from Conſumptions, which Diſtemper, fatal to *England*, they are Strangers to. And as the Country becomes more clear'd of Wood, it ſtill becomes more healthful to the Inhabitants, and leſs addicted to the Ague; which is incident to moſt new Comers into *America* from *Europe*, yet not mortal. A gentle Emetick ſeldom miſſes of driving it away, but if it is not too troubleſome, 'tis better to let the Seaſoning have its own Courſe, in which caſe, the Party is commonly free from it ever after, and very healthful.

No Prodigals.

Great Ages of Americans.

And now, as to the other Advantages the Country affords, we cannot gueſs at them at preſent, becauſe, as I ſaid before, the beſt Part of this Country is not inhabited by the *Engliſh*, from whence probably will hereafter ſpring Productions that this Age does not dream of, and of much more Advantage to the Inhabitants than any things we are yet acquainted withal: And as for ſeveral Productions of other Countries, much in the ſame Latitude, we may expect, with good Management, they will become familiar to us, as Wine, Oil, Fruit, Silk, and other profitable Commodities, ſuch as Drugs, Dyes, *&c.* And at preſent the Curious may have a large Field to ſatisfy and divert themſelves in, as Collections of ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, Inſects, Reptiles, Shells, Fiſhes, Minerals, Herbs, Flowers, Plants, Shrubs, intricate Roots, Gums, Tears, Rozins, Dyes, and Stones, with ſeveral other that yield Satisfaction and Profit to thoſe, whoſe Inclinations

Collections.

tend that Way. And as for what may be hop'd for, towards a happy Life and Being, by such as design to remove thither, I shall add this; That with prudent Management, I can affirm, by Experience, not by Hear-say, That any Person, with a small Beginning, may live very comfortably, and not only provide for the Necessaries of Life, but likewise for those that are to succeed him; Provisions being very plentiful, and of good Variety, to accommodate genteel House-keeping; and the neighbouring *Indians* are friendly, and in many Cases serviceable to us, in making us Wares to catch Fish in, for a small matter, which proves of great Advantage to large Families, because those Engines take great Quantities of many Sorts of Fish, that are very good and nourishing: Some of them hunt and fowl for us at reasonable Rates, the Country being as plentifully provided with all Sorts of Game, as any Part of *America*; the poorer Sort of Planters often get them to plant for them, by hiring them for that Season, or for so much Work, which commonly comes very reasonable. Moreover, it is remarkable, That no Place on the Continent of *America*, has seated an *English* Colony so free from Blood-shed, as *Carolina*; but all the others have been more damag'd and disturb'd by the *Indians*, than they have; which is worthy Notice, when we consider how oddly it was first planted with Inhabitants.

Provisions very cheap.

Indians Hunters.

Fishing-Trade.

The Fishing-Trade in *Carolina* might be carried on to great Advantage, considering how many Sorts of excellent Fish our Sound and Rivers afford, which cure very well with Salt, as has been experienced by some small Quantities, which have been sent abroad, and yielded a good Price. As for the Whale-fishing, it is no otherwise regarded than by a few People who live on the Sand-Banks; and those only work on dead Fish cast on shoar, none being struck on our Coast, as they are to the Northward; altho' we have Plenty of Whales there. Great Plenty is generally the Ruin of Industry. Thus our Merchants are not many, nor have those few there be, apply'd themselves to the *European* Trade. The Planter sits contented at home, whilst his Oxen thrive and grow fat, and his Stocks daily increase; The fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily rais'd to his Table, and his Orchard affords him Liquor, so that he eats, and drinks away the Cares of the World, and desires no greater Happiness, than that which he

Whale-Fishing.

he daily enjoys. Whereas, not only the *European*, but alſo the *Indian*-Trade, might be carried on to a great Profit, becauſe we lie as fairly for the Body of *Indians*, as any Settlement in *Engliſh-America*; And for the ſmall Trade that has been carried on in that Way, the Dealers therein have throve as faſt as any Men, and the ſooneſt rais'd themſelves of any People I have known in *Carolina*. *Indian-Trade.*

Laſtly, As to the Climate, it is very healthful; our Summer is not ſo hot as in other places to the Eaſtward in the ſame Latitude; neither are we ever viſited by Earthquakes, as many places in *Italy* and other Summer-Countries are. Our Northerly Winds, in Summer, cool the Air, and free us from peſtilential Fevers, which *Spain*, *Barbary*, and the neighbouring Countries in *Europe*, *&c.* are viſited withal. Our Sky is generally ſerene and clear, and the Air very thin, in compariſon of many Parts of *Europe*, where Conſumptions and Catarrhs reign amongſt the Inhabitants. The Winter has ſeveral Fitts of ſharp Weather, eſpecially when the Wind is at N. W. which always clears the Sky, though never ſo thick before. However, ſuch Weather is very agreeable to *European* Bodies, and makes them healthy. The N. E. Winds blowing in Winter, bring with them thick Weather, and, in the Spring, ſometimes, blight the Fruits; but they very ſeldom endure long, being blown away by Weſterly Winds, and then all becomes fair and clear again. Our Spring, in *Carolina*, is very beautiful, and the moſt pleaſant Weather a Country can enjoy. The Fall is accompanied with cool Mornings, which come in towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, and ſo continue (moſt commonly) very moderate Weather till about *Chriſtmas*; then Winter comes on apace. Tho' theſe Seaſons are very piercing, yet the Cold is of no continuance. Perhaps, you will have cold Weather for three or four days at a time; then pleaſant warm Weather follows, ſuch as you have in *England*, about the latter end of *April* or beginning of *May*. In the Year 1707. we had the ſevereſt Winter in *Carolina*, that ever was known ſince the *Engliſh* came to ſettle there; for our Rivers, that were not above half a Mile wide, and freſh Water, were frozen over; and ſome of them, in the North-part of this Country, were paſſable for People to walk over. *Climate.* *Summer.* *No Earthquakes.* *Serene.* *Spring.* *Fall.*

No Frontier. One great Advantage of *North-Carolina* is, That we are not a Frontier, and near the Enemy; which proves very chargeable and troublesome, in time of War, to those Colonies that are so seated. Another great Advantage comes from its be-

Near Virginia. ing near *Virginia*, where we come often to a good Market, at the Return of the *Guinea*-Ships for Negro's, and the Remnant of their Stores, which is very commodious for the *Indian*-Trade; besides, in War-time, we lie near at hand to go under their Convoy, and to sell our Provisions to the To-

Mariland. bacco-fleets; for the Planting of Tobacco generally in those Colonies, prevents their being supplyed with Stores, sufficient for victualling their Ships.

Necessaries for Carolina. As for the Commodities, which are necessary to carry over to this Plantation, for Use and Merchandize, and are, therefore, requisite for those to have along with them, that intend to transport themselves thither; they are Guns, Powder and Shot, Flints, Linnens of all sorts, but chiefly ordinary Blues, *Osnabrugs*, *Scotch* and *Irish* Linnen, and some fine: Mens and Womens Cloaths ready made up, some few Broad-Cloaths, Kerseys and Druggets; to which you must add *Haberdashers*-Wares, Hats about Five or Six Shillings apiece, and a few finer; a few Wiggs, not long, and pretty thin of Hair; thin Stuffs for Women; Iron-Work, as Nails, Spades, Axes, broad and narrow Hoes, Frows, Wedges, and Saws of all sorts, with other Tools for Carpenters, Joiners, Coopers, Shoemakers, Shave-locks, *&c.* all which, and others which are necessary for the Plantations, you may be inform'd of, and buy at very reasonable Rates, of Mr. *James Gilbert*, Ironmonger, in *Mitre-Tavern-Yard*, near *Aldgate*. You may also be used very kindly, for your Cuttlery-Ware, and other advantageous Merchandizes, and your Cargo's well sorted, by Capt. *Sharp*, at the *Blue gate* in *Cannon-street*; and for Earthen-Ware, Window-Glass, Grind-Stones, Mill-Stones, Paper, Ink-Powder, Saddles, Bridles, and what other things you are minded to take with you, for Pleasure or Ornament.

And now, I shall proceed to the rest of the Vegetables, that are common in *Carolina*, in reference to the Place where I left off, which is the *Natural History* of that Country.

Of

Of the Vegetables of Carolina.

THE ſpontaneous Shrubs of this Country, are, the Lark-heel-Tree; three ſorts of Hony-Suckle-Tree, the firſt of which grows in Branches, as our Piemento-Tree does, that is, always in low, moiſt Ground; the other grows in clear, dry Land, the Flower more cut and lacerated; the third, which is the moſt beautiful, and, I think, the moſt charming Flower of its Colour, I ever ſaw, grows betwixt two and three Foot high, and for the moſt part, by the ſide of a ſwampy Wood, or on the Banks of our Rivers, but never near the Salt-Water. All the Sorts are white; the laſt grows in a great Bunch of theſe ſmall Hony-Suckles ſet upon one chief Stem, and is commonly the Bigneſs of a large Turnep. Nothing can appear more beautiful than theſe Buſhes, when in their Splendour, which is in *April* and *May*. The next is the Honey-Suckle of the Foreſt; it grows about a Foot high, bearing its Flowers on ſmall Pedeſtals, ſeveral of them ſtanding on the main Stock, which is the Thickneſs of a Wheat-Straw. We have alſo the Wood-bind, much the ſame as in *England*; Princes-feather, very large and beautiful in the Garden; *Tres-Colores*, branch'd Sun-flower, Double Poppies, Lupines, of ſeveral pretty ſorts, ſpontaneous; and the *Senſible* Plant is ſaid to be near the Mountains, which I have not yet ſeen. Saf-Flower; (and I believe, the Saffron of *England* would thrive here, if planted) the yellow Jeſſamin is wild in our Woods, of a pleaſant Smell. Ever-Greens are here plentifully found, of a very quick Growth, and pleaſant Shade; Cypreſs, or white Cedar, the Pitch Pine, the yellow Pine, the white Pine with long Leaves; and the ſmaller Almond-Pine, which laſt bears Kernels in the Apple, taſting much like an Almond; and in ſome years there falls ſuch plenty, as to make the Hogs fat. Horn-Beam; Cedar, two ſorts; Holly, two ſorts; Bay-Tree, two ſorts; one the Dwarf-Bay, about twelve Foot high; the other the Bigneſs of a middling Pine-Tree, about two Foot and half Diameter; Laurel-Trees, in Height equalizing the lofty Oaks; the Berries and Leaves of this Tree dyes a Yellow; the Bay-Berries yield a Wax, which beſides its Uſe in Chirurgery, makes Candles that, in burning,

ing, give a fragrant Smell. The Cedar-Berries are infuſed, and made Beer of, by the *Bermudians*, they are Carminative, and much of the Quality of Juniper-Berries; Yew and Box I never ſaw or heard of in this Country: There are two ſorts of Myrtles, different in Leaf and Berry; the Berry yields Wax that makes Candles, the moſt laſting, and of the ſweeteſt Smell imaginable. Some mix half Tallow with this Wax, others uſe it without Mixture; and theſe are fit for a Lady's Chamber, and incomparable to paſs the Line withal, and other hot Countries, becauſe they will ſtand, when others will melt, by the exceſſive Heat, down in the Binacles. Ever-green Oak, two ſorts; Gall-Berry-Tree, bearing a black Berry, with which the Women dye their Cloaths and Yarn black; 'tis a pretty Ever-green, and very plentiful, growing always in low ſwampy Grounds, and amongſt Ponds. We have a Prim or Privet, which grows on the dry, barren, ſandy Hills, by the Sound ſide; it bears a ſmaller ſort than that in *England*, and grows into a round Buſh, very beautiful. Laſt of Buſhes, (except Savine, which grows every where wild) is the famous *Yaupon*, of which I find two ſorts, if not three. I ſhall ſpeak firſt of the Nature of this Plant, and afterwards account for the different Sorts. This *Yaupon*, call'd by the South-*Carolina Indians*, *Caſſena*, is a Buſh, that grows chiefly on the Sand-Banks and Iſlands, bordering on the Sea of *Carolina*; on this Coaſt it is plentifully found, and in no other Place that I know of. It grows the moſt like Box, of any Vegetable that I know, being very like it in Leaf, only dented exactly like Tea, but the Leaf ſomewhat fatter. I cannot ſay, whether it bears any Flower, but a Berry it does, about the Bigneſs of a Grain of Pepper, being firſt red, then brown when ripe, which is in *December*; Some of theſe Buſhes grow to be twelve Foot high, others are three or four. The Wood thereof is brittle as Myrtle, and affords a light aſh-colour'd Bark. There is ſometimes found of it in Swamps and rich low Grounds, which has the ſame figured Leaf, only it is larger, and of a deeper Green; This may be occaſion'd by the Richneſs that attends the low Grounds thus ſituated. The third Sort has the ſame kind of Leaf, but never grows a Foot high, and is found both in rich, low Land, and on the Sand-Hills. I don't know that ever I found any Seed, or Berries on the

Yaupon.

dwarfiſh

dwarfish Sort, yet I find no Difference in Taste, when Infusion is made: Cattle and Sheep delight in this Plant very much, and so do the Deer, all which crop it very short, and browze thereon, wheresoever they meet with it. I have transplanted the Sand-Bank and dwarfish *Yaupon*, and find that the first Year, the Shrubs stood at a stand; but the second Year they throve as well as in their native Soil. This Plant is the *Indian* Tea, us'd and approv'd by all the Savages on the Coast of *Carolina*, and from them sent to the Westward *Indians*, and sold at a considerable Price. All which they cure after the same way, as they do for themselves; which is thus: They take this Plant (not only the Leaves, but the smaller Twigs along with them) and bruise it in a Mortar, till it becomes blackish, the Leaf being wholly defaced: Then they take it out, put it into one of their earthen Pots which is over the Fire, till it smoaks; stirring it all the time, till it is cur'd. Others take it, after it is bruis'd, and put it into a Bowl, to which they put live Coals, and cover them with the *Yaupon*, till they have done smoaking, often turning them over. After all, they spread it upon their Mats, and dry it in the Sun. to keep for Use. The *Spaniards* in *New-Spain* have this Plant very plentifully on the Coast of *Florida*, and hold it in great Esteem. Sometimes they cure it as the *Indians* do; or else beat it to a Powder, so mix it, as Coffee; yet before they drink it, they filter the same. They prefer it above all Liquids, to drink with Physick, to carry the same safely and speedily thro' the Passages, for which it is admirable, as I myself have experimented. *Curing the Yaupon.*

In the next Place, I shall speak of the *Timber* that *Carolina* affords, which is as follows. *Carolina Timber.*

Chesnut-Oak, is a very lofty Tree, clear of Boughs and Limbs, for fifty or 60 Foot. They bear sometimes four or five Foot through all clear Timber; and are the largest Oaks we have, yielding the fairest Plank. They grow chiefly in low Land, that is stiff and rich. I have seen of them so high, that a good Gun could not reach a Turkey, tho' loaded with Swan-Shot. They are call'd Chesnut, because of the Largeness and Sweetness of the Acorns. *Chesnut-Oak.*

White, Scaly-bark Oak; This is used, as the former, in building Sloops and Ships. Tho' it bears a large Acorn, yet it never grows to the Bulk and Height of the Chesnut Oak. *Scaly Oak.*

Oak. It is so call'd, because of a scaly, broken, white Bark, that covers this Tree, growing on dry Land.

Red Oak. We have Red Oak, sometimes, in good Land, very large, and lofty. 'Tis a porous Wood, and used to rive into Rails for Fences. 'Tis not very durable; yet some use this, as well as the two former, for Pipe and Barrel-Staves. It makes good Clap-boards.

Spanish *Oak.* *Spanish* Oak is free to rive, bears a whitish, smooth Bark; and rives very well into Clap-boards. It is accounted durable, therefore some use to build Vessels with it for the Sea; it proving well and durable. These all bear good Mast for the Swine.

Bastard Spanish. Bastard-*Spanish* is an Oak betwixt the *Spanish* and Red Oak; the chief Use is for Fencing and Clap-boards. It bears good Acorns.

Black Oak. The next is Black Oak, which is esteem'd a durable Wood, under Water; but sometimes it is used in House-work. It bears a good Mast for Hogs.

White Iron. White Iron, or Ring-Oak, is so call'd, from the Durability and lasting Quality of this Wood. It chiefly grows on dry, lean Land, and seldom fails of bearing a plentiful Crop of Acorns. This Wood is found to be very durable, and is esteem'd the best Oak for Ship-work that we have in *Carolina*; for tho' Live Oak be more lasting, yet it seldom allows Planks of any considerable Length.

Turkey Oak. Turkey-Oak is so call'd from a small Acorn it bears, which the wild Turkeys feed on.

Live Oak. Live-Oak chiefly grows on dry, sandy Knolls. This is an Ever-green, and the most durable Oak all *America* affords. The Shortness of this Wood's Bowl, or Trunk, makes it unfit for Plank to build Ships withal. There are some few Trees, that would allow a Stock of twelve Foot, but the Firmness and great Weight thereof, frightens our Sawyers from the Fatigue that attends the cutting of this Timber. A Nail once driven therein, 'tis next to an Impossibility to draw it out. The Limbs thereof are so cur'd, that they serve for excellent Timbers, Knees, *&c.* for Vessels of any sort. The Acorns thereof are as sweet as Chesnuts, and the *Indians* draw an Oil from them, as sweet as that from the Olive, tho' of an Amber-Colour. With these Nuts, or Acorns, some have counterfeited the Cocoa, whereof they have

have made Chocolate, not to be diſtinguiſh'd by a good Palate. Window-Frames, Mallets, and Pins for Blocks, are made thereof, to an excellent Purpoſe. I knew two Trees of this Wood among the *Indians*, which were planted from the Acorn, and grew in the Freſhes, and never ſaw any thing more beautiful of that kind. They are of an indifferent quick Growth; of which there are two ſorts. The Acorns make very fine Pork.

Willow-Oak is a ſort of Water-Oak. It grows in Ponds and Branches, and is uſeful for many things. It is ſo call'd, from the Leaf, which very much reſembles a Willow. *Willow Oak*

The Live Oak grows in the freſh Water Ponds and Swamps, by the River ſides, and in low Ground overflown with Water; and is a perennial Green. *Freſh-water Oak.*

Of Aſh we have two ſorts, agreeing nearly with the *Engliſh* in the Grain. One of our ſorts is tough, like the *Engliſh*, but differs ſomething in the Leaf, and much more in the Bark. Neither of them bears Keys. The Water-Aſh is brittle. The Bark is Food for the Bevers. *Aſh.*

There are two ſorts of Elm; the firſt grows on our High-Land, and approaches our *Engliſh*. The *Indians* take the Bark of its Root, and beat it, whilſt green, to a Pulp; and then dry it in the Chimney, where it becomes of a reddiſh Colour. This they uſe as a Sovereign Remedy to heal a Cut or green Wound, or any thing that is not corrupted. It is of a very glutinous Quality. The other Elm grows in low Ground, of whoſe Bark the *Engliſh* and *Indians* make Ropes; for as ſoon as the Sap riſes, it ſtrips off, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable. It runs in *March*, or thereabouts. *Elm.*

The Tulip-Trees, which are, by the Planters, call'd Poplars, as neareſt approaching that Wood in Grain, grow to a prodigious Bigneſs, ſome of them having been found One and twenty Foot in Circumference. I have been inform'd of a Tulip-Tree, that was ten Foot Diameter; and another, wherein a luſty Man had his Bed and Houſhold Furniture, and liv'd in it, till his Labour got him a more faſhionable Manſion. He afterwards became a noted Man, in his Country, for Wealth and Conduct. One of theſe ſorts bears a white Tulip; the other a party-colour'd, mottled one. The Wood makes very pretty Wainſcot, Shingles for *Tulip-Tree.*

Houſes, and Planks for ſeveral Uſes. It is reckon'd very laſting; eſpecially, under Ground, for Mill-Work. The Buds, made into an Ointment, cure Scalds, Inflammations, and Burns. I ſaw ſeveral Buſhels thereon. The Cattle are apt to eat of theſe Buds, which give a very odd Taſte to the Milk.

Beech. Beech is here frequent, and very large. The Grain ſeems exactly the ſame as that in *Europe*. We make little Uſe thereof, ſave for Fire-Wood. 'Tis not a durable Timber. It affords a very ſweet Nut, yet the Pork fed thereon (tho' ſweet) is very oily, and ought to be harden'd with *Indian* Corn, before it is kill'd. Another ſort call'd Buck-Beech is here found.

Buck Beech

Horn-Beam. Horn-Beam grows, in ſome Places, very plentifully; yet the Plenty of other Wood makes it unregarded.

Saſſafras. The Vertues of Saſſafras are well known in *Europe*. This Wood ſometimes grows to be above two Foot over, and is very durable and laſting, uſed for Bowls, Timbers, Poſts for Houſes, and other Things that require ſtanding in the Ground. 'Tis very light. It bears a white Flower, which is very cleanſing to the Blood, being eaten in the Spring, with other Sallating. The Berry, when ripe, is black; 'tis very oily, Carminative, and extremely prevalent in Clyſters for the Colick. The Bark of the Root is a Specifick to thoſe afflicted with the Gripes. The ſame in Powder, and a Lotion made thereof, is much uſed by the Savages, to mundify old Ulcers, and for ſeveral other Uſes; being highly eſteem'd among them.

Dog-wood. Dog-Wood is plentiful on our light Land, inclining to a rich Soil. It flowers the firſt in the Woods; its white Bloſſom making the Foreſt very beautiful. It has a fine Grain, and ſerves for ſeveral Uſes within doors; but is not durable. The Bark of this Root infuſed, is held an infallible Remedy againſt the Worms.

Laurel. Laurel, before-mention'd; as to its Bigneſs and Uſe, I have ſeen Planks ſawn of this Wood; but 'tis not found durable in the Weather; yet pretty enough for many other Uſes.

Bay and Laurel generally delight in a low, ſwampy Ground. I know no Uſe they make of them, but for Fire-Wood, excepting what I ſpoke of before, amongſt the Ever-Greens.

A

A famous Ever-Green I must now mention, which was forgotten amongst the rest. It is in Leaf like a Jessamine, but larger, and of a harder Nature. This grows up to a large Vine, and twists itself round the Trees it grows near, making a very fine Shade. I never saw any thing of that Nature outdo it, and if it be cut away close to the Ground, it will presently spring up again, it being impossible to destroy it, when once it has got Root. 'Tis an ornamental Plant, and worth the Transplanting. Its Seed is a black Berry. *Ever-green.*

The Scarlet Trumpet-Vine bears a glorious red Flower, like a Bell, or Trumpet, and makes a Shade inferiour to none that I ever saw; yet it leaves us, when the Winter comes, and remains naked till the next Spring. It bears a large Cod, that holds its Seed. *Trumpet-Vine.*

The Maycock bears a glorious Flower, and Apple of an agreeable Sweet, mixt with an acid Taste. This is also a Summer-Vine. *Maycock.*

The Indico grows plentifully in our Quarters. *Indico-Trees.*

The Bay-Tulip-Tree is a fine Ever-green which grows frequently here. *Bay-Tulips.*

The sweet Gum-Tree, so call'd, because of the fragrant Gum it yields in the Spring-time, upon Incision of the Bark, or Wood. It cures the Herpes and Inflammations; being apply'd to the Morphew and Tettars. 'Tis an extraordinary Balsam, and of great Value to those who know how to use it. No Wood has scarce a better Grain; whereof fine Tables, Drawers, and other Furniture might be made. Some of it is curiously curl'd. It bears a round Bur, with a sort of Prickle, which is the Seed. *Sweet Gum.*

Of the Black Gum there grows, with us, two sorts; both fit for Cart-Naves. The one bears a black, well-tasted Berry, which the *Indians* mix with their Pulse and Soups, it giving 'em a pretty Flavour, and scarlet Colour. The Bears crop these Trees for the Berries, which they mightily covet, yet kill'd in that Season, they eat very unsavory; which must be occasion'd by this Fruit, because, at other times, when they feed on Mast, Bears-Flesh is a very well-tasted Food. The other Gum bears a Berry in shape like the other, tho' bitter and ill-tasted. This Tree (the *Indians* report) *Black Gums.*

is never wounded by Lightning. It has no certain Grain; and it is almoſt impoſſible to ſplit or rive it.

White Gum The white Gum, bearing a ſort of long bunch'd Flowers, is the moſt curled and knotted Wood I ever ſaw, which would make curious Furniture, in caſe it was handled by a good Workman.

Red Cedar. The red ſort of Cedar is an Ever-green, of which *Carolina* affords Plenty. That on the Salts, grows generally on the Sand-banks; and that in the Freſhes is found in the Swamps. Of this Wood, Tables, Wainſcot, and other Neceſſaries, are made, and eſteemed for its ſweet Smell. It is as durable a Wood as any we have, therefore much uſed in Poſts for Houſes and Sills; likewiſe to build Sloops, Boats, *&c.* by reaſon the Worm will not touch it, for ſeveral Years. The Veſſels built thereof are very durable, and good Swimmers. Of this Cedar, Ship-loads may be exported. It has been heretofore ſo plentiful in this Settlement, that they have fenced in Plantations with it, and the Coffins of the Dead are generally made thereof.

White Cedar. White Cedar, ſo call'd, becauſe it nearly approaches the other Cedar, in Smell, Bark, and Leaf; only this grows taller, being as ſtrait as an Arrow. It is extraordinary light, and free to rive. 'Tis good for Yard, Top-Maſts, Booms and Boltſprits, being very tough. The beſt Shingles for Houſes are made of this Wood, it being no Strain to the Roof, and never rots. Good Pails and other Veſſels, free from Leakage, are likewiſe made thereof. The Bark of this and the red Cedar, the *Indians* uſe to make their Cabins of, which prove firm, and reſiſt all Weathers.

Cypreſs. Cypreſs is not an Ever-green with us, and is therefore call'd the bald Cypreſs, becauſe the Leaves, during the Winter-Seaſon, turn red, not recovering their Verdure till the Spring. Theſe Trees are the largeſt for Height and Thickneſs, that we have in this Part of the World; ſome of them holding thirty-ſix Foot in Circumference. Upon Inciſion, they yield a ſweet-ſmelling Grain, tho' not in great Quantities; and the Nuts which theſe Trees bear plentifully, yield a moſt odoriferous Balſam, that infallibly cures all new and green Wounds, which the Inhabitants are well acquainted withal. Of theſe great Trees the Periaugers and Canoes are ſcoop'd and made; which ſort of Veſſels are chiefly

to

to pass over the Rivers, Creeks, and Bays; and to transport Goods and Lumber from one River to another. Some are so large, as to carry thirty Barrels, tho' of one entire Piece of Timber. Others, that are split down the Bottom, and a piece added thereto, will carry eighty, or an hundred. Several have gone out of our Inlets on the Ocean to *Virginia*, laden with Pork, and other Produce of the Country. Of these Trees curious Boats for Pleasure may be made, and other necessary Craft. Some Years ago, a foolish Man in *Albemarl* and his Son, had got one of these Canoes deck'd. She held, as I take it, sixteen Barrels. He brought her to the Collectors, to be clear'd for *Barbados*; but the Officer took him for a Man that had lost his Senses, and argu'd the Danger and Impossibility of performing such a Voyage, in a hollow Tree; but the Fellow would hearken to no Advice of that kind, till the Gentleman told him, if he did not value his own Life, he valu'd his Reputation and Honesty, and so flatly refus'd clearing him; Upon which, the Canoe was sold, and, I think, remains in being still. This Wood is very lasting, and free from the Rot. A Canoe of it will outlast four Boats, and seldom wants Repair. They say, that a Chest made of this Wood, will suffer no Moth, or Vermine, to abide therein.

Two sorts of Locust white and yellow, is rare if varnish'd.

The Locust, for its enduring the Weather, is chosen for all sorts of Works that are exposed thereto. It bears a Leaf neareſt the Liquorice-Plant. 'Tis a pretty tall Tree. Of this the *Indians* make their choicest Bows, it being very tough and flexible. We have little or none of this Wood in *Pampticough*.

Honey Tree a Locust.

The Honey-Tree bears as great a Resemblance to the Locust, as a Shallot does to an Onion. It is of that Species, but more prickly. They bear a Cod, one side whereof contains the Seed, the other the Honey; They will bear in five Years, from the Kernel. They were first brought (by the *Indian* Traders) and propagated, by their Seed, at the *Apamaticks* in *Virginia*. Last Year, I planted the Seed, and had them sprung up before I came from thence, which was in *August*. Of the Honey, very good Metheglin is made, there being Orchards planted in *Virginia* for that intent.

The

Sowr Wood The Sorrel, or Sowr-Wood-Tree, is ſo call'd, becauſe the Leaves taſte like Sorrel. Some are about a Foot or ten Inches Diameter. I am unacquainted with its Vertues at preſent.

Pine. Of Pines, there are, in *Carolina*, at leaſt, four ſorts. The Pitch-Pine, growing to a great Bigneſs, moſt commonly has but a ſhort Leaf. Its Wood (being replete with abundance of *Bitumen)* is ſo durable, that it ſeems to ſuffer no Decay, tho' expoſed to all Weathers, for many Ages; and is uſed in ſeveral Domeſtick and Plantation Uſes. This Tree affords the four great Neceſſaries, Pitch, Tar, Rozin, and Turpentine; which two laſt are extracted by tapping, and the Heat of the Sun, the other two by the Heat of the Fire.

The white and yellow Pines are ſaw'd into Planks for ſeveral Uſes. They make Maſts, Yards, and a great many other Neceſſaries therewith, the Pine being the moſt uſeful Tree in the Woods.

The Almond-Pine ſerves for Maſts very well. As for the Dwarf-Pine, it is for Shew alone, being an Ever-green, as they all are.

Hiccory the beſt Fire-wood. The Hiccory is of the Walnut-kind, and bears a Nut as they do, of which there are found three ſorts. The firſt is that which we call the common white Hiccory. It is not a durable Wood; for if cut down, and expoſed to the Weather, it will be quite rotten, and ſpoil'd in three Years; as will likewiſe the Beech of this Country. Hiccory Nuts have very hard Shells, but excellent ſweet Kernels, with which, in a plentiful Year, the old Hogs, that can crack them, fatten themſelves, and make excellent Pork. Theſe Nuts are gotten, in great Quantities, by the Savages, and laid up for Stores, of which they make ſeveral Diſhes and Banquets. One of theſe I cannot forbear mentioning; it is this: They take theſe Nuts, and break them very ſmall betwixt two Stones, till the Shells and Kernels are indifferent ſmall; And this Powder you are preſented withal in their Cabins, in little wooden Diſhes; the Kernel diſſolves in your Mouth, and the Shell is ſpit out. This taſtes as well as any Almond. Another Diſh is the Soup which they make of theſe Nuts, beaten, and put into Veniſon-Broth, which diſſolves the Nut, and thickens, whilſt the Shell precipitates, and remains at the bottom. This Broth taſtes very

very rich. There is another ſort, which we call red Hicco- *Red Hic-*
ry, the Heart thereof being very red, firm and durable; of *cory.*
which Walking-Sticks, Mortars, Peſtils, and ſeveral other fine Turnery-wares are made. The third is call'd the Flying-bark'd Hiccory, from its brittle and ſcaly Bark. It bears a Nut with a bitter Kernel and a ſoft Shell, like a *French* Walnut. Of this Wood, Coggs for Mills are made, *&c.* The Leaves ſmell very fragrant.

The Walnut-Tree of *America* is call'd Black Walnut. I *Walnut.*
ſuppoſe, that Name was, at firſt, to diſtinguiſh it from the Hiccories, it having a blacker Bark. This Tree grows, in good Land, to a prodigious Bigneſs. The Wood is very firm and durable, of which Tables and Cheſts of Drawers are made, and prove very well. Some of this is very knotty, which would make the beſt Returns for *England*, tho' the Maſters of Veſſels refuſe it, not underſtanding its Goodneſs. 'Tis a very good and durable Wood, to bottom Veſſels for the Sea withal; and they ſay, that it is never eaten by the Worm. The Nuts have a large Kernel, which is very oily, except lain by, a long time, to mellow. The Shell is very thick, as all the native Nuts of *America* are. When it has its yellow outward Coat on, it looks and ſmells much like a Lemon.

The Maple, of which we have two ſorts, is uſed to make *Maple.*
Trenchers, Spinning-wheels, *&c.* withal.

Chinkapin is a ſort of Cheſnut, whoſe Nuts are moſt com- *Chinka-*
monly very plentiful; inſomuch that the Hogs get fat with *pin.*
them. They are rounder and ſmaller than a Cheſnut, but much ſweeter. The Wood is much of the Nature of Cheſnut, having a Leaf and Grain almoſt like it. It is uſed to timber Boats, Shallops, *&c.* and makes any thing that is to endure the Weather. This and the Hiccory are very tough Rods uſed to whip Horſes withal; yet their Wood, in Subſtance, is very brittle. This Tree the Vine much delights to twiſt about. It's good Fire-Wood, but very ſparkling, as well as Saſſafras.

The Birch grows all on the Banks of our Rivers, very high *Birch.*
up. I never ſaw a Tree on the Salts. It differs ſomething, in Bark, from the *European* Birch. Its Buds in *April* are eaten by the Parrakeetos, which reſort, from all Parts, at that Seaſon, to feed thereon. Where this Wood grows, we are

not

not yet ſeated; and as to the Wine, or other Profits it would yield, we are, at preſent, Strangers to.

Willow. The Willow, here, likewiſe differs both in Bark and Leaf. It is frequently found on the Banks of freſh Water, as the Birch is.

Sycamore. The Sycamore, in theſe Parts, grows in a low, ſwampy Land, by River-ſides. Its Bark is quite different from the *Engliſh*, and the moſt beautiful I ever ſaw, being mottled and clowded with ſeveral Colours, as white, blue, *&c.* It bears no Keys but a Bur like the ſweet Gum. Its Uſes I am ignorant of.

Aſpin. I never ſaw any Aſpin, but in *Rapahannock*-River, from whence I brought one, (that was preſented me there as a great Preſent) but it died by the way.

Holly. Of Holly we have two ſorts; one having a large Leaf, the other a ſmaller. They grow very thick in our low Woods. Many of them are very ſtrait, and two Foot Diameter. They make good Trenchers, and other Turnery-Ware.

Red-Bud. The Red-Bud-Tree bears a purple Lark-Heel, and is the beſt Sallad, of any Flower I ever ſaw. It is ripe in *April* and *May*. They grow in Trees, generally ſmall, but ſome are a Foot Diameter.

Pelletory. Pelletory grows on the Sand-Banks and Iſlands. It is uſed to cure the Tooth-ach, by putting a Piece of the Bark in the Mouth, which being very hot, draws a Rhume from the Mouth, and cauſes much Spittle. The *Indians* uſe it to make their Compoſition, which they give to their young Men and Boys, when they are huſquenaw'd, of which you ſhall hear farther, when I come to treat of the Cuſtoms, *&c.* of that People.

Arrow-Wood. Arrow-Wood, growing on the Banks, is uſed, by the *Indians*, for Arrows and Gun-Sticks. It grows as ſtrait, as if plain'd, and is of all Sizes. 'Tis as tough and pliable, as the ſmalleſt Canes.

Cheſnut. The Cheſnut-Tree of *Carolina*, grows up towards the hilly Part thereof, is a very large and durable Wood, and fit for Houſe-Frames, Paliſado's, Sills, and many other Uſes. The Nut is ſmaller than thoſe from *Portugal*, but ſweeter.

Oak-Vine. This is no Tree, but call'd the Oak-Vine, by reaſon it bears a ſort of Bur as the Oak does, and generally runs up thoſe Trees. It's ſo porous, that you ſuck Liquors thro' a Length of two Foot.

Prickly-

Prickly-Ash grows up like a Pole; of which the *Indians* and *English* make Poles to set their Canoes along in Shoal-Water. It's very light, and full of Thorns or Prickles, bearing Berries in large Clusters, of a purple Colour, not much unlike the Alder. The Root of this Tree is Cathartick and Emetick, used in Cachexies.

The Poison Vine is so called, because it colours the Hands of those who handle it. What the Effects of it may be, I cannot relate; neither do I believe, that any has made an Experiment thereof. The Juice of this will stain Linnen, never to wash out. It marks a blackish blue Colour, which is done only by breaking a bit of the Vine off, and writing what you please therewith. I have thought, that the *East-India* Natives set their Colours, by some such Means, into their finest Callicoes. It runs up any Tree it meets withal, and claps round about it. The Leaves are like Hemlock, and fall off in Winter. *Poison Vine.*

Of Canes and Reeds we have many sorts. The hollow Reed, or Cane, such as Angling-Rods are made of, and *Weavers* use, we have great Plenty of, though none to the Northward of *James*-River in *Virginia*. They always grow in Branches and low Ground. Their Leaves endure the Winter, in which Season our Cattle eat them greedily. We have them (towards the Heads of our Rivers) so large, that one Joint will hold above a pint of Liquor. *Canes and Reeds.*

The small *Bamboo* is next, which is a certain Vine, like the rest of these Species, growing in low Land. They seldom, with us, grow thicker than a Man's little Finger, and are very tough. Their Root is a round Ball, which the *Indians* boil as we do Garden-Roots, and eat them. When these Roots have been some time out of the Ground, they become hard, and make good Heads to the Canes, on which several pretty Figures may be cut. There are several others of this kind, not thoroughly discover'd. Bamboo.

That *Palmeto* grows with us, which we call the dwarfish sort; but the *Palmeto*-Tree I have not yet met withal in *North-Carolina*, of which you have a Description elsewhere. We shall next treat of the Spontaneous Fruits of this Country; and then proceed to those that have been transplanted from *Europe*, and other Parts. Palmeto.

Natural Vines. Among the natural Fruits, the Vine firſt takes place, of which I find ſix ſorts, very well known. The firſt is *Bunch-Grapes.* the black *Bunch-Grapes*, which yield a Crimſon Juice. Theſe grow common, and bear plentifully. They are of a good Reliſh, though not large, yet well knit in the Cluſters. They have a thickiſh Skin, and large Stone, which makes them not yield much Juice. There is another ſort of Black-Grapes like the former, in all reſpects, ſave that their Juice is of a light Fleſh-Colour, inclining to a White. I once ſaw a Spontaneous white Bunch-Grape in *Carolina*; but the Cattle browzing on the Sprouts thereof in the Spring, *Fox-Grapes.* it died. Of thoſe which we call *Fox-Grapes*, we have four ſorts; two whereof are called Summer-Grapes, becauſe ripe in *July*; the other two Winter-Fruit, becauſe not ripe till *September* or *October*. The Summer Fox-Grapes grow not in Cluſters, or great Bunches, but are about five or ſix in a Bunch, about the Bigneſs of a Damſon, or larger. The black ſort are frequent, the white not ſo commonly found. They always grow in Swamps, and low moiſt Lands, running ſometimes very high, and being ſhady, and therefore proper for Arbours. They afford the largeſt Leaf I ever ſaw, to my remembrance, the Back of which is of a white Horſe-fleſh Colour. This Fruit always ripens in the Shade. I have tranſplanted them into my Orchard, and find they thrive well, if manured: A Neighbour of mine has done the ſame; mine were by Slips, his from the Roots, which thrive to Admiration, and bear Fruit, tho' not ſo juicy as the *European* Grape, but of a glutinous Nature. However, it is pleaſant enough to eat.

The other Winter Fox-Grapes, are much of the ſame Bigneſs. Theſe refuſe no Ground, ſwampy or dry, but grow plentifully on the Sand-Hills along the Sea-Coaſt, and elſewhere, and are great Bearers. I have ſeen near twelve Buſhels upon one Vine of the black ſort. Some of theſe, when thoroughly ripe, have a very pretty vinous Taſte, and eat very well, yet are glutinous. The white ſort are clear and tranſparent, and indifferent ſmall Stones. Being removed by the Slip or Root, they thrive well in our Gardens, and make pleaſant Shades.

Perſim-mons. *Perſimmon* is a Tree, that agrees with all Lands and Soils. Their Fruit, when ripe, is neareſt our Medlar; if eaten before,

before, draws your Mouth up like a Purſe, being the greateſt Aſtringent I ever met withal, therefore very uſeful in ſome Caſes. The Fruit, if ripe, will preſently cleanſe a foul Wound, but cauſes Pain. The Fruit is rotten, when ripe, and commonly contains four flat Kernels, call'd Stones, which is the Seed. 'Tis ſaid, the *Cortex Peruvianus* comes from a *Perſimmon*-Tree, that grows in *New-Spain*. I have try'd the Drying of this Bark, to imitate it, which it does tolerably well, and agrees therewith. It is binding enough to work the ſame Effect. The Tree, in extraordinary Land, comes ſometimes to two Foot Diameter, though not often. There are two ſorts of this Fruit; one ripe in Summer, the other when the Froſt viſits us.

We have three ſorts of Mulberries, beſides the different Bigneſs of ſome Trees Fruit. The firſt is the common red Mulberry, whoſe Fruit is the earlieſt we have, (except the Strawberries) and very ſweet. Theſe Trees make a very fine Shade, to ſit under in Summer-time. They are found wild in great Quantities, wherever the Land is light and rich; yet their Fruit is much better when they ſtand open. They are uſed inſtead of Raiſins and Currants, and make ſeveral pretty Kickſhaws. They yield a tranſparent Crimſon Liquor, which would make good Wine; but few Peoples Inclinations in this Country tend that way. The others are a ſmooth-leav'd Mulberry, fit for the Silk-Worm. One bears a white Fruit, which is common; the other bears a ſmall black Berry, very ſweet. They would perſuade me there, that the black Mulberry with the Silk-Worm ſmooth Leaf, was a white Mulberry, and changed its Fruit. The Wood hereof is very durable, and where the *Indians* cannot get Locuſt, they make uſe of this to make their Bows. This Tree grows extraordinary round and pleaſant to the Eye. *Mulberry.*

The Hiccory, Walnut, Chinkapin and Cheſnut, with their Fruits, we have mention'd before.

The Hazle-Nut grows plentifully in ſome places of this Country; eſpecially, towards the Mountains; but ours are not ſo good as the *Engliſh* Nuts, having a much thicker Shell (like all the Fruits of *America*, that I ever met withal) which in Hardneſs exceeds thoſe of *Europe*. *Hazle-Nut.*

Black-Cherries. The Cherries of the Woods grow to be very large Trees. One ſort, which is rarely found, is red, and not much unlike the Cornel-Berry. But the common Cherry grows high, and in Bunches, like *Engliſh* Currants, but much larger. They are of a bitteriſh ſweet Reliſh, and are equally valuable with our ſmall Black-Cherries, for an Infuſion in Spirits. They yield a crimſon Liquor, and are great Bearers.

Rasberries. Our Rasberries are of a purple Colour, and agreeable Reliſh, almoſt like the *Engliſh*; but I reckon them not quite ſo rich. When once planted, 'tis hard to root them out. They run wild all over the Country, and will bear the ſame Year you tranſplant them, as I have found by Experience.

Hurts. The Hurts, Huckle-Berries, or Blues of this Country, are four ſorts, which we are well acquainted withal; but more Species of this ſort, and all others, Time and Enquiry muſt diſcover. The firſt ſort is the ſame Blue or Bilberry, that grows plentifully in the *North* of *England*, and in other Places, commonly on your Heaths, Commons, and Woods, where Brakes or Fern grows.

The ſecond ſort grows on a ſmall Buſh in our *Savannas* and Meads, and in the Woods. They are larger than the common Fruit, and have larger Seed.

The third grows on the ſingle Stem of a Stick that grows in low good Land, and on the Banks of Rivers. They grow three or four Foot high, and are very pleaſant like the firſt ſort, but larger.

The fourth ſort grows upon Trees, ſome ten and twelve Foot high, and the Thickneſs of a Man's Arm; theſe are found in the Runs and low Grounds, and are very pleaſant, and bear wonderfully. The *Engliſh* ſometimes dry them in the Sun, and keep them to uſe in the Winter, inſtead of Currants. The *Indians* get many Buſhels, and dry them on Mats, whereof they make Plum-Bread, and many other Eatables. They are good in Tarts, or infuſed in Liquors.

Piemento. In the ſame Ground, commonly grows the *Piemento*, or All-Spice-Tree, whoſe Berries differ in ſhape from thoſe in the *Weſt-Indies*, being Taper or Conick, yet not inferiour to any of that ſort. This Tree grows much like the Hurts, and is of the ſame Bigneſs. I have known it tranſplanted to high Land, where it thrives.

Our

Our Dew-Berries are very good. But the Black-Berries are bitterish, and not so palatable, as in *England*. *Dews.* *Black-Berries.*

The Sugar-Tree ought to have taken place before. It is found in no other parts of *Carolina* or *America*, that I ever learnt, but in Places that are near the Mountains. It's most like one sort of Maple, of any Tree, and may be rank'd amongst that kind. This Tree, which, I am told, is of a very tedious Growth, is found very plentifully towards the Heads of some of our Rivers. The *Indians* tap it, and make Gourds to receive the Liquor, which Operation is done at distinct and proper times, when it best yields its Juice, of which, when the *Indians* have gotten enough, they carry it home, and boil it to a just Consistence of Sugar, which grains of itself, and serves for the same Uses, as other Sugar does. *Sugar Tree.*

The *Papau* is not a large Tree. I think, I never saw one a Foot through; but has the broadest Leaf of any Tree in the Woods, and bears an Apple about the Bigness of a Hen's Egg, yellow, soft, and as sweet, as any thing can well be. They make rare Puddings of this Fruit. The Apple contains a large Stone. *Papau.*

The wild Fig grows in *Virginia*, up in the Mountains, as I am inform'd by a Gentleman of my acquaintance, who is a Person of Credit, and a great Traveller in *America*. I shall be glad to have an Opportunity to make Tryal what Improvement might be made of this wild Fruit. *Wild Fig.*

The wild Plums of *America* are of several sorts. Those which I can give an account of from my own Knowledge, I will, and leave the others till a farther Discovery. The most frequent is that which we call the common *Indian* Plum, of which there are two sorts, if not more. One of these is ripe much sooner than the other, and differs in the Bark; one of the Barks being very scaly, like our *American* Birch. These Trees, when in Blossom, smell as sweet as any Jessamine, and look as white as a Sheet, being something prickly. You may make it grow to what Shape you please; they are very ornamental about a House, and make a wonderful fine Shew at a Distance, in the Spring, because of their white Livery. Their Fruit is red, and very palatable to the sick. They are of a quick Growth, and will bear from the Stone in five Years, on their Stock. The *Plum red.*

English

Engliſh large black Plum thrives well, as does the Cherry, being grafted thereon.

Damſons of America. The *American* Damſons are both black and white, and about the Bigneſs of an *European* Damſon. They grow any where, if planted from the Stone or Slip; bear a white Bloſſom, and are a good Fruit. They are found on the Sand-Banks all along the Coaſt of *America*. I have planted ſeveral in my Orchard, that came from the Stone, which thrive well amongſt the reſt of my Trees. But they never grow to the Bigneſs of the other Trees now ſpoken of. Theſe are plentiful Bearers.

There is a third ſort of Plum about the Bigneſs of the Damſon. The Tree is taller, ſeldom exceeding ten Inches in Thickneſs. The Plum ſeems to taſte phyſically, yet I never found any Operation it had, except to make their Lips ſore, that eat them. The Wood is ſomething porous, but exceeds any Box, for a beautiful Yellow.

Winter Currant. There is a very pretty, buſhy Tree, about ſeven or eight Foot high, very ſpreadiug, which bears a Winter-Fruit, that is ripe in *October*. They call 'em Currants, but they are nearer a Hurt. I have eaten very pretty Tarts made thereof. They dry them inſtead of Currants. This Buſh is very beautiful.

Bermudas Currants. The *Bermudas* Currants grow in the Woods on a Buſh, much like the *European* Currant. Some People eat them very much; but for my part, I can ſee nothing inviting in them, and reckon them a very indifferent Fruit.

April Currants. We have another Currant, which grows on the Banks of Rivers, or where only Clay hath been thrown up. This Fruit is red, and gone almoſt as ſoon as come. They are a pretty Fruit whilſt they laſt, and the Tree (for 'tis not a Buſh) they grow upon, is a very pleaſant Vegetable.

Red Haws. The Haw-thorn grows plentifully in ſome parts of this Country. The Haws are quite different from thoſe in *England*, being four times as big, and of a very pleaſant agreeable Taſte. We make no uſe of this Plant, nor any other, for Hedges, becauſe Timber is ſo plentiful at preſent. In my Judgment, the Honey-Locuſt would be the fitteſt for Hedges; becauſe it is very apt to ſhoot forth many Sprouts and Succours from the Roots; beſides, it is of a quick Growth, and very prickly.

The

The Black Haw grows on a ſlender Tree, about the Height of a Quince-Tree, or ſomething higher, and bears the black Haw, which People eat, and the Birds covet alſo. What Vertues the Fruit or Wood is of, I cannot reſolve you, at preſent. *Black-Haws.*

Thus have I given an Account of all the Spontaneous Fruits of *Carolina*, that have come to my Knowledge, excepting *Services*, which I have ſeen in the *Indians* Hands, and eat of them, but never ſaw, how nor where they grew. *Services.* There may very well be expected a great many more Fruits, which are the natural Product of this Country, when we conſider the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil and Climate, and account for the vaſt Tract of Land, (great part of which is not yet found out) according to the Product of that which is already diſcover'd, which (as I once hinted before) is not as yet arriv'd to our Knowledge, we having very little or no Correſpondence amongſt the mountainous Parts of this Province, and towards the Country of *Meſſiaſippi*, all which we have ſtrange Accounts of, and ſome very large ones, with reſpect to the different and noble Fruits, and ſeveral other Ornaments and Bleſſings of Nature which *Meſſiaſippi* poſſeſſes; more to be coveted, than any of thoſe we enjoy, to the Eaſtward of the Mountains: Yet when I came to diſcourſe ſome of the Idolizers of that Country, I found it to be rather Novelty, than Truth and Reality, that induced thoſe Perſons to allow it ſuch Excellencies above others. It may be a brave and fertile Country, as I believe it is; but I cannot be perſuaded, that it can be near ſo advantageous as ours, which is much better ſituated for Trade, being faced all along with the Ocean, as the *Engliſh America* is; when the other is only a direct River, in the midſt of a wild unknown Land, greateſt part of whoſe Product muſt be fetch'd, or brought a great way, before it can come to a Market. Moreover, ſuch great Rivers commonly allow of more Princes Territories than one; and thus nothing but War and Contention accompanies the Inhabitants thereof.

But not to trouble our Readers with any more of this, we will proceed, in the next place, to ſhew, what *Exotick* Fruits we have, that thrive well in *Carolina*; and what others, it may reaſonably be ſuppos'd, would do there, were they brought thither and planted. In purſuance of which, I will

ſet

ſet down a Catalogue of what Fruits we have; I mean Species: For ſhould I pretend to give a regular Name to every one; it's neither poſſible for me to do it, nor for any one to underſtand it, when done; if we conſider, that the chiefeſt part of our Fruit came from the Kernel, and ſome others from the Succours, or Sprouts of the Tree. Firſt, we will begin with Apples; which are the

[Apples.]

Golden Ruſſet.
Pearmain { Winter. Summer.
Harvey-Apple, I cannot tell, whether the ſame as in *England.*
Winter Queening.
Leather Coat.
Juniting.
Codlin.
Redſtreak.
Long-ſtalk.
Lady-Finger.

The Golden Ruſſet thrives well.

The Pearmains, of both ſorts, are apt to ſpeck, and rot on the Trees; and the Trees are damaged and cut off by the Worm, which breeds in the Forks, and other parts thereof; and often makes a Circumpoſition, by deſtroying the Bark round the Branches, till it dies.

Harvey-Apple; that which we call ſo, is eſteem'd very good to make Cider of.

Winter Queening is a durable Apple, and makes good Cider.

Leather-Coat; both Apple and Tree ſtand well.

The Juniting is early ripe, and ſoon gone, in theſe warm Countries.

Codlin; no better, and fairer Fruit in the World; yet the Tree ſuffers the ſame Diſtemper, as the Pearmains, or rather worſe; the Trees always dying before they come to their Growth.

The Redſtreak thrives very well.

Long-ſtalk is a large Apple, with a long Stalk, and makes good Summer Cider.

We

We beat the first of our Codlin Cider, against reaping our Wheat, which is from the tenth of *June*, to the five and twentieth.

Lady-Finger, the long Apple, the same as in *England*, and full as good. We have innumerable sorts; some call'd Rope-Apples which are small Apples, hanging like Ropes of Onions; Flattings, Grigsons, Cheese-Apples, and a great number of Names, given according to every ones Discretion.

Pears. The *Warden-Pear* here proves a good eating Pear; and is not so long ripening as in *England*.

Katharine excellent.

Sugar-pear.

And several others without Name; The Bergamot we have not, nor either of the Bonne Chrestiennes, though I hear, they are all three in *Virginia*. Those sorts of Pears which we have, are as well relisht, as ever I eat any where; but that Fruit is of very short Continuance with us, for they are gone almost as soon as ripe.

Quinces. I am not a Judge of the different sorts of Quinces, which they call *Brunswick*, *Portugal*, and *Barbary*; But as to the Fruit, in general, I believe no Place has fairer and better relisht. They are very pleasant eaten raw. Of this Fruit, they make a Wine, or Liquor, which they call Quince-Drink, and which I approve of beyond any Drink which that Country affords, though a great deal of Cider and some Perry is there made. The Quince-Drink most commonly purges those that first drink it, and cleanses the Body very well. The Argument of the Physicians, that they bind People, is hereby contradicted, unless we allow the Quinces to differ in the two Countries. The least Slip of this Tree stuck in the Ground, comes to bear in three years.

Peaches. All Peaches, with us, are standing; neither have we any Wall-Fruit in *Carolina*; for we have Heat enough, and therefore do not require it. We have a great many sorts of this Fruit, which all thrive to Admiration, Peach-Trees coming to Perfection (with us) as easily as the Weeds. A Peach falling on the Ground, brings a Peach-Tree that shall bear in three years, or sometimes sooner. Eating Peaches in our Orchards makes them come up so thick from the Kernel, that we are forced to take a great deal of Care to weed them out; otherwise they make our Land a Wilderness of Peach-Trees.

They generally bear so full, that they break great part of their Limbs down. We have likewise very fair Nectarines, especially the red, that clings to the Stone, the other yellow Fruit, that leaves the Stone; of the last, I have a Tree, that, most Years, brings me fifteen or twenty Bushels. I see no Foreign Fruit like this, for thriving in all sorts of Land, and bearing its Fruit to Admiration. I want to be satisfy'd about one sort of this Fruit, which the *Indians* claim as their own, and affirm, they had it growing amongst them, before any *Europeans* came to *America*. The Fruit I will describe, as exactly as I can. The Tree grows very large, most commonly as big as a handsome Apple-tree; the Flowers are of a reddish, murrey Colour; the Fruit is rather more downy, than the yellow Peach, and commonly very large and soft, being very full of Juice. They part freely from the Stone, and the Stone is much thicker than all the other Peach Stones we have, which seems to me, that it is a Spontaneous Fruit of *America*; yet in those Parts of *America* that we inhabit, I never could hear that any Peach-Trees were ever found growing in the Woods; neither have the foreign *Indians*, that live remote from the *English*, any other sort. And those living amongst us have a hundred of this sort for one other; they are a hardy Fruit, and are seldom damaged by the North-East Blasts, as others are. Of this sort we make Vinegar; wherefore we call them Vinegar-Peaches, and sometimes *Indian*-Peaches.

Apricock. This Tree grows to a vast Bigness, exceeding most Apple-Trees. They bear well, tho' sometimes an early Spring comes on in *February*, and perhaps, when the Tree is fully blown the Cloudy North-East-Winds which attend the end of, that Month, or the beginning of *March*, destroy most of the Fruit. The biggest Apricock-Tree I ever saw, as they told me, was grafted on a Peach-Stock, in the Ground. I know of no other sort with us, than the Common. We generally raise this Fruit from the Stone, which never fails to bring the same Fruit. Likewise our Peach-Stones effect the same, without so much as once missing, to produce the same sort that the Stone came from.

Damson, Damazeen, and a large round black Plum are all I have met withal in *Carolina*. They thrive well enough; the

the laſt to Admiration, and becomes a very large Tree, if in ſtiff Ground; otherwiſe they will not do well.

Of Figs we have two ſorts; One is the low Buſh-Fig, which bears a large Fruit. If the Winter happens to have much Froſt, the tops thereof die, and in the Spring ſprout again, and bear two or three good Crops. *Figs.*

The Tree-Fig is a leſſer Fig, though very ſweet. The Tree grows to a large Body and Shade, and generally brings a good Burden; eſpecially, if in light Land. This Tree thrives no where better, than on the Sand-Banks by the Sea.

We have the common red and black Cherry, which bear well. I never ſaw any grafted in this Country, the common excepted, which was grafted on an *Indian* Plum-ſtock, and bore well. This is a good way, becauſe our common Cherry-Trees are very apt to put Scions all round the Tree, for a great Diſtance, which muſt needs be prejudicial to the Tree and Fruit. Not only our Cherries are apt to do ſo, but our Apples and moſt other Fruit-Trees, which may chiefly be imputed to the Negligence and Unskilfulneſs of the Gardener. Our Cherries are ripe a Month ſooner than in *Virginia*. *Cherries.*

Goosberries I have ſeen of the ſmaller ſort, but find they do not do ſo well as in *England*, and to the Northward. Want of Dreſſing may be ſome Reaſon for this. *Gooſberry.*

Currants, White, Red, and Black, thrive here, as well as any where. *Currants.*

Rasberries, the red and white, I never ſaw any Trial made of. But there is no doubt of their thriving to Admiration, ſince thoſe of the Country do ſo well. *Raſps.*

The Mulberries are ſpontaneous. We have no others, than what I have already mentioned in the Claſs of Natural Fruits of *Carolina*. *Mulberry.*

Barberry red, with Stones, and without Stones, grow here. *Barberry.*

Strawberries, not Foreign, but thoſe of the Country, grow here in great Plenty. Laſt *April* I planted a Bed of two hunded Foot in Length, which bore the ſame Year. *Strawberry.*

Medlars we have none. *Medlar.*

All ſorts of Walnuts from *England*, *France*, and *Maderas*, thrive well from the Nut. *Walnut.*

Filbert. No Filberts, but Hazle-Nuts; the Filbert-Nut planted, becomes a good Hazle-Nut, and no better.

Vines. As for that noble Vegetable the Vine, without doubt, it may (in this Country) be improved, and brought to the ſame Perfection, as it is, at this Day, in the ſame Latitude in *Europe*, ſince the chiefeſt part of this Country is a deep, rich, black Mould, which is up towards the Freſhes and Heads of our Rivers, being very rich and mix'd with Flint, Pebbles, and other Stones. And this ſort of Soil is approv'd of (by all knowing Gardeners and Vigneroons) as a proper Earth, in which the Grape chiefly delights; and what ſeems to give a farther Confirmation hereof, is, that the largeſt Vines, that were ever diſcover'd to grow wild, are found in thoſe Parts, oftentimes in ſuch Plenty, and are ſo interwoven with one another, that 'tis impoſſible to paſs through them. Moreover, in theſe Freſhes, towards the Hills, the Vines are above five times bigger than thoſe generally with us, who are ſeated in the Front-parts of this Country, adjoining to the Salts. Of the wild Vines, which are moſt of them great Bearers, ſome Wine has been made, which I drank of. It was very ſtrong and well reliſht; but what detains them all from offering at great quantities, they add, that this Grape has a large Stone, and a thick Skin, and conſequently yields but a ſmall Quantity of Wine. Some Eſſays of this Nature have been made by that Honourable Knight, Sir *Nathanael Johnſon*, in *South Carolina*, who, as I am inform'd, has rejected all Exotick Vines, and makes his Wine from the natural black Grape of *Carolina*, by grafting it upon its own Stock. What Improvement this may arrive to, I cannot tell; but in other Species, I own Grafting and Imbudding yields ſpeedy Fruit, tho' I never found that it made them better.

New planted Colonies are generally attended with a Force and Neceſſity of Planting the known and approved Staple and Product of the Country, as well as all the Proviſions their Families ſpend. Therefore we can entertain but ſmall hopes of the Improvement of the Vine, till ſome skilful in dreſſing Vines ſhall appear amongſt us, and go about it, with a Reſolution, that Ordering the Vineyard ſhall be one half of their Employment. If this be begun and carried on, with that Aſſiduity and Reſolution which it re-

requires, then we may reaſonably hope to ſee this a Wine-Country; for then, when it becomes a general Undertaking, every one will be capable to add ſomething to the common Stock, of that which he has gain'd by his own Experience. This way would ſoon make the Burden light, and a great many ſhorter and exacter Curioſities, and real Truths would be found out in a ſhort time. The trimming of Vines, as they do in *France*, that is, to a Stump, muſt either here be not follow'd, or we are not ſenſible of the exact time, when they ought to be thus pruned; for Experience has taught us, that the *Enropean* Grape, ſuffer'd to run and expand itſelf at large, has been found to bear as well in *America*, as it does in *Europe*; when, at the ſame time, the ſame ſort of Vine trimm'd to a Stump, as before ſpoken of, has born a poor Crop for one Year or two; and by its ſpilling, after cutting, emaciated, and in three or four Years, died. This Experiment, I believe, has never fail'd; for I have trimm'd the natural Vine the *French* way, which has been attended, at laſt, with the ſame Fate. Wherefore, it ſeems moſt expedient, to leave the Vines more Branches here, than in *Europe*, or let them run up Trees, as ſome do, in *Lombardy*, upon Elms. The Mulberries and *Chinkapin* are tough, and trimm'd to what you pleaſe, therefore fit Supporters of the Vines. Gelding and plucking away the Leaves, to haſten the ripening of this Fruit, may not be unneceſſary, yet we ſee the natural wild Grape generally ripens in the Shade. Nature in this, and many others, may prove a ſure Guide. The Twiſting of the Stems to make the Grapes ripe together, loſes no Juice, and may be beneficial, if done in Seaſon. A very ingenious *French* Gentleman, and another from *Switzerland*, with whom I frequently converſe, exclaim againſt that ſtrict cutting of Vines, the generally approved Method of *France* and *Germany*, and ſay, that they were both out in their Judgment, till of late, Experience has taught them otherwiſe. Moreover, the *French* in *North Carolina* aſſure me, that if we ſhould trim our Apple and other Fruit-Trees, as they do in *Europe*, we ſhould ſpoil them. As for Apples and Plums, I have found by Experience, what they affirm to be true. The *French*, from the *Mannakin* Town on the Freſhes of *James* River in *Virginia*, had

had, for the moſt part, removed themſelves to *Carolina*, to live there, before I came away; and the reſt were following, as their Miniſter, (Monſieur *Philip de Rixbourg*) told me, who was at *Bath*-Town, when I was taking my leave of my Friends. He aſſur'd me, that their Intent was to propagate Vines, as far as their preſent Circumſtances would permit; provided they could get any Slips of Vines, that would do. At the ſame time, I had gotten ſome Grape-Seed, which was of the *Jeſuits* white Grape from *Madera*. The Seed came up very plentifully, and, I hope, will not degenerate, which if it happens not to do, the Seed may prove the beſt way to raiſe a Vineyard, as certainly it is moſt eaſy for Tranſportation. Yet I reckon we ſhould have our Seed from a Country, where the Grape arrives to the utmoſt Perfection of Ripeneſs. Theſe *French* Refugees have had ſmall Encouragement in *Virginia*, becauſe, at their firſt coming over, they took their Meaſures of Living, from *Europe*; which was all wrong; for the ſmall Quantities of ten, fifteen, and twenty Acres to a Family did not hold out according to their way of Reckoning, by Reaſon they made very little or no Fodder; and the Winter there being much harder than with us, their Cattle fail'd; chiefly, becauſe the *Engliſh* took up and ſurvey'd all the Land round about them; ſo that they were hemm'd in on all Hands from providing more Land for themſelves or their Children, all which is highly prejudicial in *America*, where the generality are bred up to Planting. One of theſe *French* Men being a Fowling, ſhot a Fowl in the River, upon which his Dog went down the Bank to bring it to his Maſter; but the Bank was ſo high and ſteep, that he could not get up again. Thereupon, the *French* Man went down, to help his Dog up, and breaking the Mould away, accidentally, with his Feet, he diſcover'd a very rich Coal-Mine. This Adventure he gave an Accouut of amongſt the Neighbourhood, and preſently one of the Gentlemen of that Part ſurvey'd the Land, and the poor *French* Man got nothing by his Diſcovery. The *French* are good Neighbours amongſt us, and give Examples of Induſtry, which is much wanted in this Country. They make good Flax, Hemp, Linnen-Cloth and Thread; which they exchange amongſt the Neighbourhood for other Commodities, for which they have occaſion.

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We have hitherto made no Tryal of foreign Herbage; but, doubtleſs, it would thrive well; eſpecially, *Sanfoin*, and thoſe Graſſes, that endure Heat, and dry Grounds. As for our Low Lands, ſuch as Marſhes, Savannas and Percoarſon-Ground, which lies low, all of them naturally afford good Land for Paſturage.

We will next treat of the Beaſts, which you ſhall have an Account of, as they have been diſcover'd.

The Beaſts of *Carolina* are the

Buffelo, or wild Beef.
Bear.
Panther.
Cat-a-mount.
Wild Cat.
Wolf.
Tyger.
Polcat.
Otter.
Bever.
Musk-Rat.
Poſſum.
Raccoon.
Minx.
Water-Rat.
Rabbet, two ſorts.
Elks.
Stags.
Fallow-Deer.
Squirrel, four ſorts.
Fox.
Lion, and Jackall on the Lake.
Rats, two ſorts.
Mice, two ſorts.
Moles.
Weaſel, Dormouſe.
Bearmouſe.

The *Buffelo* is a wild Beaſt of *America*, which has a Bunch on his Back, as the Cattle of St. *Laurence* are ſaid to have. He ſeldom appears amongſt the *Engliſh* Inhabitants, his chief Haunt being in the Land of *Meſſiaſippi*, which is, for the moſt part, a plain Country; yet I have known ſome kill'd on the Hilly Part of *Cape-Fair*-River, they paſſing the Ledges of vaſt Mountains from the ſaid *Meſſiaſippi*, before they can come near us. I have eaten of their Meat, but do not think it ſo good as our Beef; yet the younger Calves are cry'd up for excellent Food, as very likely they may be. It is conjectured, that theſe Buffelos, mixt in Breed with our tame Cattle, would much better the Breed for Largeneſs and Milk, which ſeems very probable. Of the wild Bull's Skin, Buff is made. The *Indians* cut the Skins into Quarters for the Eaſe of

Two killed one year in Virginia *at* Appamaticks.

of their Tranſportation, and make Beds to lie on. They ſpin the Hair into Garters, Girdles, Saſhes, and the like, it being long and curled, and often of a cheſnut or red Colour. Theſe Monſters are found to weigh (as I am informed by a Traveller of Credit) from 1600 to 2400 Weight.

Bear. The Bears here are very common, though not ſo large as in *Groenland*, and the more Northern Countries of *Ruſſia*. The Fleſh of this Beaſt is very good, and nouriſhing, and not inferiour to the beſt Pork in Taſte. It ſtands betwixt Beef and Pork, and the young Cubs are a Diſh for the greateſt *Epicure* living. I prefer their Fleſh before any Beef, Veal, Pork, or Mutton; and they look as well as they eat, their fat being as white as Snow, and the ſweeteſt of any Creature's in the World. If a Man drink a Quart thereof melted, it never will riſe in his Stomach. We prefer it above all things, to fry Fiſh and other things in. Thoſe that are Strangers to it, may judge otherwiſe; But I who have eaten a great deal of Bears Fleſh in my Life-time (ſince my being an Inhabitant in *America*) do think it equalizes, if not excels, any Meat I ever eat in *Europe*. The Bacon made thereof is extraordinary Meat; but it muſt be well ſaved, otherwiſe it will ruſt. This Creature feeds upon all ſorts of wild Fruits. When Herrings run, which is in *March*, the Fleſh of ſuch of thoſe Bears as eat thereof, is nought, all that Seaſon, and eats filthily. Neither is it good, when he feeds on Gum-berries, as I intimated before. They are great Devourers of Acorns, and oftentimes meet the Swine in the Woods, which they kill and eat, eſpecially when they are hungry, and can find no other Food. Now and then they get into the Fields of *Indian* Corn, or *Maiz*, where they make a ſad Havock, ſpoiling ten times as much as they eat. The Potatos of this Country are ſo agreeable to them, that they never fail to ſweep 'em all clean, if they chance to come in their way. They are ſeemingly a very clumſy Creature, yet are very nimble in running up Trees, and traverſing every Limb thereof. When they come down, they run Tail foremoſt. At catching of Herrings, they are moſt expert Fiſhers. They ſit by the Creek-ſides, (which are very narrow) where the Fiſh run in; and there they take them up, as faſt as it's poſſible they can dip their Paws into the Water. There is one thing more to be conſider'd of this

this Creature, which is, that no Man, either Chriſtian or *Indian*, has ever kill'd a She-bear with Young.

It is ſuppoſed, that the She-Bears, after Conception, hide themſelves in ſome ſecret and undiſcoverable Place, till they bring forth their Young, which, in all Probability, cannot be long; otherwiſe, the *Indians*, who hunt the Woods like Dogs, would, at ſome time or other, have found them out. Bear-Hunting is a great Sport in *America*, both with the *Engliſh* and *Indians*. Some Years ago, there were kill'd five hundred Bears, in two Counties of *Virginia*, in one Winter; and but two She-Bears amongſt them all, which were not with Young, as I told you of the reſt. The *Engliſh* have a breed of Dogs fit for this ſport, about the ſize of Farmers Curs, and, by Practice, come to know the Scent of a Bear, which as ſoon as they have found, they run him, by the Noſe, till they come up with him, and then bark and ſnap at him, till he trees, when the Huntſman ſhoots him out of the Trees, there being, for the moſt part, two or three with Guns, leſt the firſt ſhould miſs, or not quite kill him. Though they are not naturally voracious, yet they are very fierce when wounded. The Dogs often bring him to a Bay, when wounded, and then the Huntſmen make other Shots, perhaps with the Piſtols that are ſtuck in their Girdles. If a Dog is apt to faſten, and run into a Bear, he is not good, for the beſt Dog in *Europe* is nothing in their Paws; but if ever they get him in their Clutches, they blow his Skin from his Fleſh, like a Bladder, and often kill him; or if he recovers it, he is never good for any thing after. As the Paws of this Creature, are held for the beſt bit about him, ſo is the Head eſteem'd the worſt, and always thrown away, for what reaſon I know not. I believe, none ever made Trial thereof, to know how it eats. The Oil of the Bear is very Sovereign for Strains, Aches, and old Pains. The fine Fur at the bottom of the Belly, is uſed for making Hats, in ſome places. The Fur itſelf is fit for ſeveral Uſes; as for making Muffs, facing Caps, *&c.* but the black Cub-skin is preferable to all ſorts of that kind, for Muffs. Its Grain is like Hog-Skin.

The *Panther* is of the Cat's kind; about the height of a very large Greyhound of a reddiſh Colour, the ſame as a Lion. He climbs Trees with the greateſt Agility imaginable, *Panther.*

is very ſtrong-limb'd, catching a piece of Meat from any Creature he ſtrikes at. His Tail is exceeding long; his Eyes look very fierce and lively, are large, and of a grayiſh Colour; his Prey is, Swines-fleſh, Deer, or any thing he can take; no Creature is ſo nice and clean, as this, in his Food. When he has got his Prey, he fills his Belly with the Slaughter, and carefully lays up the Remainder, covering it very neatly with Leaves, which if any thing touches, he never eats any more of it. He purrs as Cats do; if taken when Young, is never to be reclaim'd from his wild Nature. He hollows like a Man in the Woods, when kill'd, which is by making him take a Tree, as the leaſt Cur will preſently do; then the Huntſmen ſhoot him; if they do not kill him outright, he is a dangerous Enemy, when wounded, eſpecially to the Dogs that approach him. This Beaſt is the greataſt Enemy to the Planter, of any Vermine in *Carolina*. His Fleſh looks as well as any Shambles-Meat whatſoever; a great many People eat him, as choice Food; but I never taſted of a Panther, ſo cannot commend the Meat, by my own Experience. His Skin is a warm Covering for the *Indians* in Winter, though not eſteem'd amongſt the choice Furs. This Skin dreſs'd, makes fine Womens Shooes, or Mens Gloves.

Cat-a-Mount. The Mountain-Cat, ſo call'd, becauſe he lives in the Mountainous Parts of *America*. He is a Beaſt of Prey, as the Panther is, and neareſt to him in Bigneſs and Nature.

Wild Cat. This Cat is quite different from thoſe in *Europe*; being more nimble and fierce, and larger; his Tail does not exceed four Inches. He makes a very odd ſort of Cry in the Woods, in the Night. He is ſpotted as the Leopard is, tho' ſome of them are not, (which may happen, when their Furs are out of Seaſon) he climbs a Tree very dexterouſly, and preys as the Panther does. He is a great Deſtroyer of young Swine. I knew an Iſland, which was poſſeſs'd by theſe Vermine, unknown to the Planter, who put thereon a conſiderable Stock of Swine; but never took one back; for the wild Cats deſtroy'd them all. He takes moſt of his Prey by Surprize, getting up the Trees, which they paſs by or under, and thence leaping directly upon them. Thus he takes Deer (which he cannot catch by running) and faſtens his Teeth into their Shoulders and ſucks them. They run with him, till they fall

fall down for want of ſtrength, and become a Prey to the Enemy. Hares, Birds, and all he meets, that he can conquer, he deſtroys. The Fur is approv'd to wear as a Stomacher, for weak and cold Stomachs. They are likewiſe uſed to line Muffs, and Coats withal, in cold Climates.

The Wolf of *Carolina*, is the Dog of the Woods. The *Indians* had no other Curs, before the Chriſtians came amongſt them. They are made domeſtick. When wild, they are neither ſo large, nor fierce, as the *European* Wolf. They are not Man-ſlayers; neither is any Creature in *Carolina*, unleſs wounded. They go in great Droves in the Night, to hunt Deer, which they do as well as the beſt Pack of Hounds. Nay, one of theſe will hunt down a Deer. They are often ſo poor, that they can hardly run. When they catch no Prey, they go to a Swamp, and fill their Belly full of Mud; if afterwards they chance to get any thing of Fleſh, they will diſgorge the Mud, and eat the other. When they hunt in the Night, that there is a great many together, they make the moſt hideous and frightful Noiſe, that ever was heard. The Fur makes good Muffs. The Skin dreſs'd to a Parchment makes the beſt Drum-Heads, and if tann'd makes the beſt ſort of Shooes for the Summer-Countries. *Wolf.*

Tygers are never met withal in the Settlement; but are more to the Weſtward, and are not numerous on this Side the Chain of Mountains. I once ſaw one, that was larger that a Panther, and ſeem'd to be a very bold Creature. The *Indians* that hunt in thoſe Quarters, ſay, they are ſeldom met withal. It ſeems to differ from the Tyger of *Aſia* and *Africa*. *Tygers.*

Polcats or Skunks in *America*, are different from thoſe in *Europe*. They are thicker, and of a great many Colours; not all alike, but each differing from another in the particular Colour. They ſmell like a Fox, but ten times ſtronger. When a Dog encounters them, they piſs upon him, and he will not be ſweet again in a Fortnight or more. The *Indians* love to eat their Fleſh, which has no manner of ill Smell, when the Bladder is out. I know no uſe their Furs are put to. They are eaſily brought up tame. *Polcats.*

There have been ſeen ſome Otters from the Weſtward of *Carolina*, which were of a white Colour, a little inclining to a yellow. They live on the ſame Prey here, as in *Europe*, and are the ſame in all other Reſpects; ſo I ſhall inſiſt no *Otters.*

farther on that Creature. Their Furs, if black, are valuable.

Bevers. Bevers are very numerous in *Carolina*, their being abundance of their Dams in all Parts of the Country, where I have travel'd. They are the moſt induſtrious and greateſt Artificers (in building their Dams and Houſes) of any four-footed Creatures in the World. Their Food is chiefly the Barks of Trees and Shrubs, *viz.* Saſſafras, Aſh, Sweet-Gum, and ſeveral others. If you take them young, they become very tame and domeſtick, but are very miſchievous in ſpoiling Orchards, by breaking the Trees, and blocking up your Doors in the Night, with the Sticks and Wood they bring thither. If they eat any thing that is ſalt, it kills them. Their Fleſh is a ſweet Food; eſpecially, their Tail, which is held very dainty. There Fore-Feet are open, like a Dog's; their Hind-Feet webb'd like a Water-Fowl's. The Skins are good Furs for ſeveral Uſes, which every one knows. The Leather is very thick; I have known Shooes made thereof in *Carolina*, which laſted well. It makes the beſt Hedgers Mittens that can be uſed.

Musk Rat. Musk Rats frequent freſh Streams and no other; as the Bever does. He has a Cod of Musk, which is valuable, as is likewiſe his Fur.

Poſſum. The *Poſſum* is found no where but in *America*. He is the Wonder of all the Land-Animals, being the ſize of a Badger, and near that Colour. The Male's Pizzle is placed retrograde; and in time of Coition, they differ from all other Animals, turning Tail to Tail, as Dog and Bitch when ty'd. The Female, doubtleſs, breeds her Young at her Teats; for I have ſeen them ſtick faſt thereto, when they have been no bigger than a ſmall Rasberry, and ſeemingly inanimate. She has a Paunch, or falſe Belly, wherein ſhe carries her Young, after they are from thoſe Teats, till they can ſhift for themſelves. Their Food is Roots, Poultry, or wild Fruits. They have no Hair on their Tails, but a ſort of a Scale, or hard Cruſt, as the Bevers have. If a Cat has nine Lives, this Creature ſurely has nineteen; for if you break every Bone in their Skin, and maſh their Skull, leaving them for Dead, you may come an hour after, and they will be gone quite away, or perhaps you meet them creeping away. They are a very ſtupid Creature, utterly neglecting their Safety. They

are

are moſt like Rats of any thing. I have, for Neceſſity in the Wilderneſs, eaten of them. Their Fleſh is very white, and well taſted; but their ugly Tails put me out of Conceit with that Fare. They climb Trees, as the Raccoons do. Their Fur is not eſteem'd nor uſed, ſave that the *Indians* ſpin it into Girdles and Garters.

The *Raccoon* is of a dark-gray Colour; if taken young, is eaſily made tame, but is the drunkeneſt Creature living, if he can get any Liquor that is ſweet and ſtrong. They are rather more unlucky than a Monkey. When wild, they are very ſubtle in catching their Prey. Thoſe that live in the Salt-Water, feed much on Oyſters which they love. They watch the Oyſter when it opens, and nimbly put in their Paw, and pluck out the Fiſh. Sometimes the Oyſter ſhuts, and holds faſt their Paw till the Tide comes in, that they are drown'd, tho' they ſwim very well. The way that this Animal catches Crabs, which he greatly admires, and which are plenty in *Carolina*, is worthy of Remark. When he intends to make a Prey of theſe Fiſh, he goes to a Marſh, where ſtanding on the Land, he lets his Tail hang in the Water. This the Crab takes for a Bait, and faſtens his Claws therein, which as ſoon as the *Raccoon* perceives, he, of a ſudden, ſprings forward, a conſiderable way, on the Land, and brings the Crab along with him. As ſoon as the Fiſh finds himſelf out of his Element, he preſently lets go his hold; and then the *Raccoon* encounters him, by getting him croſs-wiſe in his Mouth, and devours him. There is a ſort of ſmall Land-Crab, which we call a *Fiddler*, that runs into a Hole when any thing purſues him. This Crab the *Raccoon* takes by putting his Fore-Foot in the Hole, and pulling him out. With a tame *Raccoon*, this Sport is very diverting. The Chief of his other Food is all ſorts of wild Fruits, green Corn, and ſuch as the Bear delights in. This and the *Poſſum* are much of a Bigneſs. The Fur makes good Hats and Linings. The Skin dreſs'd makes fine Womens Shooes. *Raccoon.*

The *Minx* is an Animal much like the *Engliſh* Fillimart or Polcat. He is long, ſlender, and every way ſhap'd like him. His Haunts are chiefly in the Marſhes, by the Sea-ſide and Salt-Waters, where he lives on Fiſh, Fowl, Mice, and Inſects. They are bold Thieves, and will ſteal any thing *Minx.*

from

from you in the Night, when asleep, as I can tell by Experience; for one Winter, by Misfortune, I ran my Vessel a-ground, and went often to the Banks, to kill wild Fowl, which we did a great many. One Night, we had a mind to sleep on the Banks (the Weather being fair) and wrapt up the Geese which we had kill'd, and not eaten, very carefully, in the Sail of a Canoe, and folded it several Doubles, and for their better Security, laid 'em all Night under my Head. In the Morning when I wak'd, a Minx had eaten thro' every Fold of the Canoe's Sail, and thro' one of the Geese, most part of which was gone. These are likewise found high up in the Rivers, in whose sides they live; which is known by the abundance of Fresh-Water Muscle-Shells (such as you have in *England*) that lie at the Mouth of their Holes. This is an Enemy to the Tortois, whose Holes in the Sand, where they hide their Eggs, the *Minx* finds out, and scratches up and eats. The *Raccoons* and Crows do the same. The *Minx* may be made domestick, and were it not for his paying a Visit now and then to the Poultry, they are the greatest Destroyers of Rats and Mice, that are in the World. Their Skins, if good of that kind, are valuable, provided they are kill'd in Season.

Water-Rats. The Water-Rat is found here the same as in *England*. The Water-Snakes are often found to have of these Rats in their Bellies.

Coneys. That which the People of *Carolina* call a Hare, is nothing but a Hedge-Coney. They never borough in the Ground, but much frequent Marshes and Meadow-Land. They hide their Young in some Place secure from the Discovery of the Buck, as the *European* Rabbets do, and are of the same Colour; but if you start one of them, and pursue her, she takes into a hollow Tree, and there runs up as far as she can, in which Case the Hunter makes a Fire, and smoaks the Tree, which brings her down, and smothers her. At one time of the Year, great Bots or Maggots breed betwixt the Skin and the Flesh of these Creatures. They eat just as the *English* ones do; but I never saw one of them fat. We fire the Marshes, and then kill abundance.

Rabbet English. The *English*, or *European* Coneys are here found, tho' but in one place that I ever knew of, which was in *Trent*-River, where they borough'd among the Rocks. I cannot believe,

believe, these are Natives of the Country, any otherwise than that they might come from aboard some Wreck; the Sea not being far off. I was told of several that were upon *Bodies* Island by *Ronoak*, which came from that Ship of *Bodies*; but I never saw any. However the Banks are no proper Abode of Safety, because of the many *Minxes* in those Quarters. I carried over some of the tame sort from *England* to South *Carolina*, which bred three times going over, we having a long Passage. I turn'd them loose in a Plantation, and the young ones, and some of the old ones bred great Maggots in their Testicles. At last, the great Gust in *September*, 1700. brought a great deal of Rain, and drown'd them all in their Holes. I intend to make a second Tryal of them in North *Carolina*, and doubt not but to secure them.

Elks.

The Elk is a Monster of the Venison sort. His Skin is used almost in the same Nature as the *Buffelo*'s. Some take him for the red Deer of *America*; but he is not: For, if brought and kept in Company with one of that sort, of the contrary Sex, he will never couple. His Flesh is not so sweet as the lesser Deers. His Horns exceed (in Weight) all Creatures which the new World affords. They will often resort and feed with the *Buffelo*, delighting in the same Range as they do.

Stags.

The Stags of *Carolina* are lodg'd in the Mountains. They are not so large as in *Europe*, but much larger than any Fallow-Deer. They are always fat, I believe, with some delicate Herbage that grows on the Hills; for we find all Creatures that graze much fatter and better Meat on the Hills, than those in the Valleys: I mean towards and near the Sea. Some Deer on these Mountains afford the occidental *Bezoar*, not coming from a Goat, as some report. What sort of Beast affords the oriental *Bezoar*, I know not. The Tallow of the Harts make incomparable Candles. Their Horns and Hides are of the same Value, as others of their kind.

Fallow-Deers.

Fallow-Deer in *Carolina*, are taller and longer-legg'd, than in *Europe*; but neither run so fast, nor are so well haunch'd. Their Singles are much longer, and their Horns stand forward, as the others incline backward; neither do they beam, or bear their Antlers, as the *English* Deer do. Towards the Salts, they are not generally so fat and good Meat, as on the Hills. I have known some kill'd on the Salts in *January*, that

that have had abundance of Bots in their Throat, which keep them very poor. As the Summer approaches, these Bots come out, and turn into the finest Butterfly imaginable, being very large, and having black, white, and yellow Stripes. Deer-Skins are one of the best Commodities *Carolina* affords, to ship off for *England*, provided they be large.

Fox Squirrel. Of Squirrels we have four Sorts. The first is the Fox-Squirrel, so call'd, because of his large Size, which is the Bigness of a Rabbet of two or three Months old. His Colour is commonly gray; yet I have seen several pied ones, and some reddish, and black; his chiefest Haunts are in the Piny Land, where the Almond-Pine grows. There he provides his Winter-Store; they being a Nut that never fails of bearing. He may be made tame, and is very good Meat, when killed.

Small gray Squirrel. The next sort of Squirrel is much of the Nature of the *English*, only differing in Colour. Their Food is Nuts (of all sorts the Country affords) and Acorns. They eat well; and, like the Bear, are never found with young.

Flying-Squirrel. This Squirrel is gray, as well as the others. He is the least of the Three. His Food is much the same with the small gray Squirrels. He has not Wings, as Birds or Bats have, there being a fine thin Skin cover'd with Hair, as the rest of the parts are. This is from the Fore-Feet to the Hinder-Feet, which is extended and holds so much Air, as buoys him up, from one Tree to another, that are greater distances asunder, than other Squirrels can reach by jumping or springing. He is made very tame, is an Enemy to a Corn-field, (as all Squirrels are) and eats only the germinating Eye of that Grain, which is very sweet.

Ground Squirrel. Ground Squirrels are so call'd, because they never delight in running up Trees, and leaping from Tree to Tree. They are the smallest of all Squirrels. Their Tail is neither so long not bushy; but flattish. They are of a reddish Colour, and striped down each Side with black Rows, which make them very beautiful. They may be kept tame, in a little Box with Cotton. They and the Flying-Squirrels seldom stir out in Cold Weather, being tender Animals.

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The Fox of *Carolina* is gray, but ſmells not as the Foxes in *Great-Britain*, and elſewhere. They have reddiſh Hair about their Ears, and are generally very fat; yet I never ſaw any one eat them. When hunted, they make a ſorry Chace, becauſe they run up Trees, when purſued. They are never to be made familiar and tame, as the Raccoon is. Their Furs, if in Seaſon, are uſed for Muffs and other Ornaments. They live chiefly on Birds and Fowls, and ſuch ſmall Prey. *Fox.*

I have been inform'd by the *Indians*, that on a Lake of Water towards the Head of *Neus* River, there haunts a Creature, which frightens them all from Hunting thereabouts. They ſay, he is the Colour of a Panther, but cannot run up Trees; and that there abides with him a Creature like an *Engliſhman*'s Dog, which runs faſter than he can, and gets his Prey for him. They add, that there is no other of that Kind that ever they met withal; and that they have no other way to avoid him, but by running up a Tree. The Certainty of this I cannot affirm by my own Knowledge, yet they all agree in this Story. As for Lions, I never ſaw any in *America*; neither can I imagine, how they ſhould come there. *Suppoſed Lion and Jackall.*

Of Rats we have two ſorts; the Houſe-Rat, as in *Europe*; and the Marſh-Rat, which differs very much from the other, being more hairy, and has ſeveral other Diſtinctions, too long here to name. *Rats.*

Mice are the ſame here, as thoſe in *England*, that belong to the Houſe. There is one ſort that poiſons a Cat, as ſoon as ſhe eats of them, which has ſometimes happen'd. Theſe Mice reſort not to Houſes. *Mice.*

The Dormouſe is the ſame as in *England*; and ſo is the Weaſel, which is very ſcarce. *Dormouſe.*

The Bat or Rearmouſe, the ſame as in *England*. The *Indian* Children are much addicted to eat Dirt, and ſo are ſome of the Chriſtians. But roaſt a Bat on a Skewer, then pull the Skin off, and make the Child that eats Dirt, eat the roaſted Rearmouſe; and he will never eat Dirt again. This is held as an infallible Remedy. I have put this amongſt the Beaſts, as partaking of both Natures; of the Bird, and Mouſe-Kind. *Rearmouſe.*

Having mention'd all the ſorts of terreſtrial or Land-Animals, which *Carolina* affords and are yet known to us, except

the Tame and Domeſtick Creatures (of which I ſhall give an Account hereafter, when I come to treat of the Ways and Manners of Agriculture in that Province) I ſhall now proceed to the known *Inſects* of that Place. Not that I pretend to give an ample Account of the whole Tribe, which is too numerous, and contains too great a Diverſity of Species, many not yet diſcovered, and others that have ſlipt my Memory at preſent; But thoſe which I can remember, I here preſent my Readers withal.

Inſects of *Carolina.*

Allegators.
Rattle-Snakes.
Ground Rattle-Snakes.
Horn-Snakes.
Water-Snakes, four ſorts.
Swamp Snakes three ſorts.
Red-bellied Land-Snakes.
Red-back'd Snake.
Black Truncheon Snake.
Scorpion-Lizard.
Green Lizard.
Frogs, many ſorts.
Long black Snake.
King-Snake.
Green Snake.
Corn Snake.
Vipers black and gray.
Tortois.
Terebin Land and Water.
Brimſtone-Snake.
Egg, or Chicken-Snake.
Eel-Snake, or great Loach.
Brown Lizard.
Rotten-wood Worm, &c.

Strange Genitors. The Allegator is the ſame, as the Crocodile, and differs only in Name. They frequent the ſides of Rivers, in the Banks of which they make their Dwellings a great way under Ground; the Hole or Mouth of their Dens lying commonly two Foot under Water, after which it riſes till it be conſiderably above the Surface thereof. Here it is, that this amphibious Monſter dwells all the Winter, ſleeping away his time till the Spring appears, when he comes from his Cave, and daily ſwims up and down the Streams. He always breeds in ſome freſh Stream, or clear Fountain of Water, yet ſeeks his Prey in the broad Salt Waters, that are brackiſh, not on the Sea-ſide, where I never met with any. He never devours Men in *Carolina*, but uſes all ways to avoid them, yet he kills Swine and Dogs, the former as they come to feed in the Marſhes, the others as they ſwim over the Creeks and Waters. They are very miſchievous to the

Wares

Wares made for taking Fish, into which they come to prey on the Fish that are caught in the Ware, from whence they cannot readily extricate themselves, and so break the Ware in Pieces, being a very strong Creature. This Animal, in these Parts, sometimes exceeds seventeen Foot long. It is impossible to kill them with a Gun, unless you chance to hit them about the Eyes, which is a much softer Place, than the rest of their impenetrable Armour. They roar, and make a hideous Noise against bad Weather, and before they come out of their Dens in the Spring. I was pretty much frightned with one of these once; which happened thus: I had built a House about half a Mile from an *Indian* Town, on the Fork of *Neus*-River, where I dwelt by my self, excepting a young *Indian* Fellow, and a Bull-Dog, that I had along with me. I had not then been so long a Sojourner in *America*, as to be throughly acquainted with this Creature. One of them had got his Nest directly under my House, which stood on pretty high Land, and by a Creek-side, in whose Banks his Entring-place was, his Den reaching the Ground directly on which my House stood. I was sitting alone by the Fire-side (about nine a Clock at Night, some time in *March*) the *Indian* Fellow being gone to the Town, to see his Relations; so that there was no body in the House but my self and my Dog; when, all of a sudden, this ill-favour'd Neighbour of mine, set up such a Roaring, that he made the House shake about my Ears, and so continued, like a Bittern, (but a hundred times louder, if possible) for four or five times. The Dog stared, as if he was frightned out of his Senses; nor indeed, could I imagine what it was, having never heard one of them before. Immediately again I had another Lesson; and so a third. Being at that time amongst none but Savages, I began to suspect, they were working some Piece of Conjuration under my House, to get away my Goods; not but that, at another time, I have as little Faith in their, or any others working Miracles, by diabolical Means, as any Person living. At last, my Man came in, to whom when I had told the Story, he laugh'd at me, and presently undeceiv'd me, by telling me what it was that made that Noise. These Allegators lay Eggs, as the Ducks do; only they are longer shap'd, larger, and a thicker Shell, than they have. How long they are in hatching, I cannot

tell; but, as the *Indians* say, it is most part of the Summer, they always lay by a Spring-Side, the young living in and about the same, as soon as hatch'd. Their Eggs are laid in Nests made in the Marshes, and contain twenty or thirty Eggs. Some of these Creatures afford a great deal of Musk. Their Tail, when cut of, looks very fair and white, seemingly like the best of Veal. Some People have eaten thereof, and say, it is delicate Meat, when they happen not to be musky. Their Flesh is accounted proper for such as are troubled with the lame Distemper, (a sort of Rhumatism) so is the Fat very prevailing to remove Aches and Pains, by Unction. The Teeth of this Creature, when dead, are taken out, to make Chargers for Guns, being of several Sizes, fit for all Loads. They are white, and would make pretty Snuff Boxes, if wrought by an Artist. After the Tail of the Allegator is separated from the Body, it will move very freely for four days.

Rattle-Snake. The Rattle-Snakes are found on all the Main of *America*, that I ever had any Account of; being so call'd from the Rattle at the end of their Tails, which is a Connexion of jointed Coverings, of an excrementitious Matter, betwixt the Substance of a Nail, and a Horn, though each *Tegmen* is very thin. Nature seems to have design'd these, on purpose to give Warning of such an approaching Danger, as the venomous Bite of these Snakes is. Some of them grow to a very great Bigness, as six Foot in Length, their Middle being the Thickness of the Small of a lusty Man's Leg. We have an Account of much larger Serpents of this Kind; but I never met them yet, although I have seen and kill'd abundance in my time. They are of an Orange, tawny, and blackish Colour, on the Back; differing (as all Snakes do) in Colour, on the Belly; being of an Ash-Colour, inclining to Lead. The Male is easily distinguish'd from the Female, by a black Velvet-Spot on his Head; and besides, his Head is smaller shaped, and long. Their Bite is venomous, if not speedily remedied; especially, if the Wound be in a Vein, Nerve, Tendon, or Sinew; when it is very difficult to cure. The *Indians* are the best Physicians for the Bite of these and all other venomous Creatures of this Country. There are four sorts of Snake-Roots already discover'd, which Knowledge came from the *Indians*, who have perform'd several great Cures.

Cures. The Rattle-Snakes are accounted the peaceableſt in the World; for they never attack any one, or injure them, unleſs they are trod upon, or moleſted. The moſt Danger of being bit by theſe Snakes, is for thoſe that ſurvey Land in *Carolina*; yet I never heard of any Surveyor that was kill'd, or hurt by them. I have myſelf gone over ſeveral of this Sort, and others; yet it pleaſed God, I never came to any harm. They have the Power, or Art (I know not which to call it) to charm Squirrels, Hares, Partridges, or any ſuch thing, in ſuch a manner, that they run directly into their Mouths. This I have ſeen by a Squirrel and one of theſe Rattle-Snakes; and other Snakes have, in ſome meaſure, the ſame Power. The Rattle-Snakes have many ſmall Teeth, of which I cannot ſee they make any uſe; for they ſwallow every thing whole; but the Teeth which poiſon, are only four; two on each ſide of their Upper-Jaws. Theſe are bent like a Sickle, and hang looſe as if by a Joint. Towards the ſetting on of theſe, there is, in each Tooth, a little Hole, wherein you may juſt get in the Point of a ſmall Needle. And here it is, that the Poiſon comes out, (which is as green as Graſs) and follows the Wound, made by the Point of their Teeth. They are much more venomous in the Months of *June* and *July*, than they are in *March*, *April* or *September*. The hotter the Weather, the more poiſonous. Neither may we ſuppoſe, that they can renew their Poiſon as oft as they will; for we have had a Perſon bit by one of theſe, who never rightly recover'd it, and very hardly eſcaped with Life; a ſecond Perſon bit in the ſame Place by the ſame Snake, and receiv'd no more Harm, that if bitten with a Rat. They caſt their Skins every Year, and commonly abide near the Place where the old Skin lies. Theſe caſt Skins are uſed in Phyſick, and the Rattles are reckon'd good to expedite the Birth. The Gall is made up into Pills, with Clay, and kept for Uſe; being given in Peſtilential Fevers and the Small-Pox. It is accounted a noble Remedy, known to few, and held as a great *Arcanum*. This Snake has two Noſtrils on each ſide of his Noſe. Their Venom, I have Reaſon to believe, effects no Harm, any otherwiſe than when darted into the Wound by the Serpents Teeth.

Ground Rattle-Snakes.

The Ground Rattle-Snake, wrong nam'd, becauſe it has nothing like Rattles. It reſembles the Rattle-Snake a little in

in Colour, but is darker, and never grows to any considerable Bigness, not exceeding a Foot, or sixteen Inches. He is reckon'd amongst the worst of Snakes; and stays out the longest of any Snake I know, before he returns (in the Fall of the Leaf) to his Hole.

Horn-Snake. Of the Horn-Snakes I never saw but two, that I remember. They are like the Rattle-Snake in Colour, but rather lighter. They hiss exactly like a Goose, when any thing approaches them. They strike at their Enemy with their Tail, and kill whatsoever they wound with it, which is arm'd at the End with a horny Substance, like a Cock's Spur. This is their Weapon. I have heard it credibly reported, by those who said they were Eye-Witnesses, that a small Locust-Tree, about the Thickness of a Man's Arm, being struck by one of these Snakes, at Ten a Clock in the Morning, then verdant and flourishing, at four in the Afternoon was dead, and the Leaves red and wither'd. Doubtless, be it how it will, they are very venomous. I think, the *Indians* do not pretend to cure their Wound.

Water-Snakes. Of Water-Snakes there are four sorts. The first is of the Horn-Snakes Colour, though less. The next is a very long Snake, differing in Colour, and will make nothing to swim over a River a League wide. They hang upon Birches and other Trees by the Water-Side. I had the Fortune once to have one of them leap into my Boat, as I was going up a narrow River; the Boat was full of Mats, which I was glad to take out, to get rid of him. They are reckon'd poisonous. A third is much of an *English* Adder's Colour, but always frequents the Salts, and lies under the Drift Sea-weed, where they are in abundance, and are accounted mischievous, when they bite. The last is of a sooty black Colour, and frequents Ponds and Ditches. What his Qualities are, I cannot tell.

Swamp-Snakes. Of the Swamp-Snakes there are three sorts, which are very near akin to the Water-Snakes, and may be rank'd amongst them.

The Belly of the first is of a Carnation or Pink Colour; his Back a dirty brown; they are large, but have not much Venom in them, as ever I learnt. The next is a large Snake, of a brown Dirt Colour, and always abides in the Marshes.

The

The laſt is mottled, and very poiſonous. They dwell in Swamps Sides, and Ponds, and have prodigious wide Mouths, and (though not long) arrive to the Thickneſs of the Calf of a Man's Leg.

Red-Belly Land-Snakes.

Theſe frequent the Land altogether, and are ſo call'd, becauſe of their red Bellies, which incline to an Orange-Colour. Some have been bitten with theſe ſort of Snakes, and not hurt; when others have ſuffer'd very much by them. Whether there be two ſorts of theſe Snakes, which we make no Difference of, I cannot at preſent determine.

Red-Back Snakes.

I never ſaw but one of theſe, which I ſtept over, and did not ſee him; till he that brought the Chain after me, ſpy'd him. He has a red Back, as the laſt has a red Belly. They are a long, ſlender Snake, and very rare to be met withal. I enquired of the *Indian* that was along with me, whether they were very venomous, who made Anſwer, that if he had bitten me, even the *Indians* could not have cured it.

Black Truncheon Snake.

This ſort of Snake might very well have been rank'd with the Water-Snakes. They lie under Roots of Trees, and on the Banks of Rivers. When any thing diſturbs them, they dart into the Water (which is Salt) like an Arrow out of a Bow. They are thick, and the ſhorteſt Snake I ever ſaw. What Good, or Harm, there is in them, I know not. Some of theſe Water-Snakes will ſwallow a black Land-Snake, half as long again as themſelves.

Scorpion Lizard.

The Scorpion Lizard, is no more like a Scorpion, than a Hedge-Hog; but they very commonly call him a Scorpion. He is of the Lizard Kind, but much bigger; his Back is of a dark Copper-Colour; his Belly an Orange; he is very nimble in running up Trees, or on the Land, and is accounted very poiſonous. He has the moſt Sets of Teeth in his Mouth and Throat, that ever I ſaw.

Green Lizards.

Green Lizards are very harmleſs and beautiful, having a little Bladder under their Throat, which they fill with Wind, and evacuate the ſame at Pleaſure. They are of a moſt glorious Green, and very tame. They reſort to the Walls of Houſes in the Summer Seaſon, and ſtand gazing on a Man, without any Concern or Fear. There are ſeveral other Colours of theſe Lizards; but none ſo beautiful as the green ones are.

Of

Frogs. Of Frogs we have ſeveral ſorts; the moſt famous is the Bull-Frog, ſo call'd, becauſe he lows exactly like that Beaſt, which makes Strangers wonder (when by the ſide of a Marſh) what's the matter, for they hear the Frogs low, and can ſee no Cattle; he is very large. I believe, I have ſeen one with as much Meat on him, as a Pullet, if he had been dreſs'd. The ſmall green Frogs get upon Trees, and make a Noiſe. There are ſeveral other colour'd ſmall Frogs; but the Common Land-Frog is likeſt a Toad, only he leaps, and is not poiſonous. He is a great Devourer of Ants, and the Snakes devour him. Theſe Frogs baked and beat to Powder, and taken with Orrice-Root cures a Tympany.

Long black Snake. The long, black Snake frequents the Land altogether, and is the nimbleſt Creature living. His Bite has no more Venom, than a Prick with a Pin. He is the beſt Mouſer that can be; for he leaves not one of that Vermine alive, where he comes. He alſo kills the Rattle-Snake, whereſoever he meets him, by twiſting his Head about the Neck of the Rattle-Snake, and whipping him to Death with his Tail. This Whipſter haunts the Dairies of careleſs Houſewives, and never miſſes to skim the Milk clear of the Cream. He is an excellent Egg-Merchant, for he does not ſuck the Eggs, but ſwallows them whole (as all Snakes do.) He will often ſwallow all the Eggs from under a Hen that ſits, and coil himſelf under the Hen, in the Neſt, where ſometimes the Houſewife finds him. This Snake, for all his Agility, is ſo brittle, that when he is purſued, and gets his Head into the Hole of a Tree, if any body gets hold of the other end, he will twiſt, and break himſelf off in the middle. One of theſe Snakes, whoſe Neck is no thicker that a Woman's little Finger, will ſwallow a Squirrel; ſo much does that part ſtretch, in all theſe Creatures.

King Snake. The King-Snake is the longeſt of all others, and not common; no Snake (they ſay) will meddle with them. I think they are not accounted very venomous. The *Indians* make Girdles and Saſhes of their Skins.

Green Snake. Green-Snakes are very ſmall, tho' pretty (if any Beauty be allow'd to Snakes.) Every one makes himſelf very familiar with them, and puts them in their Boſom, becauſe there is no manner of Harm in them.

The

The Corn-Snakes are but ſmall ones; they are of a brown Colour, mixed with tawny. There is no more hurt in this, than in the green Snake. *Corn-Snake.*

Of thoſe we call Vipers, there are two ſorts. People call theſe Vipers, becauſe they ſpread a very flat Head at any time when they are vex'd. One of theſe is a grayiſh like the *Italian* Viper, the other black and ſhort; and is reckon'd amongſt the worſt of Snakes, for Venom. *Vipers.*

Tortois, vulgarly call'd Turtle; I have rank'd theſe among the Inſects, becauſe they lay Eggs, and I did not know well where to put them. Among us there are three ſorts. The firſt is the green Turtle, which is not common, but is ſometimes found on our Coaſt. The next is the Hawks-bill, which is common. Theſe two ſorts are extraordinary Meat. The third is Logger-Head, which Kind ſcarce any one covets, except it be for the Eggs, which of this and all other Turtles, are very good Food. None of theſe ſorts of Creatures Eggs will ever admit the White to be harder than a Jelly; yet the Yolk, with boiling, becomes as hard as any other Egg. *Tortois.*

Of Terebins there are divers ſorts, all which, to be brief, we will comprehend under the Diſtinction of Land and Water-Terebins. *Terebin.*

The Land-Terebin is of ſeveral Sizes, but generally Round-Mouth'd, and not Hawks-Bill'd, as ſome are. The *Indians* eat them. Moſt of them are good Meat, except the very large ones; and they are good Food too, provided they are not Musky. They are an utter Enemy to the Rattle-Snake, for when the Terebin meets him, he catches hold of him a little below his Neck, and draws his Head into his Shell, which makes the Snake beat his Tail, and twiſt about with all the Strength and Violence imaginable, to get away; but the Terebin ſoon diſpatches him, and there leaves him. Theſe they call in *Europe* the Land Tortois; their Food is Snails, Tad-pools, or young Frogs, Muſhrooms, and the Dew and Slime of the Earth and Ponds. *Land-Terebin.*

Water Terebins are ſmall; containing about as much Meat as a Pullet, and are extraordinary Food; eſpecially, in *May* and *June*. When they lay, their Eggs are very good; but they have ſo many Enemies that find them out, that the hundredth part never comes to Perfection. The Sun and *Water-Terebin.*

Sand hatch them, which come out the Bigneſs of a ſmall Cheſnut, and ſeek their own Living.

Brimſtone-Snake. We now come again to the Snakes. The Brimſtone is ſo call'd, I believe, becauſe it is almoſt of a Brimſtone Colour. They might as well have call'd it a Glaſs-Snake, for it is as brittle as a Tobacco-Pipe, ſo that if you give it the leaſt Touch of a ſmall Twigg, it immediately breaks into ſeveral Pieces. Some affirm, that if you let it remain where you broke it, it will come together again. What Harm there is in this brittle Ware, I cannot tell; but I never knew any body hurt by them.

Chicken-Snake. The Egg or Chicken-Snake is ſo call'd, becauſe it is frequent about the Hen-Yard, and eats Eggs and Chickens, they are of a dusky Soot Colour, and will roll themſelves round, and ſtick eighteen, or twenty Foot high, by the ſide of a ſmooth-bark'd Pine, where there is no manner of Hold, and there ſun themſelves, and ſleep all the Sunny Part of the Day. There is no great matter of Poiſon in them.

Wood-Worm. The Wood-Worms are of a Copper, ſhining Colour, ſcarce ſo thick as your little Finger; are often found in Rotten-Trees. They are accounted venomous, in caſe they bite, though I never knew any thing hurt by them. They never exceed four or five Inches in length.

The Reptiles, or ſmaller *Inſects*, are too numerous to relate here, this Country affording innumerable Quantities thereof; as the Flying-Stags with Horns, Beetles, Butterflies, Graſhoppers, Locuſt, and ſeveral hundreds of uncouth Shapes, which in the Summer-Seaſon are diſcovered here in *Carolina*, the Deſcription of which requires a large Volume, which is not my Intent at preſent. Beſides, what the Mountainous Part of this Land may hereafter lay open to our View, Time and Induſtry will diſcover, for we that have ſettled but a ſmall Share of this large Province, cannot imagine, but there will be a great number of Diſcoveries made by thoſe that ſhall come hereafter into the Back-part of this Land, and make Enquiries therein, when, at leaſt, we conſider that the Weſtward of *Carolina* is quite different in Soil, Air, Weather, Growth of Vegetables, and ſeveral Animals too, which we at preſent are wholly Strangers to, and to ſeek for. As to a right Knowledge thereof, I ſay, when another Age is come, the Ingenious then in being may ſtand upon

upon the Shoulders of those that went before them, adding their own Experiments to what was delivered down to them by their Predecessors, and then there will be something towards a complete Natural History, which (in these days) would be no easie Undertaking to any Author that writes truly and compendiously, as he ought to do. It is sufficient at present, to write an honest and fair Account of any of the Settlements, in this new World, without wandring out of the Path of Truth, or bespattering any Man's Reputation any wise concern'd in the Government of the Colony; he that mixes Invectives with Relations of this Nature rendering himself suspected of Partiality in whatever he writes. For my part, I wish all well, and he that has received any severe Dealings from the Magistrate or his Superiours, had best examine himself well, if he was not first in the Fault; if so, then he can justly blame none but himself for what has happen'd to him.

Having thus gone thro' the *Insects*, as in the Table, except the Eel-Snake, (so call'd, though very improperly, because he is nothing but a Loach, that sucks, and cannot bite, as the Snakes do.) He is very large, commonly sixteen Inches, or a Foot and half long; having all the Properties that other Loaches have, and dwells in Pools and Waters, as they do. Notwithstanding, we have the same Loach as you have, in Bigness.

This is all that at present I shall mention, touching the *Insects*, and so go on to give an Account of the Fowls and Birds, that are properly found in *Carolina*, which are these.

Birds of *Carolina*.

Birds in America *more beautiful than in* Europe.

Eagle bald.
Eagle gray.
Fishing Hawk.
Turkey Buzzard, or Vulture.
Herring-tail'd Hawk.
Goshawk.
Falcon.
Merlin.
Sparrow-hawk.
Hobby.
Ring-tail.
Raven.
Crow.
Black Birds, two sorts.
Buntings two sorts.
Pheasant.
Woodcock.
Snipe.
Partridge.
Moorhen.

Jay.
Green Plover.
Plover gray or whistling.
Pigeon.
Turtle Dove.
Parrakeeto.
Thrush.
Wood-Peckers, five sorts.
Mocking-birds, two sorts.
Cat-Bird.
Cuckoo.
Blue-Bird.
Bulfinch.
Nightingale.
Hedge-Sparrow.
Wren.
Sparrows, two sorts.
Lark.
Red Bird.
East-India Bat.
Martins, two sorts.
Diveling, or Swift.
Swallow.
Humming Bird.
The Tom-Tit, or Ox-Eye.
Owls, two sorts.
Scritch Owl.
Baltimore bird.
Throstle, no Singer.
Whippoo Will.
Reed Sparrow.
Weet bird.
Rice bird.
Cranes and Storks.
Snow-birds.
Yellow-wings.

Water Fowl.

Water Fowl are,

Swans, called Trompeters.
Swans, called Hoopers.
Geese, three sorts.
Brant gray.
Brant white.
Sea-pies or pied Curlues.
Will Willets.
Great Gray Gulls.
Old Wives.
Sea Cock.
Curlues, three sorts.
Coots.
Kings-fisher.
Loons, two sorts.
Bitterns, three sorts.
Hern gray.
Hern white.
Water Pheasant.
Little gray Gull.
Little Fisher, or Dipper.
Ducks, as in England.
Ducks black, all Summer.
Ducks pied, build on Trees.
Ducks whistling, at Sapona.
Ducks scarlet-eye at Esaw.
Blue-wings.
Widgeon.
Teal, two sorts.
Shovelers.
Whifflers.
Black Flusterers, or bald Coots.
Turkeys wild.
Fishermen.
Divers.
Raft Fowl.
Bull-necks.
Redheads.
Tropick-birds.
Pelican.
Cormorant.

Gan-

Gannet.
Shear-water.
Great black pied Gull.
Marſh-hens.
Blue Peter's.
Sand-birds.
Runners.
Tutcocks.
Swaddle-bills.
Men.
Sheldrakes.
Bald Faces.
Water Witch, or Ware Coot.

As the Eagle is reckon'd the King of Birds I have begun with him. The firſt I ſhall ſpeak of, is the bald Eagle; ſo call'd, becauſe his Head, to the middle of his Neck, and his Tail, is as white as Snow. Theſe Birds continually breed the Year round; for when the young Eagles are juſt down'd, with a ſort of white woolly Feathers, the Hen-Eagle lays again, which Eggs are hatch'd by the Warmth of the young ones in the Neſt, ſo that the Flight of one Brood makes Room for the next, that are but juſt hatch'd. They prey on any living thing they can catch. They are heavy of Flight, and cannot get their Food by Swiftneſs, to help which there is a Fiſhawk that catches Fiſhes, and ſuffers the Eagle to take them from her, although ſhe is long-wing'd and a ſwift Flyer, and can make far better way in her Flight than the Eagle can. The bald Eagle attends the Gunners in Winter, with all the Obſequiouſneſs imaginable, and when he ſhoots and kills any Fowl, the Eagle ſurely comes in for his Bird; and beſides, thoſe that are wounded, and eſcape the Fowler, fall to the Eagle's ſhare. He is an excellent Artiſt at ſtealing young Pigs, which Prey he carries alive to his Neſt, at which time the poor Pig makes ſuch a Noiſe over Head, that Strangers that have heard them cry, and not ſeen the Bird and his Prey, have thought there were Flying Sows and Pigs in that Country. The Eagle's Neſt is made of Twigs, Sticks and Rubbiſh. It is big enough to fill a handſome Carts Body, and commonly ſo full of naſty Bones and Carcaſſes that it ſtinks moſt offenſively. This Eagle is not bald, till he is one or two years old. *Bald-Eagle.*

The gray Eagle is altogether the ſame ſort of Bird, as the Eagle in *Europe*; therefore, we ſhall treat no farther of him. *Gray-Eagle.*

The Fiſhing-Hawk is the Eagle's Jackal, which moſt commonly (though not always) takes his Prey for him. He is a large *Fiſhing-Hawk.*

large Bird, being above two thirds as big as the Eagle. He builds his Neſt as the Eagles do; that is, in a dead Cypreſs-Tree, either ſtanding in, or hard by, the Water. The Eagle and this Bird ſeldom ſit on a living Tree. He is of a gray pied Colour, and the moſt dexterous Fowl in Nature at Catching of Fiſh, which he wholly lives on, never eating any Fleſh.

Turkey-Buzzard. The Turkey-Buzzard of *Carolina* is a ſmall Vulture, which lives on any dead Carcaſſes. They are about the Bigneſs of the Fiſhing-Hawk, and have a naſty Smell with them. They are of the Kites Colour, and are reported to be an Enemy to Snakes, by killing all they meet withal of that Kind.

Herring-tail'd Hawk. The Herring, or Swallow-tail'd Hawk, is about the Bigneſs of a Falcon, but a much longer Bird. He is of a delicate Aurora-Colour; the Pinions of his Wings, and End of his Tail are black. He is a very beautiful Fowl, and never appears abroad but in the Summer. His Prey is chiefly on Snakes, and will kill the biggeſt we have, with a great deal of Dexterity and Eaſe.

Goſhawk. Goſhawks are very plentiful in *Carolina*. They are not ſeemingly ſo large as thoſe from *Muſcovy*; but appear to be a very brisk Bird.

Falcon. The Falcon is much the ſame as in *Europe*, and promiſes to be a brave Bird, tho' I never had any of them in my Hand; neither did I ever ſee any of them in any other Poſture than on the Wing, which always happen'd to be in an Evening, and flying to the Weſtward; therefore, I believe, they have their Abode and Neſt among the Mountains, where we may expect to find them, and ſeveral other Species that we are at preſent Strangers to.

Merlin. The Merlin is a ſmall Bird in *Europe*, but much ſmaller here; yet he very nimbly kills the ſmaller ſorts of Birds, and ſometimes the Partridge; if caught alive, he would be a great Rarity, becauſe of his Beauty and Smalneſs.

Sparrow-Hawk. The Sparrow-Hawk in *Carolina* is no bigger than a Field-fare in *England*. He flies at the Buſh and ſometimes kills a ſmall Bird, but his chiefeſt Food is Reptiles, as Beetles, Graſhoppers, and ſuch ſmall things. He is exactly of the ſame Colour, as the Sparrow-Hawk in *England*, only has a blackiſh Hood by his Eyes.

Hob-

Hobbies are the same here as in *England*, and are not often met withal. *Hobby.*

The Ring-tail is a short-wing'd Hawk, preying on Mice, and such Vermine in the Marshes, as in *England*. *Ring-Tail.*

Ravens, the same as in *England*, though very few. I have not seen above six in eight Years time. *Ravens.*

Crows are here less than in *England*. They are as good Meat as a Pigeon; and never feed on any Carrion. They are great Enemies to the Corn-Fields; and cry and build almost like Rooks. *Crows.*

Of these we have two sorts, which are the worst Vermine in *America*. They fly sometimes in such Flocks, that they destroy every thing before them. They (both sorts) build in hollow Trees, as Starlings do. The first sort is near as big as a Dove, and is very white and delicate Food. The other sort is very beautiful, and about the Bigness of the Owsel. Part of their Head, next to the Bill, and the Pinions of their Wings, are of an Orange, and glorious Crimson Colour. They are as good Meat as the former, tho' very few here (where large Fowl are so plenty) ever trouble themselves to kill or dress them. *Black-Birds.*

Of the Bunting-Larks we have two sorts, though the Heel of this Bird is not so long as in *Europe*. The first of these often accompany the Black-birds, and sing as the Bunting-Larks in *England* do, differing very little. The first sort has an Orange-Colour on the Tops of their Wings, and are as good Meat as those in *Europe*. The other sort is something less, of a lighter Colour; nothing differing therein from those in *England*, as to Feathers, Bigness, and Meat. *Bunting two sorts.*

The Pheasant of *Carolina* differs some small matter from the *English* Pheasant, being not so big, and having some difference in Feather; yet he is not any wise inferiour in Delicacy, but is as good Meat, or rather finer. He haunts the back Woods, and is seldom found near the Inhabitants. *Pheasant.*

The Woodcocks live and breed here, though they are not in great plenty, as I have seen them in some Parts of *England*, and other Places. They want one third of the *English* Woodcock in Bigness; but differ not in Shape, or Feather, save that their Breast is of a Carnation Colour; and they make a Noise (when they are on the Wing) like the Bells about a Hawk's Legs. They are certainly as dainty Meat, *Woodcock.*

as

as any in the World. Their Abode is in all Parts of this Country, in low, boggy Ground, Springs, Swamps, and Percoarſons.

Snipe. The Snipes here frequent the ſame Places, as they do in *England*, and differ nothing from them. They are the only wild Bird that is nothing different from the Species of *Europe*, and keeps with us all the Year. In ſome Places, there are a great many of theſe Snipes.

Partridge. Our Partridges in *Carolina*, very often take upon Trees, and have a ſort of Whiſtle and Call, quite different from thoſe in *England*. They are a very beautiful Bird, and great Deſtroyers of the Peaſe in Plantations; wherefore, they ſet Traps, and catch many of them. They have the ſame Feather, as in *Europe*; only the Cock wants the Horſe-Shooe, in lieu of which he has a fair Half-Circle over each Eye. Theſe (as well as the Woodcock) are leſs than the *European* Bird, but far finer Meat. They might be eaſily tranſported to any Place, becauſe they take to eating, after caught.

Moorhen. The Moorhens are of the black Game. I am inform'd, that the gray Game haunts the Hills. They never come into the Settlement, but keep in the hilly Parts.

Jay. Jays are here common, and very miſchievous, in devouring our Fruit, and ſpoiling more than they eat. They are abundantly more beautiful, and finer feather'd than thoſe in *Europe*, and not above half ſo big.

Green-Plover. The Lap-wing or Green-Plover are here very common. They cry pretty much, as the *Engliſh* Plovers do; and differ not much in Feather, but want a third of their Bigneſs.

Gray-Plover. The gray or whiſtling Plover, are very ſcarce amongſt us. I never ſaw any but three times, that fell and ſettled on the Ground. They differ very little from thoſe in *Europe*, as far as I could diſcern. I have ſeen ſeveral great Flocks of them fly over head; therefore, believe, they inhabit the Valleys near the Mountains.

Pigeons. Our wild Pigeons, are like the Wood-Queeſe or Stock-Doves, only have a longer Tail. They leave us in the Summer. This ſort of Pigeon (as I ſaid before) is the moſt like our Stock-Doves, or Wood-Pigeons that we have in *England*; only theſe differ in their Tails, which are very long, much like a Parrakeeto's? You muſt underſtand, that theſe Birds

Birds do not breed amongſt us, (who are ſettled at, and near the Mouths of the Rivers, as I have intimated to you before) but come down (eſpecially in hard Winters) amongſt the Inhabitants, in great Flocks, as they were ſeen to do in the Year 1707, which was the hardeſt Winter that ever was known, ſince *Carolina* has been ſeated by the Chriſtians. And if that Country had ſuch hard Weather, what muſt be expected of the ſevere Winters in *Penſylvania*, *New-York*, and *New-England*, where Winters are ten times (if poſſible) colder than with us. Although the Flocks are, in ſuch Extremities, very numerous; yet they are not to be mention'd in Compariſon with the great and infinite Numbers of theſe Fowl, that are met withal about a hundred, or a hundred and fifty, Miles to the Weſtward of the Places where we at preſent live; and where theſe Pigeons come down, in queſt of a ſmall ſort of Acorns, which in thoſe Parts are plentifully found. They are the ſame we call Turky-Acorns, becauſe the wild Turkies feed very much thereon; And for the ſame Reaſon, thoſe Trees that bear them, are call'd Turky-Oaks. I ſaw ſuch prodigious Flocks of theſe Pigeons, in *January* or *February*, 1701-2, (which were in the hilly Country, between the great Nation of the *Eſaw Indians*, and the pleaſant Stream of *Sapona*, which is the Weſt-Branch of *Clarendon*, or *Cape-Fair* River) that they had broke down the Limbs of a great many large Trees all over thoſe Woods, whereon they chanced to ſit and rooſt; eſpecially the great Pines, which are a more brittle Wood, than our ſorts of Oak are. Theſe Pigeons, about Sun-Riſe, when we were preparing to march on our Journey, would fly by us in ſuch vaſt Flocks, that they would be near a Quarter of an Hour, before they were all paſs'd by; and as ſoon as that Flock was gone, another would come; and ſo ſucceſſively one after another, for great part of the Morning. It is obſervable, that whereever theſe Fowl come in ſuch Numbers, as I ſaw them then, they clear all before them, ſcarce leaving one Acorn upon the Ground, which would, doubtleſs, be a great Prejudice to the Planters that ſhould ſeat there, becauſe their Swine would be thereby depriv'd of their Maſt. When I ſaw ſuch Flocks of the Pigeons I now ſpeak of, none of our Company had any other ſort of Shot, than that which is caſt in Moulds, and was ſo very large, that we could not put above ten or a

dozen of them into our largeſt Pieces; Wherefore, we made but an indifferent Hand of ſhooting them; although we commonly kill'd a Pigeon for every Shot. They were very fat, and as good Pigeons, as ever I eat. I enquired of the *Indians* that dwell'd in thoſe Parts, where it was that thoſe Pigeons bred, and they pointed towards the vaſt Ridge of Mountains, and ſaid, they bred there. Now, whether they make their Neſts in the Holes in the Rocks of thoſe Mountains, or build in Trees, I could not learn; but they ſeem to me to be a Wood-Pigeon, that build in Trees, becauſe of their frequent ſitting thereon, and their Rooſting on Trees always at Night, under which their Dung commonly lies half a Foot thick, and kills every thing that grows where it falls.

Turtle Doves. Turtle Doves are here very plentiful; they devour the Peaſe; for which Reaſon, People make Traps and catch them.

Parrakeetos. The Parrakeetos are of a green Colour, and Orange-Colour'd half way their Head. Of theſe and the Allegators, there is none found to the Northward of this Province. They viſit us firſt, when Mulberries are ripe, which Fruit they love extremely. They peck the Apples, to eat the Kernels, ſo that the Fruit rots and periſhes. They are miſchievous to Orchards. They are often taken alive, and will become familiar and tame in two days. They have their Neſts in hollow Trees, in low, ſwampy Ground. They devour the Birch-Buds in *April*, and lie hidden when the Weather is froſty and hard.

Thruſhes. The Thruſhes in *America*, are the ſame as in *England*, and red under the Wings. They never appear amongſt us but in hard Weather, and preſently leave us again.

Wood-Peckers. Of Wood-peckers, we have four ſorts. The firſt is as big as a Pigeon, being of a dark brown Colour, with a white Croſs on his Back, his Eyes circled with white, and on his Head ſtands a Tuft of beautiful Scarlet Feathers. His Cry is heard a long way; and he flies from one rotten Tree to another, to get Grubs, which is the Food he lives on.

Second. The ſecond ſort are of an Olive-Colour, ſtriped with yellow. They eat Worms as well as Grubs, and are about the Bigneſs of thoſe in *Europe*.

The

The third is the same Bigness as the last; he is pied with black and white, has a Crimson Head, without a Topping, and is a Plague to the Corn and Fruit; especially the Apples. He opens the Covering of the young Corn, so that the Rain gets in, and rots it. *Third.*

The fourth sort of these Wood-peckers, is a black and white speckled, or mottled; the finest I ever saw. The Cock has a red Crown; he is not near so big as the others; his Food is Grubs, Corn, and other creeping Insects. He is not very wild, but will let one come up to him, then shifts on the other side the Tree, from your sight; and so dodges you for a long time together. He is about the size of an *English* Lark. *Fourth.*

The Mocking-Bird is about as big as a Throstle in *England*, but longer; they are of a white, and gray Colour, and are held to be the Choristers of *America*, as indeed they are. They sing with the greatest Diversity of Notes, that is possible for a Bird to change to. They may be bred up, and will sing with us tame in Cages; yet I never take any of their Nests, altho' they build yearly in my Fruit-Trees, because I have their Company, as much as if tame, as to the singing Part. They often sit upon our Chimneys in Summer, there being then no Fire in them, and sing the whole Evening and most part of the Night. They are always attending our Dwellings; and feed upon Mulberries and other Berries and Fruits; especially the *Mechoacan*-berry, which grows here very plentifully. *Mocking-Birds.*

There is another sort call'd the Ground-Mocking-Bird. She is the same bigness, and of a Cinnamon Colour. This Bird sings excellently well, but is not so common amongst us as the former. *2d. sort.*

The Cat-Bird, so nam'd, because it makes a Noise exactly like young Cats. They have a blackish Head, and an Ash-coloured Body, and have no other Note that I know of. They are no bigger than a Lark, yet will fight a Crow or any other great Bird. *Cat-Bird.*

The Cuckoo of *Carolina* may not properly be so call'd, because she never uses that Cry; yet she is of the same Bigness and Feather, and sucks the Small-Birds Eggs, as the *English* Cuckoo does. *Cuckoo.*

Blue-Bird. A Blue-Bird is the exact Bigneſs of a Robin-red-breaſt. The Cock has the ſame colour'd Breaſt as the Robin has, and his Back, and all the other Parts of him, are of as fine a Blue, as can poſſibly be ſeen in any thing in the World. He has a Cry, and a Whiſtle. They hide themſelves all the Winter.

Bulfinch. Bulfinches, in *America*, differ ſomething from thoſe in *Europe*, in their Feathers, tho' not in their Bigneſs. I never knew any one tame, therefore know not, what they might be brought to.

Nightingale. The Nightingales are different in Plumes from thoſe in *Europe*. They always frequent the low Groves, where they ſing very prettily all Night.

Hedge-Sparrow. Hedge-Sparrows are here, though few Hedges. They differ ſcarce any thing in Plume or Bigneſs, only I never heard this Whiſtle, as the *Engliſh* one does; eſpecially after Rain.

Wren. The Wren is the ſame as in *Europe*, yet I never heard any Note ſhe has in *Carolina*.

Sparrow. Sparrows here differ in Feather from the *Engliſh*. We have ſeveral Species of Birds call'd Sparrows, one of them much reſembling the Bird call'd a *Corinthian* Sparrow.

Lark. The Lark with us reſorts to the Savannas, or natural Meads, and green Marſhes. He is colour'd and heel'd as the Lark is; but his Breaſt is of a glittering fair Lemon-Colour, and he is as big as a Fieldfare, and very fine Food.

Red-Birds. The Red-Birds (whoſe Cock is all over of a rich Scarlet Feather, with a tufted Crown on his Head, of the ſame Colour) are the Bigneſs of a Bunting-Lark, and very hardy, having a ſtrong thick Bill. They will ſing very prettily, when taken old, and put in a Cage. They are good Birds to turn a Cage with Bells; or if taught, as the Bulfinch is, I believe, would prove very docible.

Eaſt-India Bats. *Eaſt-India* Bats or Muſqueto Hawks, are the Bigneſs of a Cuckoo, and much of the ſame Colour. They are ſo call'd, becauſe the ſame ſort is found in the *Eaſt-Indies*. They appear only in the Summer, and live on Flies, which they catch in the Air, as Gnats, Muſquetos, *&c.*

Martins. Martins are here of two ſorts. The firſt is the ſame as in *England*; the other as big as a Black-Bird. They have white Throats and Breaſts, with black Backs. The Planters put Gourds

Gourds on ſtanding Poles, on purpoſe for theſe Fowl to build in, becauſe they are a very Warlike Bird, and beat the Crows from the Plantations.

Swift. The Swift, or Diveling, the ſame as in *England*.

Swallow. Swallows, the ſame as in *England*.

Humming-Bird. The Humming-Bird is the Miracle of all our wing'd Animals; He is feather'd as a Bird, and gets his Living as the Bees, by ſucking the Honey from each Flower. In ſome of the larger ſort of Flowers, he will bury himſelf, by diving to ſuck the bottom of it, ſo that he is quite cover'd, and oftentimes Children catch them in thoſe Flowers, and keep them alive for five or ſix days. They are of different Colours, the Cock differing from the Hen. The Cock is of a green, red, *Aurora*, and other Colours mixt. He is much leſs than a Wren, and very nimble. His Neſt is one of the greateſt Pieces of Workmanſhip the whole Tribe of wing'd Animals can ſhew, it commonly hanging on a ſingle Bryar, moſt artificially woven, a ſmall Hole being left to go in and out at. The Eggs are the Bigneſs of Peaſe.

Tom-Tit. The Tom-Tit, or Ox-Eyes, as in *England*.

Owls. Of Owls we have two ſorts; the ſmaller ſort is like ours in *England*; the other ſort is as big as a middling Gooſe, and has a prodigious Head. They make a fearful Hollowing in the Night-time, like a Man, whereby they often make Strangers loſe their way in the Woods.

Scritch Owls. Scritch Owls, much the ſame as in *Europe*.

Baltimore-Bird. The *Baltimore-Bird*, ſo call'd from the Lord *Baltimore*, Proprietor of all *Maryland*, in which Province many of them are found. They are the Bigneſs of a Linnet, with yellow Wings, and beautiful in other Colours.

Throſtle. Throſtle, the ſame Size and Feather as in *Europe*, but I never could hear any of them ſing.

Weet Bird. The Weet, ſo call'd becauſe he cries always before Rain; he reſembles neareſt the Fire-tail.

Cranes and Storks. Cranes uſe the Savannas, low Ground, and Frogs; they are above five Foot-high, when extended; are of a Cream Colour, and have a Crimſon Spot on the Crown of their Heads. Their Quills are excellent for Pens; their Fleſh makes the beſt Broth, yet is very hard to digeſt. Among them often frequent Storks, which are here ſeen, and no where beſides in *America*, that I have yet heard of. The Cranes are eaſily bred,

bred up tame, and are excellent in a Garden to deſtroy Frogs, Worms, and other Vermine.

Snow-Birds. The Snow-Birds are moſt numerous in the North Parts of *America*, where there are great Snows. They viſit us ſometimes in *Carolina*, when the Weather is harder than ordinary. They are like the Stones Smach, or Wheat-Ears, and are delicate Meat.

Yellow Wings. Theſe Yellow-Wings are a very ſmall Bird, of a Linnet's Colour, but Wings as yellow as Gold. They frequent high up in our Rivers, and Creeks, and keep themſelves in the thick Buſhes, very difficult to be ſeen in the Spring. They ſing very prettily.

Whippoo-Will. *Whippoo-Will*, ſo nam'd, becauſe it makes thoſe Words exactly. They are the Bigneſs of a Thruſh, and call their Note under a Buſh, on the Ground, hard to be ſeen, though you hear them never ſo plain. They are more plentiful in *Virginia*, than with us in *Carolina*; for I never heard but one that was near the Settlement, and that was hard-by an *Indian* Town.

Red Sparrow. This neareſt reſembles a Sparrow, and is the moſt common Small-Bird we have, therefore we call them ſo. They are brown, and red, cinnamon Colour, ſtriped.

Water Fowl. Of the Swans we have two ſorts; the one we call Trompeters; becauſe of a ſort of trompeting Noiſe they make.

Swans. Theſe are the largeſt ſort we have, which come in great Flocks in the Winter, and ſtay, commonly, in the freſh Rivers till *February*, that the Spring comes on, when they go to the Lakes to breed. A Cygnet, that is, a laſt Year's Swan, is accounted a delicate Diſh, as indeed it is. They are known by their Head and Feathers, which are not ſo white as Old ones.

Hooper. The ſort of Swans call'd Hoopers, are the leaſt. They abide more in the Salt-Water, and are equally valuable, for Food, with the former. It is obſervable, that neither of theſe have a black Piece of horny Fleſh down the Head, and Bill, as they have in *England*.

Wild Geeſe. Of Geeſe we have three ſorts, differing from each other only in ſize. Ours are not the common Geeſe that are in the Fens in *England*, but the other ſorts, with black Heads and Necks.

The

The gray Brant, or Barnicle, is here very plentiful, as all other Water-Fowl are, in the Winter-Season. They are the same which they call Barnicles in *Great-Britain*, and are a very good Fowl, and eat well. *Gray Brants.*

There is also a white Brant, very plentiful in *America*. This Bird is all over as white as Snow, except the Tips of his Wings, and those are black. They eat the Roots of Sedge and Grass in the Marshes and Savannas, which they tear up like Hogs. The best way to kill these Fowl is, to burn a Piece of Marsh, or Savanna, and as soon as it is burnt, they will come in great Flocks to get the Roots, where you kill what you please of them. They are as good Meat as the other, only their Feathers are stubbed, and good for little. *White Brant.*

The Sea-Pie, or gray Curlue, is about the Bigness of a very large Pigeon, but longer. He has a long Bill as other Curlues have, which is the Colour of an *English* Owsel's, that is, yellow; as are his Legs. He frequents the Sand-beaches on the Sea-side, and when kill'd, is inferiour to no Fowl I ever eat of. *Sea-Pie, or Curlue.*

Will Willet is so called from his Cry, which he very exactly calls *Will Willet*, as he flies. His Bill is like a Curlue's, or Woodcock's, and has much such a Body as the other, yet not so tall. He is good Meat. *Will Willet.*

The great gray Gulls are good Meat, and as large as a Pullet. They lay large Eggs, which are found in very great Quantities, on the Islands in our Sound, in the Months of *June*, and *July*. The young Squabs are very good Victuals, and often prove a Relief to Travellers by Water, that have spent their Provisions. *Great gray Gull.*

Old Wives are a black and white pied Gull with extraordinary long Wings, and a golden colour'd Bill and Feet. He makes a dismal Noise, as he flies, and ever and anon dips his Bill in the Salt-Water. I never knew him eaten. *Old Wives.*

The Sea-Cock is a Gull that crows at Break of Day, and in the Morning, exactly like a Dunghil Cock, which Cry seems very pleasant in those uninhabited Places. He is never eaten. *Sea-Cock.*

Of Curlues there are three sorts, and vast Numbers of each. They have all long Bills, and differ neither in Colour, nor Shape, only in Size. The largest is as big as a good *Curlues. Coots, Kingfisher, Loons, two sorts.*

good Hen, the ſmaller the Bigneſs of a Snipe, or ſomething bigger.

Bitterns, three ſorts. We have three ſorts of Bitterns in *Carolina*. The firſt is the ſame as in *England*; the ſecond of a deep brown, with a great Topping, and yellowiſh white Throat and Breaſt, and is leſſer than the former; the laſt is no bigger than a Wood-cock, and near the Colour of the ſecond.

Herns. We have the ſame Herns, as in *England*.

White-Herns. White Herns are here very plentiful. I have ſeen above thirty ſit on one Tree, at a time. They are as white as Milk, and fly very ſlowly.

Water-Pheaſant. The Water-Pheaſant (very improperly call'd ſo) are a Water-Fowl of the Duck-Kind, having a Topping, of pretty Feathers, which ſets them out. They are very good Meat.

Little gray Gull. The little Gray-Gull is of a curious gray Colour, and abides near the Sea. He is about the Bigneſs of a Whiſtling-Plover, and delicate Food.

Dipper. We have the little Dipper or Fiſher, that catches Fiſh ſo dexterouſly, the ſame as you have in the Iſlands of *Scilly*.

Duck and Mallard. We have of the ſame Ducks, and Mallards with green Heads, in great Flocks. They are accounted the coarſeſt ſort of our Water-Fowl.

Black Duck. The black Duck is full as large as the other, and good Meat. She ſtays with us all the Summer, and breeds. Theſe are made tame by ſome, and prove good Domeſticks.

Summer Duck. We have another Duck that ſtays with us all the Summer. She has a great Topping, is pied, and very beautiful. She builds her Neſt in a Wood-pecker's Hole, very often ſixty or ſeventy Foot high.

Whiſtling Duck. Towards the Mountains in the hilly Country, on the Weſt-Branch of *Caip-Fair* Inlet, we ſaw great Flocks of pretty pied Ducks, that whiſtled as they flew, or as they fed. I did not kill any of them.

Scarlet Ey'd Duck. We kill'd a curious ſort of Ducks, in the Country of the *Eſaw-Indians*, which were of many beautiful Colours. Their Eyes were red, having a red Circle of Fleſh for their Eye-lids; and were very good to eat.

Blue-Wings. The Blue-Wings are leſs than a Duck, but fine Meat. Theſe are the firſt Fowls that appear to us in the Fall of the Leaf, coming then in great Flocks, as we ſuppoſe, from *Canada*, and the Lakes that lie behind us.

Wid-

Widgeons, the same as in *Europe*, are here in great Plenty. *Widgeon.*

We have the same Teal, as in *England*, and another sort that frequents the Fresh-Water, and are always nodding their Heads. They are smaller than the common Teal, and dainty Meat. *Teal two sorts.*

Shovellers (a sort of Duck) are gray, with a black Head. They are a very good Fowl. *Skovellers.*

These are called Whistlers, from the whistling Noise they make, as they fly. *Whistlers.*

Black Flusterers; some call these Old Wives. They are as black as Ink. The Cocks have white Faces. They always remain in the midst of Rivers, and feed upon drift Grass, Carnels or Sea-Nettles. They are the fattest Fowl I ever saw, and sometimes so heavy with Flesh, that they cannot rise out of the Water. They make an odd sort of Noise when they fly. What Meat they are, I could never learn. Some call these the great bald Coot. *Black-Flusterers. or Bald-Coot.*

The wild Turkeys I should have spoken of, when I treated of the Land-Fowl. There are great Flocks of these in *Carolina*. I have seen about five hundred in a Flock; some of them are very large. I never weigh'd any myself, but have been inform'd of one that weigh'd near sixty Pound Weight. I have seen half a Turkey feed eight hungry Men two Meals. Sometimes the wild breed with the tame ones, which, they reckon, makes them very hardy, as I believe it must. I see no manner of Difference betwixt the wild Turkeys and the tame ones; only the wild are ever of one Colour, (*viz.*) a dark gray, or brown, and are excellent Food. They feed on Acorns, Huckle-Berries, and many other sorts of Berries that *Carolina* affords. The Eggs taken from the Nest, and hatch'd under a Hen, will yet retain a wild Nature, and commonly leave you, and run wild at last, and will never be got into a House to roost, but always pearch on some high Tree, hard-by the House, and separate themselves from the tame sort, although (at the same time) they tread and breed together. I have been inform'd, that if you take these wild Eggs, when just on the point of being hatch'd, and dip them (for some small time) in a Bowl of Milk-warm Water; it will take off their wild Nature, and make them as tame and domestick as the others. Some *Indians* have brought these wild Breed hatch'd at home, to be a Decoy to bring *Turkeys.*

others to rooſt near their Cabins, which they have ſhot. But to return to the Water-Fowl.

Fiſhermen. Fiſhermen are like a Duck, but have a narrow Bill, with Setts of Teeth. They live on very ſmall Fiſh, which they catch as they ſwim along. They taſte Fiſhy. The beſt way to order them, is, upon occaſion, to pull out the Oil-Box from the Rump, and then bury them five or ſix Hours under Ground. Then they become tolerable.

Divers. Of Divers there are two ſorts; the one pied, the other gray; both good Meat.

Raft-Fowl. Raft-Fowl includes all the ſorts of ſmall Ducks and Teal, that go in Rafts along the Shoar, and are of ſeveral ſorts, that we know no Name for.

Bull-Necks. Theſe are a whitiſh Fowl, about the Bigneſs of a Brant; they come to us after *Chriſtmas*, in very great Flocks, in all our Rivers. They are a very good Meat, but hard to kill, becauſe hard to come near. They will dive and endure a great deal of Shot.

Red-Heads. Red-Heads, a leſſer Fowl than Bull-Necks, are very ſweet Food, and plentiful in our Rivers and Creeks.

Tropick-Birds. Tropick-Birds are a white Mew, with a forked Tail. They are ſo call'd, becauſe they are plentifully met withal under the Tropicks, and thereabouts.

Pellican. The Pellican of the Wilderneſs cannot be the ſame as ours; this being a Water-Fowl, with a great natural Wen or Pouch under his Throat, in which he keeps his Prey of Fiſh, which is what he lives on. He is Web-footed, like a Gooſe, and ſhap'd like a Duck, but is a very large Fowl, bigger than a Gooſe. He is never eaten as Food; They make Tobacco-pouches of his Maw.

Cormorant. Cormorants are very well known in ſome Parts of *England*; we have great Flocks of them with us, eſpecially againſt the Herrings run, which is in *March* and *April*; then they ſit upon Logs of dry Wood in the Water, and catch the Fiſh.

Gannet. The Gannet is a large white Fowl, having one Part of his Wings black; he lives on Fiſh, as the Pellican. His Fat or Greaſe, is as yellow as Saffron, and the beſt thing known, to preſerve Fire-Arms, from Ruſt.

Shear-Water. Shear-Waters are a longer Fowl than a Duck; ſome of them lie on the Coaſt, whilſt others range the Seas all over.

Some-

Sometimes they are met five hundred Leagues from Land. They live without drinking any freſh Water.

We have a great pied Gull, black and white, which ſeems to have a black Hood on his Head; theſe lay very fair Eggs which are good; as are the young ones in the Seaſon. *Pied-Gull.*

Marſh-Hen, much the ſame as in *Europe*, only ſhe makes another ſort of Noiſe, and much ſhriller. *Marſh-Hen.*

The ſame as you call Water-Hens in *England*, are here very numerous, and not regarded for eating. *Blue-Peters.*

The Sand-Birds are about the Bigneſs of a Lark, and frequent our Sand-Beaches; they are a dainty Food, if you will beſtow Time and Ammunition to kill them. *Sand-Birds.*

Theſe are called Runners; becauſe if you run after them, they will run along the Sands and not offer to get up; ſo that you may often drive them together to ſhoot as you pleaſe. They are a pleaſant ſmall Bird. *Runners.*

A ſort of Snipe, but ſucks not his Food; they are almoſt the ſame as in *England*. *Tutcocks.*

Swaddle-Bills are a ſort of an aſh-colour'd Duck, which have an extraordinary broad Bill, and are good Meat; they are not common as the others are.

The ſame Mew as in *England*, being a white, ſlender Bird, with red Feet. *Mew.*

Shel-Drakes.

The ſame as in *England*.

The bald, or white Faces are a good Fowl. They cannot dive, and are eaſily ſhotten. *Bald-Faces.*

Water-Witch, or Ware-Coots, are a Fowl with Down and no Feathers; they dive incomparably, ſo that no Fowler can hit them. They can neither fly, nor go; but get into the Fiſh-wares, and cannot fly over the Rods, and ſo are taken. *Water-Witch.*

Thus have we given an Account of what Fowl has come to our Knowledge, ſince our Abode in *Carolina*; except ſome that, perhaps, have ſlipt our Memory, and ſo are left out of our Catalogue. Proceed we now to treat of the Inhabitants of the Watry Element; which tho' we can as yet do but very imperfectly; yet we are willing to oblige the Curious with the beſt Account that is in our Power to preſent them withal.

The Fish in the salt, and fresh Waters of *Carolina*, are,

Whales, several sorts.
Thrashers.
Divel-Fish.
Sword-Fish.
Crampois.
Bottle-Noses.
Porpoises.
Sharks, two sorts.
Dog-Fish.
Spanish-*Mackarel.*
Cavallies.
Boneto's.
Blue-Fish.
Drum, red.
Drum-Fish, black.
Angel-Fish.
Bass, or Rock-Fish.
Sheeps-Heads.
Plaice.
Flounder.
Soles.
Mullets.
Shad.
Fat-Backs.
Guard, white.
Guard, green.
Scate or Stingray.
Thornback.
Congar-Eels.
Lamprey-Eels.
Eels.
Sun-Fish.
Toad-Fish.
Sea-Tench.
Trouts of the Salt Water.
Crocus.
Herring.
Smelts.
Shads.
Breams.
Taylors.

Fresh-Water Fish are,

Sturgeon.
Pike.
Trouts.
Gudgeon.
Pearch English.
Pearch, white.
Pearch, brown, or Welch-men.
Pearch, flat, and mottled, or Irishmen.
Pearch small and flat, with red Spots, call'd round Robins.
Carp.
Roach.
Dace.
Loaches.
Sucking-Fish.
Cat-Fish.
Grindals.
Old-Wives.
Fountain-Fish.
White-Fish.

The

The Shell-Fish are.

Large Crabs, call'd Stone-Crabs.
Smaller flat Crabs.
Oysters great and small.
Cockles.
Clams.
Muscles.
Conks.
Skellop.
Man of Noses.
Periwinkles, or Wilks.
Sea-Snail-Horns.
Fidlars.
Runners.
Spanish or Pearl-Oysters.
Flattings.
Tortois and Terebin, accounted for among the Insects.
Finger-Fish.
Shrimps.

Fresh Water.

Craw-Fish.
Muscles.

Whales are very numerous, on the Coast of North *Carolina*, from which they make Oil, Bone, *&c.* to the great Advantage of those inhabiting the Sand-Banks, along the Ocean, where these Whales come ashore, none being struck or kill'd with a Harpoon in this Place, as they are to the Northward, and elsewhere; all those Fish being found dead on the Shoar, most commonly by those that inhabit the Banks, and Sea-side, where they dwell, for that Intent, and for the Benefit of Wrecks, which sometimes fall in upon that Shoar. *Whales.*

Of these Monsters there are four sorts; the first, which is most choice and rich, is the *Sperma Cati* Whale, from which the *Sperma Cati* is taken. These are rich Prizes; but I never heard but of one found on this Coast, which was near *Currituck*-Inlet.

The other sorts are of a prodigious Bigness. Of these the Bone and Oil is made; the Oil being the Blubber, or oily Flesh, or Fat of that Fish boil'd. These differ not only in Colour, some being pied, others not, but very much in shape, one being call'd a Bottle-Nosed Whale, the other a Shovel-Nose, which is as different as a Salmon from a Sturgeon. These Fish seldom come ashoar with their Tongues in their Heads, the Thrasher (which is the Whale's mortal Enemy, wheresoever he meets him) eating that out of his Head, as soon as he and the Sword-Fish have kill'd him. For when

when the Whale-catchers (in other Parts) kill any of these Fish, they eat the Tongue, and esteem it an excellent Dish.

There is another sort of these Whales, or great Fish, though not common. I never knew of above one of that sort, found on the Coast of North *Carolina*, and he was contrary, in Shape, to all others ever found before him; being sixty Foot in Length, and not above three or four Foot Diameter. Some *Indians* in *America* will go out to Sea, and get upon a Whales Back, and peg or plug up his Spouts, and so kill him.

Thrashers The Thrashers are large Fish, and mortal Enemies to the Whale, as I said before. They make good Oil; but are seldom found.

Divel-Fish. The Divel-Fish lies at some of our Inlets, and, as near as I can describe him, is shap'd like a Scate, or Stingray; only he has on his Head a Pair of very thick strong Horns, and is of a monstrous Size, and Strength; for this Fish has been known to weigh a Sloop's Anchor, and run with the Vessel a League or two, and bring her back, against Tide, to almost the same Place. Doubtless, they may afford good Oil; but I have no Experience of any Profits which arise from them.

Sword-Fish. The Sword-Fish is the other of the Whale's Enemies, and joins with the Thrasher to destroy that Monster. After they have overcome him, they eat his Tongue, as I said before, and the Whale drives ashoar.

Crampois. Crampois is a large Fish, and by some accounted a young Whale; but it is not so; neither is it more than twenty five or thirty Foot long. They spout as the Whale does, and when taken yield good Oil.

Bottle-Noses. Bottle-Noses are between the Crampois and Porpois, and lie near the Soundings. They are never seen to swim leisurely, as sometimes all other Fish do, but are continually running after their Prey in Great Shoals, like wild Horses, leaping now and then above the Water. The *French* esteem them good Food, and eat them both fresh and salt.

Porpoises. Porpoises are frequent, all over the Ocean and Rivers that are salt; nay, we have a Fresh-Water Lake in the great Sound of North *Carolina* that has Porpoises in it. And several sorts of other unknown Fish, as the *Indians* say, that we are wholly Strangers to. As to the Porpoises, they make good Oil;

Oil; they prey upon other Fiſh as Drums, yet never are known to take a Bait, ſo as to be catch'd with a Hook.

Of theſe there are two ſorts; one call'd *Paracooda*-Noſes; the other Shovel-Noſes; they cannot take their Prey before they turn themſelves on their Backs; wherefore ſome Negro's, and others, that can ſwim and dive well, go naked into the Water, with a Knife in their Hand, and fight the Shark, and very commonly kill him, or wound him ſo, that he turns Tail, and runs away. Their Livors make good Oil to dreſs Leather withal; the Bones found in their Head are ſaid to haſten the Birth, and eaſe the Stone, by bringing it away. Their Meat is eaten in ſcarce times; but I never could away with it, though a great Lover of Fiſh. Their Back-Bone is of one entire Thickneſs. Of the Bones, or Joints, I have known Buttons made, which ſerve well enough in ſcarce Times, and remote Places. *Sharks.*

The Dog-Fiſh are a ſmall ſort of the Shark Kind; and are caught with Hook and Line, fiſhing for Drums. They ſay, they are good Meat; but we have ſo many other ſorts of delicate Fiſh, that I ſhall hardly ever make Tryal what they are. *Dog-Fiſh.*

Spaniſh Mackarel are, in Colour and Shape, like the common Mackarel, only much thicker. They are caught with Hook and Line at the Inlets, and ſometimes out a little way at Sea. They are a very fine hard Fiſh, and of good Taſte. They are about two Foot long, or better. Spaniſh-*Mackarel.*

Cavallies are taken in the ſame Places. They are of a browniſh Colour, have exceeding ſmall Scales, and a very thick Skin; they are as firm a Fiſh as ever I ſaw; therefore will keep ſweet (in the hot Weather) two days, when others will ſtink in half a day, unleſs ſalted. They ought to be ſcaled as ſoon as taken; otherwiſe you muſt pull off the Skin and Scales, when boiled; the Skin being the choiceſt of the Fiſh. The Meat, which is white and large, is dreſs'd with this Fiſh. *Cavallies.*

Boneto's are a very palatable Fiſh, and near a Yard long. They haunt the Inlets and Water near the Ocean; and are killed with the Harpoon, and Fiſhgig. *Boneto's.*

The Blue Fiſh is one of our beſt Fiſhes, and always very fat. They are as long as a Salmon, and indeed, I think, full as good Meat. Theſe Fiſh come (in the Fall of the Year) generally *Blue Fiſh.*

generally after there has been one black Froſt, when there appear great Shoals of them. The *Hatteras Indians*, and others, run into the Sands of the Sea, and ſtrike them, though ſome of theſe Fiſh have cauſed Sickneſs and violent Burnings after eating of them, which is found to proceed from the Gall that is broken in ſome of them, and is hurtful. Sometimes, many Cart-loads of theſe are thrown and left dry on the Sea ſide, which comes by their eager Purſuit of the ſmall Fiſh, in which they run themſelves aſhoar, and the Tide leaving them, they cannot recover the Water again. They are called Blue-Fiſh, becauſe they are of that Colour, and have a forked Tail, and are ſhaped like a Dolphin.

Red-Drum The Red Drum is a large Fiſh much bigger than the Blue-Fiſh. The Body of this is good firm Meat, but the Head is beyond all the Fiſh I ever met withal for an excellent Diſh. We have greater Numbers of theſe Fiſh, than of any other ſort. People go down and catch as many Barrels full as they pleaſe, with Hook and Line, eſpecially every young Flood, when they bite. Theſe are ſalted up, and tranſported to other Colonies, that are bare of Proviſions.

Black-Drum. Black Drums are a thicker-made Fiſh than the Red Drum, being ſhap'd like a fat Pig; they are a very good Fiſh, but not ſo common with us as to the Northward.

Angel-Fiſh. The Angel-Fiſh is ſhaped like an *Engliſh* Bream. He is ſo call'd, from his golden Colour, which ſhines all about his Head and Belly. This is accounted a very good Fiſh, as are moſt in theſe Parts. The *Bermudians* have the ſame ſort of Fiſh, and eſteem them very much.

Rock-Fiſh. Baſs or Rock is both in Salt and Freſh-Water; when young, he much reſembles a Grayling, but grows to the ſize of the large Cod-Fiſh. They are a very good firm Fiſh. Their Heads are ſouced, and make a noble Diſh, if large.

Sheeps-Head. Sheeps-Head has the general Vogue of being the choiceſt Fiſh in this Place. Indeed, it is a very delicate Fiſh, and well reliſh'd; yet I think, there are ſeveral others full as good as the Sheeps-Head. He is much of the Bigneſs of the Angel-Fiſh, and flat as he is; they ſometimes weigh two or three Pound Weight. This Fiſh hath Teeth like a Sheep, and is therefore ſo call'd.

Plaice. Plaice are here very large, and plentiful, being the ſame as in *England*.

Flounders

Flounders ſhould have gone amongſt the Freſh-Water Fiſh, becauſe they are caught there, in great Plenty. *Flounder.*

Soles are a Fiſh we have but lately diſcover'd; they are as good, as in any other Part. *Soles.*

Mullets, the ſame as in *England*, and great Plenty in all Places where the Water is ſalt or brackiſh. *Mullets.*

Shads are a ſweet Fiſh, but very bony; they are very plentiful at ſome Seaſons. *Shads.*

Fat-Backs are a ſmall Fiſh, like Mullets, but the fatteſt ever known. They put nothing into the Pan, to fry theſe. They are excellent ſweet Food. *Fat-Backs.*

The white Guard-Fiſh is ſhaped almoſt like a Pike, but ſlenderer; his Mouth has a long ſmall Bill ſet with Teeth, in which he catches ſmall Fiſh; his Scales are knit together like Armour. When they dreſs him, they ſtrip him, taking off Scales and Skin together. His Meat is very white, and rather looks like Fleſh than Fiſh. The *Engliſh* account them no good Fiſh; but the *Indians* do. The Gall of this Fiſh is green, and a violent Cathartick, if taken inwardly. *White Guard-Fiſh.*

The green Guard is ſhaped, in all reſpects, like the other, ſave that his Scales are very ſmall and fine. He is indifferent good Meat; his Bones, when boil'd or fry'd, remain as green as Graſs. The ſame ſort of Fiſh come before the Mackarel in *England*. *Green-Guard.*

Scate, or Stingray, the ſame as in *England*, and very common; but the great Plenty of other Fiſh makes theſe not regarded; for few or none eat them in *Carolina*, though they are almoſt at every ones Door. *Scate.*

Thornbacks are the ſame as in *England*. They are not ſo common as the Scate and Whip-Rays. *Thornback.*

Congar-Eels always remain in the Salt-Water; they are much more known in the Northward Parts of *America*, than with us. *Congar-Eels.*

Lampreys are not common; I never ſaw but one, which was large, and caught by the *Indians*, in a Ware. They would not eat him, but gave him to me. *Lamprey.*

Eels are no where in the World better, or more plentiful, than in *Carolina*. *Eels.*

Sun-Fiſh are flat and rounder than a Bream, and are reckon'd a fine-taſted Fiſh, and not without Reaſon. They are much the ſize of Angel-Fiſh. *Sun-Fiſh.*

Toad-Fish. Toad-Fish are nothing but a Skin full of Prickles, and a few Bones; they are as ugly as a Toad, and preserv'd to look upon, and good for nothing else.

Sea-Tench. They are taken by a Bait, near the Inlet, or out at Sea a little way. They are blackish, and exactly like a Tench, except in the Back-fins, which have Prickles like a Pearch. They are as good, if not better than any Tench.

Salt-Water Trouts. Trouts of the Salt-Water are exactly shaped like the Trouts in *Europe*, having blackish, not red Spots. They are in the Salts, and are not red within, but white, yet a very good Fish. They are so tender, that if they are in or near fresh Water, and a sudden Frost come, they are benumm'd, and float on the Surface of the Water, as if dead; and then they take up Canoe-Loads of them. If you put them into warm Water, they presently recover.

Crocus. The Crocus is a Fish, in Shape like a Pearch, and in Taste like a Whiting. They croke and make a Noise in your Hand, when taken with Hook or Net. They are very good.

Herring. The Herrings in *Carolina* are not so large as in *Europe*. They spawn there in *March* and *April*, running up the fresh Rivers and small fresh Runs of Water in great Shoals, where they are taken. They become red if salted; and, dress't with Vinegar and Oil, resemble an Anchovy very much; for they are far beyond an *English* Herring, when pickled.

Smelts. The same as in *England*; they lie down a great way in the Sound, towards the Ocean, where (at some certain Seasons) are a great many very fine ones.

Bredms. The fresh Water affords no such Bream as in *England*, that I have as yet discover'd; yet there is a Sea-Bream, which is a flat and thin Fish, as the *European* Breams are.

Taylors. The Taylor is a Fish about the Bigness of a Trout, but of a bluish and green Colour, with a forked Tail, as a Mackarel has. They are a delicate Fish, and plentiful in our Salt-Waters. Infinite numbers of other Species will be hereafter discover'd as yet unknown to us; although I have seen and eaten of several other sorts of Fish, which are not here mention'd, because, as yet, they have no certain Names assign'd them. Therefore, I shall treat no farther of our Salt-Water Fish, but proceed to the Fresh.

Fresh Water Sturgeon. The first of these is the Sturgeon, of which we have Plenty, all the fresh Parts of our Rivers being well stor'd therewith.

The

The *Indians* upon and towards the Heads and Falls of our Rivers, ſtrike a great many of theſe, and eat them; yet the *Indians* near the Salt-Waters will not eat them. I have ſeen an *Indian* ſtrike one of theſe Fiſh, ſeven Foot long, and leave him on the Sands to be eaten by the Gulls. In *May*, they run up towards the Heads of the Rivers, where you ſee ſeveral hundreds of them in one day. The *Indians* have another way to take them, which is by Nets at the end of a Pole. The Bones of theſe Fiſh make good Nutmeg-Graters.

Pike. The Jack, Pike, or Pickerel, is exactly the ſame, in *Carolina*, as they are in *England*. Indeed, I never ſaw this Fiſh ſo big and large in *America*, as I have in *Europe*, theſe with us being ſeldom above two Foot long, as far as I have yet ſeen. They are very plentiful with us in *Carolina*, all our Creeks and Ponds being full of them. I once took out of a Ware, above three hundred of theſe Fiſh, at a time.

Trouts. The ſame in *England* as in *Carolina*; but ours are a great way up the Rivers and Brooks, that are freſh, having ſwift Currents, and ſtony, and gravelly Bottoms.

Gudgeons. The ſame Gudgeons as in *Europe* are found in *America*.

First Pearch. The ſame ſort of Pearch as are in *England*, we have likewiſe in *Carolina*, though, I think, ours never riſe to be ſo large as in *England*.

Second Pearch. We have a white Pearch, ſo call'd, becauſe he is of a Silver Colour, otherwiſe like the *Engliſh* Pearch. Theſe we have in great Plenty, and they are preferable to the red ones.

Third Pearch. The brown Pearch, which ſome call *Welch-men*, are the largeſt ſort of Pearches that we have, and very firm, white and ſweet Fiſh. Theſe grow to be larger than any Carp, and are very frequent in every Creek and Pond.

Fourth flat. The flat or mottled Pearch are ſhaped almoſt like a Bream. They are called *Iriſh-men*, being freckled or mottled with black, and blue Spots. They are never taken any where, but in the freſh Water. They are good Fiſh; but I do not approve of them, no more than of the other ſorts of Pearch.

Fifth Pearch, or Round Robin. We have another ſort of Pearch, which is the leaſt ſort of all, but as good Meat as any. Theſe are diſtinguiſh'd from the other ſorts, by the Name of *Round-Robins*; being flat, and very round-ſhap'd; they are ſpotted with red Spots very

beautiful, and are eaſily caught with an Angle, as all the other ſort of Pearches are.

Carp. We have the ſame Carp as you have in *England.*

Roach. And the ſame Roach; only ſcarce ſo large.

Dace. Dace are the ſame as yours too; but neither are theſe ſo large nor plentiful, as with you.

Loach. The ſame as in *England.*

Sucking-Fiſh. Sucking-Fiſh are the neareſt in Taſte and Shape to a Barbel, only they have no Barbs.

Cat-Fiſh. Cat-Fiſh are a round blackiſh Fiſh, with a great flat Head, a wide Mouth, and no Scales; they ſomething reſemble Eels in Taſte. Both this ſort, and another that frequents the Salt Water, are very plentiful.

Grindals. Grindals are a long ſcaled Fiſh with ſmall Eyes; and frequent Ponds, Lakes, and ſlow-running Creeks and Swamps. They are a ſoft ſorry Fiſh, and good for nothing; though ſome eat them for good Fiſh.

Old-Wives. Theſe are a bright ſcaly Fiſh, which frequent the Swamps, and freſh Runs; they ſeem to be between an *Engliſh* Roach and a Bream, and eat much like the latter. The *Indians* kill abundance of theſe, and barbakue them, till they are criſp, then tranſport them, in wooden Hurdles, to their Towns and Quarters.

Fountain-Fiſh. The Fountain-Fiſh are a white ſort which breed in the clear Running Springs and Fountains of Water, where the Clearneſs thereof makes them very difficult to be taken. I cannot ſay how good they are; becauſe I have not as yet taſted of them.

White-Fiſh. The white Fiſh are very large; ſome being two Foot and a half long and more. They are found a great way up in the Freſhes of the Rivers; and are firm Meat, and an extraordinary well-reliſh'd Fiſh.

Barbouts Millers Thumbs. Barbouts and Millers-Thumbs, are the very ſame here, in all reſpects, as they are in *England.* What more are in the freſh Waters we have not diſcover'd, but are ſatisfied, that we are not acquainted with one third part thereof; for we are told by the *Indians*, of a great many ſtrange and uncouth ſhapes and ſorts of Fiſh, which they have found in the Lakes laid down in my Chart. However as we can give no farther Account of theſe than by Hear-ſay; I proceed to treat of the Shell-

Shell-Fiſh that are found in the Salt-Water, ſo far as they have already come to our Knowledge.

The large Crabs, which we call Stone-Crabs, are the ſame ſort as in *England*, having black Tips at the end of their Claws. Theſe are plentifully met withal, down in *Core* Sound, and the South Parts of North-*Carolina*. *Large Crabs*

The ſmaller flat Crabs I look upon to be the ſweeteſt of all the Species. They are the Breadth of a luſty Man's Hand, or rather larger. Theſe are innumerable, lying in moſt prodigious quantities, all over the Salts of *Carolina*. They are taken not only to eat, but are the beſt Bait for all ſorts of Fiſh, that live in the Salt-Water. Theſe Fiſh are miſchievous to Night-Hooks, becauſe they get away all the Bait from the Hooks. *Small flat Crabs.*

Oyſters, great and ſmall, are found almoſt in every Creek and Gut of Salt-Water, and are very good and well-reliſh'd. The large Oyſters are excellent, pickled. *Oyſters.*

One Cockle in *Carolina* is as big as five or ſix in *England*. They are often thrown upon the Sands on the Sound-Side, where the Gulls are always ready to open and eat them. *Cockles.*

Clams are a ſort of Cockles, only differing in Shell, which is thicker and not ſtreak'd, or ribb'd. Theſe are found throughout all the Sound and Salt-Water-Ponds. The Meat is the ſame for Look and Taſte as the Cockle. Theſe make an excellent ſtrong Broth, and eat well, either roaſted or pickled. *Clams.*

The Muſcles in *Carolina* have a very large Shell, ſtriped with Dents. They grow by the ſide of Ponds and Creeks, in Salt-Water, wherein you may get as many of them as you pleaſe. I do not like them ſo well as the *Engliſh* Muſcle, which is no good Shell-Fiſh. *Muſcles.*

Some of the Shells of theſe are as large as a Man's Hand; but the leſſer ſort are the beſt Meat, and thoſe not extraordinary. They are ſhap'd like the end of a Horſes Yard. Of their Shells, the Peak or *Wampum* is made, which is the richeſt Commodity amongſt the *Indians*. They breed like a long Thing ſhap'd like a Snake, but containing a ſort of Joints, in the Hollowneſs whereof are thouſands of ſmall Coaks, no bigger then ſmall Grains of Pepper. *Conks.*

The

Skellops. The Skellops, if well dreſs'd, are a pretty Shell-Fiſh; but to eat them only roaſted, without any other Addition, in my Judgment, are too luſcious.

Man of Noſes. Man of Noſes are a Shell-Fiſh commonly found amongſt us. They are valued for increaſing Vigour in Men, and making barren Women fruitful; but I think they have no need of that Fiſh; for the Women in *Carolina* are fruitful enough without their Helps.

Wilks. Wilks, or Periwinkles, are not ſo large here, as in the Iſlands of *Scilly*, and in other Parts of *Europe*, though very ſweet.

Snail-Horn. The Sea-Snail-Horn is large, and very good Meat; they are exactly ſhaped as other Snail-Horns are.

Fidlar. Fidlars are a ſort of ſmall Crabs, that lie in Holes in the Marſhes. The Raccoons eat them very much. I never knew any one try, whether they were good Meat or no.

Runner. Runners live chiefly on the Sands, but ſometimes run into the Sea. They have Holes in the Sand-Beaches and are a whitiſh ſort of a Crab. Tho' ſmall, they run as faſt as a Man, and are good for nothing but to look at.

Spaniſh-*Oyſters.* *Spaniſh* Oyſters have a very thin Shell, and rough on the outſide. They are very good Shell-Fiſh, and ſo large, that half a dozen are enow to ſatisfy an hungry Stomach.

Flattings. The Flattings are incloſed in a broad, thin Shell, the whole Fiſh being flat. They are inferiour to no Shell-Fiſh this Country affords.

Finger-Fiſh. Finger-Fiſh are very plentiful in this Country; they are of the Length of a Man's Finger, and lie in the Bottom of the Water about one or two Foot deep. They are very good.

Shrimps. Shrimps are here very plentiful and good, and are to be taken with a Small-Bow-Net, in great Quantities.

Small-Cockles. The ſmall Cockles are about the Bigneſs of the largeſt *Engliſh* Cockles, and differ nothing from them, unleſs in the Shells, which are ſtriped croſs-wiſe as well as long-wiſe.

The Freſh-Water Shell-Fiſh are,

Muſcles. Muſcles, which are eaten by the *Indians*, after five or ſix hours Boiling, to make them tender, and then are good for nothing.

Craw-

Craw-Fish, in the Brooks, and small Rivers of Water, amongst the *Tuskeruro Indians*, and up higher, are found very plentifully, and as good as any in the World. *Craw-Fish*

And thus I have gone through the several Species of Fish, so far as they have come to my Knowledge, in the eight Years that I have lived in *Carolina*. I should have made a larger Discovery, when travelling so far towards the Mountains, and amongst the Hills, had it not been in the Winter-Season, which was improper to make any Enquiry into any of the Species before recited. Therefore, as my Intent was, I proceed to what remains of the *Present State* of *Carolina*, having already accounted for the Animals, and Vegetables, as far as this Volume would allow of; whereby the Remainder, though not exactly known, may yet be guess'd at, if we consider what Latitude *Carolina* lies in, which reaches from 29 to 36 deg. 30 min. Northern Latitude, as I have before observ'd. Which Latitude is as fertile and pleasant, as any in the World, as well for the Produce of Minerals, Fruit, Grain, and Wine, as other rich Commodities. And indeed, all the Experiments that have been made in *Carolina*, of the Fertility and natural Advantages of the Country, have exceeded all Expectation, as affording some Commodities, which other Places, in the same Latitude, do not. As for Minerals, as they are subterraneous Products, so, in all new Countries, they are the Species that are last discover'd; and especially, in *Carolina*, where the *Indians* never look for any thing lower than the Superficies of the Earth, being a Race of Men the least addicted to delving of any People that inhabit so fine a Country as *Carolina* is. As good if not better Mines than those the *Spaniards* possess in *America*, lie full West from us; and I am certain, we have as Mountainous Land, and as great Probability of having rich Minerals in *Carolina*, as any of those Parts that are already found to be so rich therein. But, waving this Subject, till some other Opportunity, I shall now give you some Observations in general, concerning *Carolina*; which are, first, that it lies as convenient for Trade as any of the Plantations in *America*; that we have Plenty of Pitch, Tar, Skins of Deer, and Beeves, Furs, Rice, Wheat, Rie, *Indian Grain*, sundry sorts of Pulse, Turpentine, Rozin, Masts, Yards, Planks and Boards, Staves and Lumber, Timber of many common sorts, fit for any Uses; Hemp, Flax, Barley, Oats,

Oats, Buck-Wheat, Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Whale-Bone and Oil, Wax, Cheeſe, Butter, *&c.* beſides Drugs, Dyes, Fruit, Silk, Cotton, Indico, Oil, and Wine that we need not doubt of, as ſoon as we make a regular Eſſay, the Country being adorn'd with pleaſant Meadows, Rivers, Mountains, Valleys, Hills, and rich Paſtures, and bleſſed with wholeſome pure Air; eſpecially a little backwards from the Sea, where the wild Beaſts inhabit, none of which are voracious. The Men are active, the Women fruitful to Admiration, every Houſe being full of Children, and ſeveral Women that have come hither barren, having preſently prov'd fruitful. There cannot be a richer Soil, no Place abounding more in Fleſh and Fowl, both wild and tame, beſides Fiſh, Fruit, Grain, Cider, and many other pleaſant Liquors; together with ſeveral other Neceſſaries for Life and Trade, that are daily found out, as new Diſcoveries are made. The Stone and Gout ſeldom trouble us; the Conſumption we are wholly Strangers to, no Place affording a better Remedy for that Diſtemper, than *Carolina*. For Trade, we lie ſo near to *Virginia*, that we have the Advantage of their Convoys; as alſo Letters from thence, in two or three Days at moſt, in ſome Places in as few Hours. Add to this, that the great Number of Ships which come within thoſe Capes, for *Virginia* and *Maryland*, take off our Proviſions, and give us Bills of Exchange for *England*, which is Sterling Money. The Planters in *Virginia* and *Maryland* are forc'd to do the ſame, the great Quantities of Tobacco that are planted there, making Proviſions ſcarce; and Tobacco is a Commodity oftentimes ſo low, as to bring nothing, whereas Proviſions and Naval Stores never fail of a Market. Beſides, where theſe are raiſed, in ſuch Plenty as in *Carolina*, there always appears good Houſekeeping, and Plenty of all manner of delicate Eatables. For Inſtance, the Pork of *Carolina* is very good, the younger Hogs fed on Peaches, Maiz, and ſuch other natural Produce; being ſome of the ſweeteſt Meat that the World affords, as is acknowledged by all Strangers that have been there. And as for the Beef, in *Pampticough*, and the Southward Parts, it proves extraordinary. We have not only Proviſions plentiful, but Cloaths of our own Manufactures, which are made, and daily increaſe; Cotton, Wool, Hemp, and Flax, being of our own Growth; and the Women

men to be highly commended for their Industry in Spinning, and ordering their Housewifry to so great Advantage as they generally do; which is much more easy, by reason this happy Climate, visited with so mild Winters, is much warmer than the Northern Plantations, which saves abundance of Cloaths; fewer serving our Necessities, and those of our Servants. But this is not all; for we can go out with our Commodities, to any other Part of the *West-Indies*, or elsewhere, in the Depth of Winter; whereas, those in *New-England*, *New-York*, *Pensylvania*, and the Colonies to the Northward of us, cannot stir for Ice, but are fast lock'd into their Harbours. Besides, we can trade with South-*Carolina*, and pay no Duties or Customs, no more than their own Vessels, both North and South being under the same *Lords-Proprietors*. We have, as I observ'd before, another great Advantage, in not being a Frontier, and so continually alarm'd by the Enemy; and what has been accounted a Detriment to us, proves one of the greatest Advantages any People could wish; which is, our Country's being faced with a Sound near ten Leagues over in some Places, through which, although their be Water enough for as large Ships to come in at, as in any part hitherto seated in both *Carolinas*; yet the Difficulty of that Sound to Strangers, hinders them from attempting any Hostilities against us; and, at the same time, if we consider the Advantages thereof, nothing can appear to be a better Situation, than to be fronted with such a Bulwark, which secures us from our Enemies. Furthermore, our Distance from the Sea rids us of two Curses, which attend most other Parts of *America*, *viz.* Muskeetos, and the Worm-biting, which eats Ships Bottoms out; whereas at *Bath-Town*, there is no such thing known; and as for Muskeetos, they hinder us of as little Rest, as they do you in *England*. Add to this, the unaccountable Quantities of Fish this great Water, or Sound, supplies us withal, whenever we take the Pains to fish for them; Advantages I have no where met withal in *America*, except here. As for the Climate, we enjoy a very wholsome and serene Sky, and a pure and thin Air, the Sun seldom missing to give us his daily Blessing, unless now and then on a Winters Day, which is not often; and when cloudy, the first Appearance of a North-West Wind clears the Horizon, and restores the Light of the Sun. The Weather, in Summer, is very plea-

ſant; the hotter Months being refreſh'd with continual Breezes of cool reviving Air; and the Spring being as pleaſant, and beautiful, as in any Place I ever was in. The Winter, moſt commonly, is ſo mild, that it looks like an Autumn, being now and then attended with clear and thin North-Weſt Winds, that are ſharp enough to regulate *Engliſh* Conſtitutions, and free them from a great many dangerous Diſtempers, that a continual Summer afflicts them withal, nothing being wanting, as to the natural Ornaments and Bleſſings of a Country, that conduce to make reaſonable Men happy. And, for thoſe that are otherwiſe, they are ſo much their own Enemies, where they are, that they will ſcarce ever be any ones Friends, or their own, when they are tranſplanted; ſo, it's much better for all ſides, that they remain as they are. Not but that there are ſeveral good People, that, upon juſt Grounds, may be uneaſy under their preſent Burdens; and ſuch I would adviſe to remove to the Place I have been treating of, where they may enjoy their Liberty and Religion, and peaceably eat the Fruits of their Labour, and drink the Wine of their own Vineyards, without the Alarms of a troubleſome worldly Life. If a Man be a *Botaniſt*, here is a plentiful Field of *Plants* to divert him in; If he be a *Gardner*, and delight in that pleaſant and happy Life, he will meet with a Climate and Soil, that will further and promote his Deſigns, in as great a Meaſure, as any Man can wiſh for; and as for the Conſtitution of this Government, it is ſo mild and eaſy, in reſpect to the Properties and Liberties of a Subject, that without rehearſing the Particulars, I ſay once for all, it is the mildeſt and beſt eſtabliſh'd Government in the World, and the Place where any Man may peaceably enjoy his own, without being invaded by another; Rank and Superiority ever giving Place to Juſtice and Equity, which is the Golden Rule that every Government ought to be built upon, and regulated by. Beſides, it is worthy our Notice, that this Province has been ſettled, and continued the moſt free from the Inſults and Barbarities of the *Indians*, of any Colony that was ever yet ſeated in *America*; which muſt be eſteem'd as a particular Providence of God handed down from Heaven, to theſe People; eſpecially, when we conſider, how irregularly they ſettled North-*Carolina*, and yet how undiſturb'd they have ever remain'd, free from any foreign Danger

ger or Loſs, even to this very Day. And what may well be look'd upon for as great a Miracle, this is a Place, where no Malefactors are found, deſerving Death, or even a Priſon for Debtors; there being no more than two Perſons, that, as far as I have been able to learn, ever ſuffer'd as Criminals, although it has been a Settlement near ſixty Years; One of whom was a *Turk* that committed *Murder*; the other, an old Woman, for *Witchcraft*. Theſe, 'tis true, were on the Stage, and acted many Years, before I knew the Place; but as for the laſt, I wiſh it had been undone to this day; although they give a great many Arguments, to juſtifie the Deed, which I had rather they ſhould have a Hand in, than myſelf; ſeeing I could never approve of taking Life away upon ſuch Accuſations, the Juſtice whereof I could never yet underſtand.

But, to return to the Subject in Hand; we there make extraordinary good Bricks throughout the Settlement. All ſorts of Handicrafts, as *Carpenters*, *Joiners*, *Maſons*, *Plaiſterers*, *Shooemakers*, *Tanners*, *Taylors*, *Weavers*, and moſt others, may, with ſmall Beginnings, and God's Bleſſing, thrive very well in this Place, and provide Eſtates for their Children, Land being ſold at a much cheaper Rate there, than in any other Place in *America*, and may, as I ſuppoſe, be purchaſed of the *Lords-Proprietors* here in *England*, or of the Governour there for the time being, by any that ſhall have a mind to tranſport themſelves to that Country. The Farmers that go thither (for which ſort of Men it is a very thriving Place) ſhould take with them ſome particular Seeds of Graſs, as Trefoil, Clover-graſs all ſorts, Sanfoin, and Common Graſs, or that which is a Rarity in *Europe*; eſpecially, what has ſprung and roſe firſt from a warm Climate, and will endure the Sun without flinching. Likewiſe, if there be any extraordinary ſort of Grain for Increaſe or Hardineſs, and ſome Fruit-Trees of choice Kinds, they will be both profitable and pleaſant to have with you, where you may ſee the Fruits of your Labour in Perfection, in a few Years. The neceſſary Inſtruments of Husbandry I need not acquaint the Husbandman withal; Hoes of all ſorts, and Axes muſt be had, with Saws, Wedges, Augurs, Nails, Hammers, and what other Things may be neceſſary for building with Brick, or Stone, which ſort your Inclination and Conveniency lead you to.

For, after having look'd over this Treatise, you must needs be acquainted with the Nature of the Country, and therefore cannot but be Judges, what it is that you will chiefly want. As for Land, none need want it for taking up, even in the Places there seated on the Navigable Creeks, Rivers, and Harbours, without being driven into remoter Holes and Corners of the Country, for Settlements, which all are forced to do, who, at this day, settle in most or all of the other *English* Plantations in *America*; which are already become so populous, that a New-Comer cannot get a beneficial and commodious Seat, unless he purchases, when, in most Places in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, a thousand Acres of good Land, seated on a Navigable Water, will cost a thousand Pounds; whereas, with us, it is at present obtain'd for the fiftieth Part of the Money. Besides, our Land pays to the *Lords*, but an easy Quit-Rent, or yearly Acknowledgement; and the other Settlements pay two Shillings *per* hundred. All these things duly weighed, any rational Man that has a mind to purchase Land in the Plantations for a Settlement of himself and Family, will soon discover the Advantages that attend the Settlers and Purchasers of Land in *Carolina*, above all other Colonies in the *English* Dominions in *America*. And as there is a free Exercise of all Persuasions amongst Christians, the *Lords-Proprietors*, to encourage Ministers of the Church of *England*, have given free Land towards the Maintenance of a Church, and especially, for the Parish of S. *Thomas* in *Pampticough*, over-against the Town, is already laid out for a Glebe of two hundred and twenty three Acres of rich well-situated Land, that a Parsonage-House may be built upon. And now I shall proceed to give an Account of the *Indians*, their Customs and Ways of Living, with a short Dictionary of their Speech.

A N

AN ACCOUNT OF THE *INDIANS* OF *NORTH-CAROLINA.*

THE *Indians*, which were the Inhabitants of *America*, when the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans* diſcover'd the ſeveral Parts of that Country, are the People which we reckon the Natives thereof; as indeed they were, when we firſt found out thoſe Parts, and appear'd therein. Yet this has not wrought in me a full Satisfaction, to allow theſe People to have been the Ancient Dwellers of the New-World, or Tract of Land we call *America*. The Reaſons that I have to think otherwiſe, are too many to ſet down here; but I ſhall give the Reader a few, before I proceed; and ſome others he will find ſcatter'd in my Writings elſewhere.

In *Carolina* (the Part I now treat of) are the faireſt Marks of a Deluge, (that at ſome time has probably made ſtrange Alterations, as to the Station that Country was then in) that ever I ſaw, or, I think, read of, in any Hiſtory. Amongſt the other Subterraneous Matters, that have been diſcover'd, we found, in digging of a Well that was twenty ſix foot deep, at the Bottom thereof, many large Pieces of the Tulip-Tree, and ſeveral other ſorts of Wood, ſome of which were cut and notch'd, and ſome ſquared, as the Joices of a Houſe are, which appear'd (in the Judgment of all that ſaw them) to be wrought with Iron Inſtruments; *Wood under Ground.*

it

it seeming impossible for any thing made of Stone, or what they were found to make use of, to cut Wood in that manner. It cannot be argu'd, that the Wood so cut, might float from some other Continent; because Hiccory and the Tulip-Tree are spontaneous in *America*, and in no other Places, that I could ever learn. It is to be acknowledg'd, that the *Spaniards* give us Relations of magnificent Buildings, which were raised by the *Indians* of *Mexico* and other Parts, which they discover'd, and conquer'd; amongst whom no Iron Instruments were found: But 'tis a great Misfortune, that no Person in that Expedition was so curious, as to take an exact Draught of the Fabricks of those People, which would have been a Discovery of great Value, and very acceptable to the Ingenious; for, as to the Politeness of Stones, it may be effected by Collision, and Grinding, which is of a contrary Nature, on several Accounts, and disproves not my Arguments, in the least.

Shells some Fathoms in the Earth, the Sea probably has thrown up in part of this Country.

Mexico Buildings.

Earthen Pots under Ground.

The next is, the Earthen Pots that are often found under Ground, and at the Foot of the Banks where the Water has wash'd them away. They are for the most part broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort, in Comparison of those the *Indians* use at this day, who have had no other, ever since the *English* discover'd *America*. The Bowels of the Earth cannot have alter'd them, since they are thicker, of another Shape, and Composition, and nearly approach to the Urns of the Ancient *Romans*.

Indian Peaches.

The Stone, Water-Melon and Gourds the Indians have always had.

Again, the Peaches, which are the only tame Fruit, or what is Foreign, that these People enjoy, which is an Eastern Product, and will keep and retain its vegetative and growing Faculty, the longest of any thing of that Nature, that I know of. The Stone, as I elsewhere have remark'd, is thicker than any other sort of the Peaches in *Europe*, or of the *European* sort, now growing in *America*, and is observed to grow if planted, after it has been for several Years laid by; and it seems very probable, that these People might come from some Eastern Country; for when you ask them whence their Fore-Fathers came, that first inhabited the Country, they will point to the Westward and say, *Where the Sun sleeps, our Forefathers came thence*, which, at that distance, may be reckon'd amongst the Eastern Parts of the World. And so this day, they are a shifting, wandring People; for I know some

ſome *Indian* Nations, that have chang'd their Settlements, many hundred Miles; ſometimes no leſs than a thouſand, as is prov'd by the *Savanna Indians*, who formerly lived on the Banks of the *Meſſiaſippi*, and remov'd thence to the Head of one of the Rivers of South-*Carolina*; ſince which, (for ſome Diſlike) moſt of them are remov'd to live in the Quarters of the *Iroquois* or *Sinnagars*, which are on the Heads of the Rivers that diſgorge themſelves into the Bay of *Cheſapeak*. I once met with a young *Indian* Woman, that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was ſold a Slave into *Virginia*. She ſpoke the ſame Language, as the *Coranine Indians*, that dwell near Cape-*Look-out*, allowing for ſome few Words, which were different, yet no otherwiſe, than that they might underſtand one another very well.

The *Indians* of North-*Carolina* are a well-ſhap'd clean-made People, of different Statures, as the *Europeans* are, yet chiefly inclin'd to be tall. They are a very ſtreight People, and never bend forwards, or ſtoop in the Shoulders, unleſs much overpower'd by old Age. Their Limbs are exceeding well-ſhap'd. As for their Legs and Feet, they are generally the handſomeſt in the World. Their Bodies are a little flat, which is occaſion'd, by being laced hard down to a Board, in their Infancy. This is all the Cradle they have, which I ſhall deſcribe at large elſewhere. Their Eyes are black, or of a dark Hazle; The White is marbled with red Streaks, which is ever common to theſe People, unleſs when ſprung from a white Father or Mother. Their Colour is of a tawny, which would not be ſo dark, did they not dawb themſelves with Bears Oil, and a Colour like burnt Cork. This is begun in their Infancy, and continued for a long time, which fills the Pores, and enables them better to endure the Extremity of the Weather. They are never bald on their Heads, although never ſo old, which, I believe, proceeds from their Heads being always uncover'd, and the greaſing their Hair (ſo often as they do) with Bears Fat, which is a great Nouriſher of the Hair, and cauſes it to grow very faſt. Amongſt the Bears Oil (when they intend to be fine) they mix a certain red Powder, that comes from a Scarlet Root which they get in the hilly Country, near the Foot of the great Ridge of Mountains, and it is no where elſe to be found. They have this Scarlet Root in great Eſteem, and ſell it for a very great Price

Indian well ſhap'd People.

Price, one to another. The Reaſon of its Value is, becauſe they not only go a long way for it, but are in great Danger of the *Sinnagars* or *Iroquois*, who are mortal Enemies to all our *Indians*, and very often take them Captives, or kill them, before they return from this Voyage. The *Tuskeruros* and other *Indians* have often brought this Seed with them from the Mountains; but it would never grow in our Land. With this and Bears Greaſe they anoint their Heads and Temples, which is eſteem'd as ornamental, as ſweet Powder to our Hair. Beſides, this Root has the Virtue of killing Lice, and ſuffers none to abide or breed in their Heads. For want of this Root, they ſometimes uſe *Pecoon*-Root, which is of a Crimſon Colour, but it is apt to die the Hair of an ugly Hue.

Their Eyes are commonly full and manly, and their Gate ſedate and majeſtick. They never walk backward and forward as we do, nor contemplate on the Affairs of Loſs and Gain; the things which daily perplex us. They are dexterous and ſteady both as to their Hands and Feet, to Admiration. They will walk over deep Brooks, and Creeks, on the ſmalleſt Poles, and that without any Fear or Concern. Nay, an *Indian* will walk on the Ridge of a Barn or Houſe and look down the Gable-end, and ſpit upon the Ground, as unconcern'd, as if he was walking on *Terra firma*. In Running, Leaping, or any ſuch other Exerciſe, their Legs ſeldom miſcarry, and give them a Fall; and as for letting any thing fall out of their Hands, I never yet knew one Example. They are no Inventers of any Arts or Trades worthy mention; the Reaſon of which I take to be, that they are not poſſeſs'd with that Care and Thoughtfulneſs, how to provide for the Neceſſaries of Life, as the *Europeans* are; yet they will learn any thing very ſoon. I have known an *Indian* ſtock Guns better than moſt of our *Joiners*, although he never ſaw one ſtock'd before; and beſides, his Working-Tool was only a ſorry Knife. I have alſo known ſeveral of them that were Slaves to the *Engliſh*, learn Handicraft-Trades very well and ſpeedily. I never ſaw a Dwarf amongſt them, nor but one that was Hump-back'd. Their Teeth are yellow with Smoaking Tobacco, which both Men and Women are much addicted to. They tell us, that they had Tobacco amongſt them, before the *Europeans* made any Diſcovery of that

No Dwarf.

that Continent. It differs in the Leaf from the ſweet-ſcented, and *Oroonoko*, which are the Plants we raiſe and cultivate in *America*. Theirs differs likewiſe much in the Smell, when green, from our Tobacco, before cured. They do not uſe the ſame way to cure it as we do; and therefore, the Difference muſt be very conſiderable in Taſte; for all Men (that know Tobacco) muſt allow, that it is the Ordering thereof which gives a Hogoo to that Weed, rather than any Natural Reliſh it poſſeſſes, when green. Although they are great Smokers, yet they never are ſeen to take it in Snuff, or chew it. *Indian Tobacco.*

They have no Hairs on their Faces (except ſome few) and thoſe but little, nor is there often found any Hair under their Arm-Pits. They are continually plucking it away from their Faces, by the Roots. As for their Privities, ſince they wore Tail-Clouts, to cover their Nakedneſs, ſeveral of the Men have a deal of Hair thereon. It is to be obſerv'd, that the Head of the *Penis* is cover'd (throughout all the Nations of the *Indians* I ever ſaw) both in Old and Young. Although we reckon theſe a very ſmooth People, and free from Hair; yet I once ſaw a middle-aged Man, that was hairy all down his Back; the Hairs being above an Inch long.

As there are found very few, or ſcarce any, Deformed, or Cripples, amongſt them, ſo neither did I ever ſee but one blind Man; and then they would give me no Account how his Blindneſs came. They had a Uſe for him, which was, to lead him with a Girl, Woman, or Boy, by a String; ſo they put what Burdens they pleaſed upon his Back, and made him very ſerviceable upon all ſuch Occaſions. No People have better Eyes, or ſee better in the Night or Day, than the *Indians*. Some alledge, that the Smoke of the Pitch-Pine, which they chiefly burn, does both preſerve and ſtrengthen the Eyes; as, perhaps, it may do, becauſe that Smoak never offends the Eyes, though you hold your Face over a great Fire thereof. This is occaſion'd by the volatile Part of the Turpentine, which riſes with the Smoke, and is of a friendly, balſamick Nature; for the Aſhes of the Pine-Tree afford no fix'd Salt in them. *Few Cripples.* *Indians good Eyes.*

They let their Nails grow very long, which, they reckon, is the Uſe Nails are deſign'd for, and laugh at the *Europeans* for *Not pair their Nails.*

for pairing theirs, which, they say, disarms them of that which Nature design'd them for.

Indians not robust. They are not of so robust and strong Bodies, as to lift great Burdens, and endure Labour and slavish Work, as the *Europeans* are; yet some that are Slaves, prove very good and laborious: But, of themselves, they never work as the *English* do, taking care for no farther than what is absolutely necessary to support Life. In Travelling and Hunting, they are very indefatigable; because that carries a Pleasure along with the Profit. I have known some of them very strong; and as for Running and Leaping, they are extraordinary Fellows, and will dance for several Nights together, with the greatest Briskness imaginable, their Wind never failing them.

No hard Workers.

Indians Dance of War. On what Account they make War. Their Dances are of different Natures; and for every sort of Dance, they have a Tune, which is allotted for that Dance; as, if it be a War-Dance, they have a warlike Song, wherein they express, with all the Passion and Vehemence imaginable, what they intend to do with their Enemies; how they will kill, roast, sculp, beat, and make Captive, such and such Numbers of them; and how many they have destroy'd before. All these Songs are made new for every Feast; nor is one and the same Song sung at two several Festivals. Some one of the Nation (which has the best Gift of expressing their Designs) is appointed by their King, and War-Captains, to make these Songs.

Indian Poet.

Dance of Peace. Others are made for Feasts of another Nature; as, when several Towns, or sometimes, different Nations have made Peace with one another; then the Song suits both Nations, and relates, how the bad Spirit made them go to War, and destroy one another; but it shall never be so again; but that their Sons and Daughters shall marry together, and the two Nations love one another, and become as one People.

They have a third sort of Feasts and Dances, which are always when the Harvest of Corn is ended; and in the Spring. The one, to return Thanks to the good Spirit, for the Fruits of the Earth; the other, to beg the same Blessings for the succeeding Year. And, to encourage the young Men to labour stoutly, in planting their Maiz and Pulse, they set a sort of an Idol in the Field, which is dress'd up exactly like an *Indian*, having all the *Indians* Habit, besides abundance of

of *Wampum*, and their Money, made of Shells, that hangs about his Neck. The Image none of the young Men dare approach; for the old ones will not ſuffer them to come near him, but tell them, that he is ſome famous *Indian* War-riour, that died a great while ago, and now is come amongſt them, to ſee if they work well, which if they do, he will go to the good Spirit, and ſpeak to him to ſend them Plenty of Corn, and to make the young Men all expert Hunters and mighty Warriours. All this while, the King and old Men ſit round the Image, and ſeemingly pay a profound Reſpect to the ſame. One great Help to theſe *Indians*, in carrying on theſe Cheats, and inducing Youth to do what they pleaſe, is, the uninterrupted Silence, which is ever kept and obſerv'd, with all the Reſpect and Veneration imaginable. *Plantation Idol.*

At theſe Feaſts, which are ſet out with all the Magnificence their Fare allows of, the Maſquerades begin at Night, and not before. There is commonly a Fire made in the middle of the Houſe, which is the largeſt in the Town, and is very often the Dwelling of their King, or War-Captain; where ſit two Men on the Ground, upon a Mat; one with a Rattle, made of a Gourd, with ſome Beans in it; the other with a Drum, made of an earthen Pot, cover'd with a dreſs'd-Deer-Skin, and one Stick in his Hand to beat thereon; and ſo they both begin the Song appointed. At the ſame time, one drums, and the other rattles, which is all the artificial Muſick of their own making I ever ſaw amongſt them. To theſe two Inſtruments they ſing, which carries no Air with it, but is a ſort of unſavoury Jargon; yet their Cadences and Raiſing of their Voices are form'd with that Equality and Exactneſs, that (to us *Europeans*) it ſeems admirable, how they ſhould continue theſe Songs, without once miſſing to agree, each with the others Note and Tune. *Maſquerade.* *Indian Muſicians.*

As for their Dancing, were there Maſters of that Profeſſion amongſt them, as there are with us, they would dearly earn their Money; for theſe Creatures take the moſt Pains at it, that Men are able to endure. I have ſeen thirty odd together a dancing, and every one dropp'd down with Sweat, as if Water had been poured down their Backs. They uſe thoſe hard Labours, to make them able to endure Fatigue, *Dancing.*

Indians *long winded.*

and improve their Wind, which indeed is very long and durable, it being a hard matter, in any Exercise, to dispossess them of it.

At these Feasts, they meet from all the Towns within fifty or sixty Miles round, where they buy and sell several Commodities, as we do at Fairs and Markets. Besides, they game very much, and often strip one another of all they have in the World; and what is more, I have known several of them play themselves away, so that they have remain'd the Winners Servants, till their Relations or themselves could pay the Money to redeem them; and when this happens, the Loser is never dejected or melancholy at the Loss, but laughs, and seems no less contented than if he had won. They never differ at Gaming, neither did I ever see a Dispute, about the Legality thereof, so much as rise amongst them.

Indian *Gaming.*

Their chiefest Game is a sort of Arithmetick, which is managed by a Parcel of small split Reeds, the Thickness of a small Bent; these are made very nicely, so that they part, and are tractable in their Hands. They are fifty one in Number, their Length about seven Inches; when they play, they throw part of them to their Antagonist; the Art is, to discover, upon sight, how many you have, and what you throw to him that plays with you. Some are so expert at their Numbers, that they will tell ten times together, what they throw out of their Hands. Although the whole Play is carried on with the quickest Motion it's possible to use, yet some are so expert at this Game, as to win great *Indian* Estates by this Play. A good Sett of these Reeds, fit to play withal, are valued and sold for a dress'd Doe-Skin.

Indian *Cards.*

They have several other Plays and Games; as, with the Kernels or Stones of Persimmons, which are in effect the same as our Dice, because Winning or Losing depend on which side appear uppermost, and how they happen to fall together.

Indian *Dice.*

Another Game is managed with a Batoon and a Ball, and resembles our Trap-ball; besides, several Nations have several Games and Pastimes, which are not used by others.

Indian *Trap-Ball.*

These Savages live in *Wigwams*, or Cabins built of Bark, which are made round like an Oven, to prevent any Damage by hard Gales of Wind. They make the Fire in the middle of the House, and have a Hole at the Top of the Roof right

Indian *Cabins.*

right above the Fire, to let out the Smoke. These Dwellings are as hot as Stoves, where the *Indians* sleep and sweat all Night. The Floors thereof are never paved nor swept, so that they have always a loose Earth on them. They are often troubled with a multitude of Fleas, especially near the Places where they dress their Deer-Skins, because that Hair harbours them; yet I never felt any ill, unsavory Smell in their Cabins, whereas, should we live in our Houses, as they do, we should be poison'd with our own Nastiness; which confirms these *Indians* to be, as they really are, some of the sweetest People in the World.

Fleas.

Indians a sweet People.

The Bark they make their Cabins withal, is generally Cypress, or red or white Cedar; and sometimes, when they are a great way from any of these Woods, they make use of Pine-Bark, which is the worser sort. In building these Fabricks, they get very long Poles, of Pine, Cedar, Hiccory, or any Wood that will bend; these are the Thickness of the Small of a Man's Leg, at the thickest end, which they generally strip of the Bark, and warm them well in the Fire, which makes them tough and fit to bend; afterwards, they stick the thickest ends of them in the Ground, about two Yards asunder, in a Circular Form, the distance they design the Cabin to be, (which is not always round, but sometimes oval) then they bend the Tops and bring them together, and bind their ends with Bark of Trees, that is proper for that use, as Elm is, or sometimes the Moss that grows on the Trees, and is a Yard or two long, and never rots; then they brace them with other Poles, to make them strong; afterwards, cover them all over with Bark, so that they are very warm and tight, and will keep firm against all the Weathers that blow. They have other sorts of Cabins without Windows, which are for their Granaries, Skins, and Merchandizes; and others that are cover'd over head; the rest left open for the Air. These have Reed-Hurdles, like Tables, to lie and sit on, in Summer, and serve for pleasant Banqueting-Houses in the hot Season of the Year. The Cabins they dwell in have Benches all round, except where the Door stands; on these they lay Beasts-Skins, and Mats made of Rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. In one of these, several Families commonly live, though all related to one another.

Making Cabins.

Black Moss.

Indians Store-Houses.

Indians Banqueting Houses.

As

As to the *Indians* Food, it is of several sorts, which are as follows.

Indian *Food.*

Venison, and Fawns in the Bags, cut out of the Doe's Belly; Fish of all sorts, the Lamprey-Eel excepted, and the Sturgeon our Salt-Water *Indians* will not touch; Bear and Bever; Panther; Pole-cat; Wild-cat; Possum; Raccoon; Hares, and Squirrels, roasted with their Guts in; Snakes, all *Indians* will not eat them, tho' some do; All wild Fruits that are palatable, some of which they dry and keep against Winter, as all sort of Fruits, and Peaches, which they dry, and make Quiddonies, and Cakes, that are very pleasant, and a little tartish; young Wasps, when they are white in the Combs, before they can fly, this is esteemed a Dainty; All sorts of Tortois and Terebins; Shell-Fish, and Stingray, or Scate, dry'd; Gourds; Melons; Cucumbers; Squashes; Pulse of all sorts; *Rockahomine* Meal, which is their Maiz, parch'd and pounded into Powder; Fowl of all sorts, that are eatable; Ground-Nuts, or wild Potato's; Acorns and Acorn Oil; Wild-Bulls, Beef, Mutton, Pork, *&c.* from the *English*; *Indian* Corn, or Maiz, made into several sorts of Bread; Ears of Corn roasted in the Summer, or preserv'd against Winter.

Feasts of Charity.

The Victuals is common, throughout the whole Kindred Relations, and often to the whole Town; especially, when they are in Hunting-Quarters, then they all fare alike, whichsoever of them kills the Game. They are very kind, and charitable to one another, but more especially to those of their own Nation; for if any one of them has suffer'd any Loss, by Fire or otherwise, they order the griev'd Person to make a Feast, and invite them all thereto, which, on the day appointed, they come to, and after every Man's Mess of Victuals is dealt to him, one of their Speakers, or grave old Men, makes an Harangue, and acquaints the Company, That that Man's House has been burnt, wherein all his Goods were destroy'd; That he, and his Family, very narrowly escaped; That he is every Man's Friend in that Company; and, That it is all their Duties to help him, as he would do to any of them, had the like Misfortune befallen them. After this Oration is over, every Man, according to his Quality, throws him down upon the Ground some Present, which is commonly Beads, *Ronoak*, *Peak*, Skins or Furs, and which very often amounts to treble the Loss he has suffer'd.

Indians *discern not between fat and lean Meat.*

fer'd. The ſame Aſſiſtance they give to any Man that wants to build a Cabin, or make a Canoe. They ſay, it is our Duty thus to do; for there are ſeveral Works that one Man cannot effect, therefore we muſt give him our Help, otherwiſe our Society will fall, and we ſhall be depriv'd of thoſe urgent Neceſſities which Life requires. They have no Fence to part one anothers Lots in their Corn-Fields; but every Man knows his own, and it ſcarce ever happens, that they rob one another of ſo much as an Ear of Corn, which if any is found to do, he is ſentenced by the Elders to work and plant for him that was robb'd, till he is recompenſed for all the Damage he has ſuffer'd in his Corn-Field; and this is punctually perform'd, and the Thief held in Diſgrace, that ſteals from any of his Country-Folks. It often happens, that a Woman is deſtitute of her Husband, and has a great many Children to maintain; ſuch a Perſon they always help, and make their young men plant, reap, and do every thing that ſhe is not capable of doing herſelf; yet they do not allow any one to be idle, but to employ themſelves in ſome Work or other.

Indians *no Fences.*

Indians *Charity to Widows.*

They never fight with one another, unleſs drunk, nor do you ever hear any Scolding amongſt them. They ſay, the *Europeans* are always rangling and uneaſy, and wonder they do not go out of this World, ſince they are ſo uneaſy and diſcontented in it. All their Misfortunes and Loſſes end in Laughter; for if their Cabins take Fire, and all their Goods are burnt therein, (indeed, all will ſtrive to prevent farther Damage, whilſt there is any Poſſibility) yet ſuch a Misfortune ends in a hearty Fitt of Laughter, unleſs ſome of their Kinsfolks and Friends have loſt their Lives; but then the Caſe is alter'd, and they become very penſive, and go into deep Mourning, which is continued for a conſiderable Time; ſometimes longer, or ſhorter, according to the Dignity of the Perſon, and the Number of Relations he had near him.

Indian *Women no Scolds.*

The Burial of their Dead is perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony, in which one Nation differs, in ſome few Circumſtances, from another, yet not ſo much but we may, by a general Relation, pretty nearly account for them all.

When an *Indian* is dead, the greater Perſon he was, the more expenſive is his Funeral. The firſt thing which is done, is, to place the neareſt Relations near the Corps, who mourn and weep very much, having their Hair hanging down their Shoulders,

Indian *Burial of their Dead.*

Shoulders, in a very forlorn manner. After the dead Perſon has lain a Day and a Night, in one of their Hurdles of Canes, commonly in ſome Out-Houſe made for that purpoſe, thoſe that officiate about the Funeral, go into the Town, and the firſt young Men they meet withal, that have Blankets or Match Coats on, whom they think fit for their Turn, they ſtrip them from their Backs, who ſuffer them ſo to do, without any Reſiſtance. In theſe they wrap the dead Bodies, and cover them with two or three Mats, which the *Indians* make of Ruſhes or Cane; and laſt of all, they have a long Web of woven Reeds, or hollow Canes, which is the Coffin of the *Indians*, and is brought round ſeveral times, and tied faſt at both ends, which indeed, looks very decent and well. Then the Corps is brought out of the Houſe, into the Orchard of Peach-Trees, where another Hurdle is made to receive it, about which comes all the Relations and Nation that the dead Perſon belong'd to, beſides ſeveral from other Nations in Alliance with them; all which ſit down on the Ground, upon Mats ſpread there, for that purpoſe; where the Doctor or Conjurer appears; and, after ſome time, makes a Sort of *O-yes*, at which all are very ſilent; then he begins to give an Account, who the dead Perſon was, and how ſtout a Man he approv'd himſelf; how many Enemies and Captives he had kill'd and taken; how ſtrong, tall, and nimble he was; that he was a great Hunter, a Lover of his Country, and poſſeſs'd of a great many beautiful Wives and Children, eſteem'd the greateſt of Bleſſings among theſe Savages, in which they have a true Notion. Thus this Orator runs on, highly extolling the dead Man, for his Valour, Conduct, Strength, Riches, and Good-Humour; and enumerating his Guns, Slaves and almoſt every thing he was poſſeſs'd of, when living. After which, he addreſſes himſelf to the People of that Town or Nation, and bids them ſupply the dead Man's Place, by following his ſteps, who, he aſſures them, is gone into the Country of Souls, (which they think lies a great way off, in this World, which the Sun viſits, in his ordinary Courſe) and that he will have the Enjoyment of handſome young Women, great Store of Deer to hunt, never meet with Hunger, Cold or Fatigue, but every thing to anſwer his Expectation and Deſire. This is the Heaven they propoſe to themſelves; but, on the contrary,

Indian *Funeral Sermon.*

for

for those *Indians* that are lazy, thievish amongst themselves, bad Hunters, and no Warriours, nor of much Use to the Nation, to such they allot, in the next World, Hunger, Cold, Troubles, old ugly Women for their Companions, with Snakes, and all sorts of nasty Victuals to feed on. Thus is mark'd out their Heaven and Hell. After all this Harangue, he diverts the People with some of their Traditions, as when there was a violent hot Summer, or very hard Winter; when any notable Distempers rag'd amongst them; when they were at War with such and such Nations; how victorious they were; and what were the Names of their War-Captains. To prove the times more exactly, he produces the Records of the Country, which are a Parcel of Reeds, of different Lengths, with several distinct Marks, known to none but themselves; by which they seem to guess, very exactly, at Accidents that happen'd many Years ago; nay two or three Ages or more. The Reason I have to believe what they tell me, on this Account, is, because I have been at the Meetings of several *Indian* Nations; and they agreed, in relating the same Circumstances, as to Time, very exactly; as, for Example, they say, there was so hard a Winter in *Carolina*, 105 years ago, that the great Sound was frozen over, and the Wild Geese came into the Woods to eat Acorns, and that they were so tame, (I suppose, through Want) that they kill'd abundance in the Woods, by knocking them on the Head with Sticks.

Indian Traditions.

A hard Winter.

But, to return to the dead Man. When this long Tale is ended, by him that spoke first; perhaps, a second begins another long Story; so a third, and fourth, if there be so many Doctors present; which all tell one and the same thing. At last, the Corps is brought away from that Hurdle to the Grave, by four young Men, attended by the Relations, the King, old Men, and all the Nation. When they come to the Sepulcre, which is about six Foot deep, and eight Foot long, having at each end (that is, at the Head and Foot) a Light-Wood, or Pitch-Pine Fork driven close down the sides of the Grave, firmly into the Ground; (these two Forks are to contain a Ridge-Pole, as you shall understand presently) before they lay the Corps into the Grave, they cover the bottom two or three times over with Bark of Trees, then they let down the Corps (with two Belts, that the *Indians*

Interment in the Grave.

dians carry their Burdens withal) very leiſurely, upon the ſaid Barks; then they lay over a Pole of the ſame Wood, in the two Forks, and having a great many Pieces of Pitch-Pine Logs, about two Foot and a half long, they ſtick them in the ſides of the Grave down each End, and near the Top thereof, where the other Ends lie on the Ridge-Pole, ſo that they are declining like the Roof of a Houſe. Theſe being very thick-plac'd, they cover them (many times double) with Bark; then they throw the Earth thereon, that came out of the Grave, and beat it down very firm; by this Means, the dead Body lies in a Vault, nothing touching him; ſo that when I ſaw this way of Burial, I was mightily pleas'd with it, eſteeming it very decent and pretty, as having ſeen a great many Chriſtians buried without the tenth Part of that Ceremony and Decency. Now, when the Fleſh is rotted and moulder'd from the Bone, they take up the Carcaſs, and clean the Bones, and joint them together; afterwards, they dreſs them up in pure white dreſs'd Deer-Skins, and lay them amongſt their Grandees and Kings in the *Quiogozon*, which is their Royal Tomb or Burial-Place of their Kings and War-Captains. This is a very large magnificent Cabin, (according to their Building) which is rais'd at the Publick Charge of the Nation, and maintain'd in a great deal of Form and Neatneſs. About ſeven foot high, is a Floor or Loft made, on which lie all their Princes, and Great Men, that have died for ſeveral hundred Years, all attir'd in the Dreſs I before told you of. No Perſon is to have his Bones lie here, and to be thus dreſs'd, unleſs he gives a round Sum of their Money to the Rulers, for Admittance. If they remove never ſo far, to live in a Foreign Country, they never fail to take all theſe dead Bones along with them, though the Tedioufneſs of their ſhort daily Marches keeps them never ſo long on their Journey. They reverence and adore this *Quiogozon*, with all the Veneration and Reſpect that is poſſible for ſuch a People to diſcharge, and had rather loſe all, than have any Violence or Injury offer'd thereto. Theſe Savages differ ſome ſmall matter in their Burials; ſome burying right upwards, and otherwiſe, as you are acquainted withal in my Journal from South to North *Carolina*; Yet they all agree in their Mourning, which is, to appear every Night, at the Sepulcre, and howl and weep in a very diſmal manner, having their Faces

Quiogozon *Idols.*

Idols at the Beds.

Mourning for the Dead.

dawb'd

dawb'd over with Light-wood Soot, (which is the ſame as Lamp-black) and Bears Oil. This renders them as black as it is poſſible to make themſelves, ſo that theirs very much reſemble the Faces of Executed Men boil'd in Tar. If the dead Perſon was a Grandee, to carry on the Funeral Ceremonies, they hire People to cry and lament over the dead Man. Of this ſort there are ſeveral, that practiſe it for a Livelihood, and are very expert at Shedding abundance of Tears, and howling like Wolves, and ſo diſcharging their Office with abundance of Hypocriſy and Art. The Women are never accompanied with theſe Ceremonies after Death; and to what World they allot that Sex, I never underſtood, unleſs, to wait on their dead Husbands; but they have more Wit, than ſome of the Eaſtern Nations, who ſacrifice themſelves to accompany their Husbands into the next World. It is the dead Man's Relations, by Blood, as his Uncles, Brothers, Siſters, Couſins, Sons, and Daughters, that mourn in good earneſt, the Wives thinking their Duty is diſcharg'd, and that they are become free, when their Husband is dead; ſo, as faſt as they can, look out for another, to ſupply his Place.

Indians hired to mourn.

As for the *Indian* Women, which now happen in my Way; when young, and at Maturity, they are as fine-ſhap'd Creatures (take them generally) as any in the Univerſe. They are of a tawny Complexion; their Eyes very brisk and amorous; their Smiles afford the fineſt Compoſure a Face can poſſeſs; their Hands are of the fineſt Make, with ſmall long Fingers, and as ſoft as their Cheeks; and their whole Bodies of a ſmooth Nature. They are not ſo uncouth or unlikely, as we ſuppoſe them; nor are they Strangers or not Proficients in the ſoft Paſſion. They are moſt of them mercenary, except the married Women, who ſometimes beſtow their Favours alſo to ſome or other, in their Husbands Abſence. For which they never ask any Reward. As for the Report, that they are never found unconſtant, like the *Europeans*, it is wholly falſe; for were the old World and the new one put into a Pair of Scales (in point of Conſtancy) it would be a hard Matter to diſcern which was the heavier. As for the Trading Girls, which are thoſe deſign'd to get Money by their Natural Parts, theſe are diſcernable, by the Cut of their Hair; their Tonſure differing from all others, of that Nati-

Indian Women handſome.

Married Women unconſtant.

Trading Girls.

on, who are not of their Profeſſion; which Method is intended to prevent Miſtakes; for the Savages of *America* are deſirous (if poſſible) to keep their Wives to themſelves, as well as thoſe in other Parts of the World. When any Addreſſes are made to one of theſe Girls, ſhe immediately acquaints her Parents therewith, and they tell the King of it, (provided he that courts her be a Stranger) his Majeſty commonly being the principal Bawd of the Nation he rules over, and there ſeldom being any of theſe *Wincheſter*-Weddings agreed on, without his Royal Conſent. He likewiſe adviſes her what Bargain to make, and if it happens to be an *Indian* Trader that wants a Bed-fellow, and has got Rum to ſell, be ſure, the King muſt have a large Dram for a Fee, to confirm the Match. Theſe *Indians*, that are of the elder ſort, when any ſuch Queſtion is put to them, will debate the Matter amongſt themſelves with all the Sobriety and Seriouſneſs imaginable, every one of the Girl's Relations arguing the Advantage or Detriment that may enſue ſuch a Night's Encounter; all which is done with as much Steadineſs and Reality, as if it was the greateſt Concern in the World, and not ſo much as one Perſon ſhall be ſeen to ſmile, ſo long as the Debate holds, making no Difference betwixt an Agreement of this Nature, and a Bargain of any other. If they comply with the Men's Deſire, then a particular Bed is provided for them, either in a Cabin by themſelves, or elſe all the young people turn out, to another Lodging, that they may not ſpoil Sport; and if the old People are in the ſame Cabin along with them all Night, they lie as unconcern'd, as if they were ſo many Logs of Wood. If it be an *Indian* of their own Town or Neighbourhood, that wants a Miſtreſs, he comes to none but the Girl, who receives what ſhe thinks fit to ask him, and ſo lies all Night with him, without the Conſent of her Parents.

Indian *Traders what.*

The *Indian* Traders are thoſe which travel and abide amongſt the *Indians* for a long ſpace of time; ſometimes for a Year, two, or three. Theſe Men have commonly their *Indian* Wives, whereby they ſoon learn the *Indian* Tongue, keep a Friendſhip with the Savages; and, beſides the Satisfaction of a She-Bed-Fellow, they find theſe *Indian* Girls very ſerviceable to them, on Account of dreſſing their Victuals, and inſtructing 'em in the Affairs and Cuſtoms of the Country.

Indian *Wives.*

More-

Moreover, ſuch a Man gets a great Trade with the Savages; for when a Perſon that lives amongſt them, is reſerv'd from the Converſation of their Women, 'tis impoſſible for him ever to accompliſh his Deſigns amongſt that People.

But one great Misfortune which oftentimes attends thoſe that converſe with theſe Savage Women, is, that they get Children by them, which are ſeldom educated any otherwiſe than in a State of Infidelity; for it is a certain Rule and Cuſtom, amongſt all the Savages of *America*, that I was ever acquainted withal, to let the Children always fall to the Woman's Lot; for it often happens, that two *Indians* that have liv'd together, as Man and Wife, in which Time they have had ſeveral Children; if they part, and another Man poſſeſſes her, all the Children go along with the Mother, and none with the Father. And therefore, on this Score, it ever ſeems impoſſible for the Chriſtians to get their Children (which they have by theſe *Indian* Women) away from them; whereby they might bring them up in the Knowledge of the Chriſtian Principles. Nevertheleſs, we often find, that *Engliſh* Men, and other *Europeans* that have been accuſtom'd to the Converſation of theſe ſavage Women, and their Way of Living, have been ſo allur'd with that careleſs ſort of Life, as to be conſtant to their *Indian* Wife, and her Relations, ſo long as they liv'd, without ever deſiring to return again amongſt the *Engliſh*, although they had very fair Opportunities of Advantages amongſt their Countrymen; of which ſort I have known ſeveral. *Children go with the Women.*

As for the *Indian* Marriages, I have read and heard of a great deal of Form and Ceremony uſed, which I never ſaw, nor yet could learn in the Time I have been amongſt them, any otherwiſe than I ſhall here give you an Account of; which is as follows.

When any young *Indian* has a Mind for ſuch a Girl to his Wife, he, or ſome one for him, goes to the young Woman's Parents, if living; if not, to her neareſt Relations; where they make Offers of the Match betwixt the Couple. The Relations reply, they will conſider of it, which ſerves for a ſufficient Anſwer, till there be a ſecond Meeting about the Marriage, which is generally brought into Debate before all the Relations (that are old People) on both Sides; and ſometimes the King, with all his great Men, give their Opinions there- *Indian Marriages.*

therein. If it be agreed on, and the young Woman approve thereof, (for these Savages never give their Children in Marriage, without their own Consent) the Man pays so much for his Wife; and the handsomer she is, the greater Price she bears. Now, it often happens, that the Man has not so much of their Money ready, as he is to pay for his Wife; but if they know him to be a good Hunter, and that he can raise the Sum agreed for, in some few Moons, or any little time, they agree, she shall go along with him, as betroth'd, but he is not to have any Knowledge of her, till the utmost Payment is discharg'd; all which is punctually observ'd. Thus, they lie together under one Covering for several Months, and the Woman remains the same as she was when she first came to him. I doubt, our *Europeans* would be apt to break this Custom, but the *Indian* Men are not so vigorous and impatient in their Love as we are. Yet the Women are quite contrary, and those *Indian* Girls that have convers'd with the *English* and other *Europeans*, never care for the Conversation of their own Countrymen afterwards.

Indians *buy their Wives.*

Indian *Men not vigorous.*

They never marry so near as a first Cousin; and although there is nothing more coveted amongst them, than to marry a Woman of their own Nation, yet when the Nation consists of a very few People (as now adays it often happens) so that they are all of them related to one another, then they look out for Husbands and Wives amongst Strangers. For if an *Indian* lies with his Sister, or any very near Relation, his Body is burnt, and his Ashes thrown into the River, as unworthy to remain on Earth; yet an *Indian* is allow'd to marry two Sisters, or his Brothers Wife. Although these People are call'd Savages, yet Sodomy is never heard of amongst them, and they are so far from the Practice of that beastly and loathsome Sin, that they have no Name for it in all their Language.

The Marriages of these *Indians* are no farther binding, than the Man and Woman agree together. Either of them has Liberty to leave the other, upon any frivolous Excuse they can make; yet whosoever takes the Woman that was another Man's before, and bought by him, as they all are, must certainly pay to her former Husband, whatsoever he gave for her. Nay, if she be a Widow, and her Husband died in Debt, whosoever takes her to Wife, pays all her Husband's Obligations,

tions, though never so many; yet the Woman is not required to pay any thing (unless she is willing) that was owing from her Husband, so long as she keeps Single. But if a Man courts her for a Nights Lodging, and obtains it, the Creditors will make him pay her Husband's Debts, and he may, if he will, take her for his Money, or sell her to another for his Wife. I have seen several of these Bargains driven in a day; for you may see Men selling their Wives as Men do Horses in a Fair, a Man being allow'd not only to change as often as he pleases, but likewise to have as many Wives as he is able to maintain. I have often seen, that very old *Indian* Men (that have been Grandees in their own Nation) have had three or four very likely young *Indian* Wives, which I have much wondered at, because to me they seem'd incapacitated to make good Use of one of them.

Selling Wives.

Indian many Wives.

The young Men will go in the Night from one House to another, to visit the young Women, in which sort of Rambles they will spend the whole Night. In their Addresses they find no Delays, for if she is willing to entertain the Man, she gives him Encouragement and grants him Admittance; otherwise she withdraws her Face from him, and says, I cannot see you, either you or I must leave this Cabin, and sleep somewhere else this Night.

Night Rambles.

They are never to boast of their Intrigues with the Women. If they do, none of the Girls value them ever after, or admit of their Company in their Beds. This proceeds not on the score of Reputation, for there is no such thing (on that account) known amongst them; and although we may reckon them the greatest Libertines and most extravagant in their Embraces, yet they retain and possess a Modesty that requires those Passions never to be divulged.

The Trading Girls, after they have led that Course of Life, for several Years, in which time they scarce ever have a Child; (for they have an Art to destroy the Conception, and she that brings a Child in this Station, is accounted a Fool, and her Reputation is lessen'd thereby) at last they grow weary of so many, and betake themselves to a married State, or to the Company of one Man; neither does their having been common to so many any wise lessen their Fortunes, but rather augment them.

Trading Girls marry at last.

The

Women not punish'd for Adultery.

The Woman is not punish'd for Adultery, but 'tis the Man that makes the injur'd Person Satisfaction, which is the Law of Nations practis'd amongst them all; and he that strives to evade such Satisfaction as the Husband demands, lives daily in Danger of his Life; yet when discharg'd, all Animosity is laid aside, and the Cuckold is very well pleased with his Bargain, whilst the Rival is laugh'd at by the whole Nation, for carrying on his Intrigue with no better Conduct, than to be discover'd and pay so dear for his Pleasure.

The *Indians* say, that the Woman is a weak Creature, and easily drawn away by the Man's Persuasion; for which Reason, they lay no Blame upon her, but the Man (that ought to be Master of his Passion) for persuading her to it.

Never Love-mad.

They are of a very hale Constitution; their Breaths are as sweet as the Air they breathe in, and the Woman seems to be of that tender Composition, as if they were design'd rather for the Bed then Bondage. Yet their Love is never of that Force and Continuance, that any of them ever runs Mad, or makes away with themselves on that score. They never love beyond Retrieving their first Indifferency, and when slighted, are as ready to untie the Knot at one end, as you are at the other.

Yet I knew an *European* Man that had a Child or two by one of these *Indian* Women, and afterwards married a Christian, after which he came to pass away a Night with his *Indian* Mistress; but she made Answer that she then had forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband, so fell a crying, and took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin (away from him) in great Disorder.

Indian Women what they do.

The *Indian* Womens Work is to cook the Victuals for the whole Family, and to make Mats, Baskets, Girdles of Possum-Hair, and such-like. They never plant the Corn amongst us, as they do amongst the *Iroquois*, who are always at War and Hunting; therefore, the Plantation Work is left for the Women and Slaves to perform, and look after; whilst they are wandring all over the Continent betwixt the two Bays of *Mexico* and St. *Laurence*.

Iroquois great Warriours.

Mats how made.

The Mats the *Indian* Women make, are of Rushes, and about five Foot high, and two Fathom long, and sew'd double, that is, two together; whereby they become very commodious

dious to lay under our Beds, or to ſleep on in the Summer Seaſon in the Day-time, and for our Slaves in the Night.

There are other Mats made of Flags, which the *Tuskeruro Indians* make, and ſell to the Inhabitants.

The Baskets our Neighbouring *Indians* make, are all made of a very fine ſort of Bulruſhes, and ſometimes of Silk-graſs, which they work with Figures of Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, *&c.* *Baskets.*

A great way up in the Country, both Baskets and Mats are made of the ſplit Reeds, which are only the outward ſhining Part of the Cane. Of theſe I have ſeen Mats, Baskets, and Dreſſing-Boxes, very artificially done.

The Savage Women of *America*, have very eaſy Travail with their Children; ſometimes they bring Twins, and are brought to bed by themſelves, when took at a Diſadvantage; not but that they have Midwives amongſt them, as well as Doctors, who make it their Profeſſion (for Gain) to aſſiſt and deliver Women, and ſome of theſe Midwives are very knowing in ſeveral Medicines that *Carolina* affords, which certainly expedite, and make eaſy Births. Beſides, they are unacquainted with thoſe ſevere Pains which follow the Birth in our *European* Women. Their Remedies area great Cauſe of this Eaſineſs in that State; for the *Indian* Women will run up and down the Plantation, the ſame day, very briskly, and without any ſign of Pain or Sickneſs; yet they look very meager and thin. Not but that we muſt allow a great deal owing to the Climate, and the natural Conſtitution of theſe Women, whoſe Courſe of Nature never viſits them in ſuch Quantities, as the *European* Women have. And tho' they never want Plenty of Milk, yet I never ſaw an *Indian* Woman with very large Breaſts; neither does the youngeſt Wife ever fail of proving ſo good a Nurſe, as to bring her Child up free from the Rickets and Diſaſters that proceed from the Teeth, with many other Diſtempers which attack our Infants in *England*, and other Parts of *Europe*. They let their Children ſuck till they are well grown, unleſs they prove big with Child ſooner. They always nurſe their own Children themſelves, unleſs Sickneſs or Death prevents. I once ſaw a Nurſe hired to give Suck to an *Indian* Woman's Child, which you have in my Journal. After Delivery, they abſent the Company of a Man for forty days. As ſoon as the Child is born, they waſh it in cold Water at the next Stream, and *Indian Women.* *Nurſe Children how.*

Cradle. then bedawb it, as I have mention'd before. After which, the Husband takes care to provide a Cradle, which is soon made, consisting of a Piece of flat Wood, which they hew with their Hatchets to the Likeness of a Board; it is about two Foot long, and a Foot broad; to this they brace and tie the Child down very close, having, near the middle, a Stick fasten'd about two Inches from the Board, which is for the Child's Breech to rest on, under which they put a Wad of Moss, that receives the Child's Excrements, by which means they can shift the Moss, and keep all clean and sweet. Some Nations have very flat Heads, as you have heard in my Journal, which is made whilst tied on this Cradle, as that Relation informs you. These Cradles are apt to make the Body flat; yet they are the most portable things that can be invented; for there is a String which goes from one Corner of the Board to the other, whereby the Mother flings her Child on her Back; so the Infant's Back is towards hers, and its Face looks up towards the Sky. If it rains, she throws her Leather or Woollen Match-coat, over her Head, which covers the Child all over, and secures her and it from the Injuries of rainy Weather. The Savage Women quit all Company, and dress not their own Victuals, during their Purgations.

After they have had several Children, they grow strangely out of Shape in their Bodies; As for Barrenness, I never knew any of their Women, that have not Children when marry'd.

Indian *Womens Habit.* The Womens Dress is, in severe Weather, a hairy Match-coat in the Nature of a Plad, which keeps out the Cold, and (as I said before) defends their Children from the Prejudices of the Weather. At other times, they have only a sort of Flap or Apron containing two Yards in Length, and better than half a Yard deep. Sometimes, it is a Deer-Skin dress'd white, and pointed or slit at the bottom, like Fringe. When this is clean, it becomes them very well. Others wear blue or red Flaps made of Bays and Plains, which they buy of the *English*, of both which they tuck in the Corners, to fasten the Garment, and sometimes make it fast with a Belt. All of them, when ripe, have a small String round the Waste, to which another is tied and comes between their Legs, where always is a Wad of Moss against the *Os pubis*; but never any Hair

Hair is there to be found: Sometimes, they wear *Indian* Shooes, or Moggizons, which are made after the ſame manner, as the Mens are.

The Hair of their Heads is made into a long Roll like a Horſes Tail, and bound round with *Ronoak* or *Porcelan*, which is a ſort of Beads they make of the Conk-Shells. Others that have not this, make a Leather-String ſerve.

The *Indian* Men have a Match-Coat of Hair, Furs, Feathers, or Cloth, as the Women have. Their Hair is roll'd up, on each Ear, as the Womens, only much ſhorter, and oftentimes a Roll on the Crown of the Head, or Temples, which is juſt as they fancy; there being no Strictneſs in their Dreſs. Betwixt their Legs comes a Piece of Cloth, that is tuck'd in by a Belt both before and behind. This is to hide their Nakedneſs, of which Decency they are very ſtrict Obſervers, although never practiſed before the Chriſtians came amongſt them. They wear Shooes, of Bucks, and ſometimes Bears Skin, which they tan in an Hour or two; with the Bark of Trees boil'd, wherein they put the Leather whilſt hot, and let it remain a little while, whereby it becomes ſo qualify'd, as to endure Water and Dirt, without growing hard. Theſe have no Heels, and are made as fit for the Feet, as a Glove is for the Hand, and are very eaſie to travel in, when one is a little us'd to them. When theſe Savages live near the Water, they frequent the Rivers in Summer-time very much, where both Men and Women very often in a day go in naked to waſh themſelves, though not both Sexes together. *Indian Mens Habit.* *Indians waſhing in the River.*

Their Feather Match-Coats are very pretty, eſpecially ſome of them, which are made extraordinary charming, containing ſeveral pretty Figures wrought in Feathers, making them ſeem like a fine Flower Silk-Shag; and when new and freſh, they become a Bed very well, inſtead of a Quilt. Some of another ſort are made of Hare, Raccoon, Bever, or Squirrel-Skins, which are very warm. Others again are made of the green Part of the Skin of a Mallard's Head, which they ſew perfectly well together, their Thread being either the Sinews of a Deer divided very ſmall, or Silk-Graſs. When theſe are finiſh'd, they look very finely, though they muſt needs be very troubleſome to make. Some of their great Men, as Rulers and ſuch, that have Plenty of Deer Skins *Match-Coats how made.*

by them, will often buy the *Engliſh*-made Coats, which they wear on Feſtivals and other Days of Viſiting. Yet none ever buy any Breeches, ſaying, that they are too much confin'd in them, which prevents their Speed in running, *&c.*

We have ſome *Indians*, that are more civilized than the reſt, which wear Hats, Shooes, Stockings, and Breeches, with very tolerable Linnen Shirts, which is not common amongſt theſe Heathens. The *Paſpitank Indians* did formerly keep Cattle, and make Butter.

Civiliz'd Indians. Theſe are them that wear the *Engliſh* Dreſs. Whether they have Cattle now or no, I am not certain; but I am of the Opinion, that ſuch Inclinations in the Savages ſhould meet with Encouragement, and every *Engliſhman* ought to do them Juſtice, and not defraud them of their Land, which has been allotted them formerly by the Government; for if we do not ſhew them Examples of Juſtice and Vertue, we can never bring them to believe us to be a worthier Race of Men than themſelves.

Hatteras Indians.

The Dreſſes of theſe People are ſo different. according to the Nation that they belong to, that it is impoſſible to recount all the whimſical Figures that they ſometimes make by their Antick Dreſſes. Beſides, *Carolina* is a warm Country, and very mild in its Winters, to what *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Penſylvania*, *New-York*, the *Jerſeys*, and *New-England* are; wherefore, our *Indians* Habit very much differs from the Dreſſes that appear amongſt the Savages who inhabit thoſe cold Countries; in regard their chiefeſt Cloathing for the Winter-Seaſon is made of the Furs of Bever, Raccoon, and other Northern Furs, that our Climate is not acquainted withal, they producing ſome Furs, as the *Monack*, Moor, Marten, Black Fox, and others to us unknown.

Painting for War. Their Dreſs in Peace and War, is quite different. Beſides, when they go to War, their Hair is comb'd out by the Women, and done over very much with Bears Greaſe, and red Root; with Feathers, Wings, Rings, Copper, and *Peak*, or *Wampum* in their Ears. Moreover, they buy Vermillion of the *Indian* Traders, wherewith they paint their Faces all over red, and commonly make a Circle of Black about one Eye, and another Circle of White about the other, whilſt others bedawb their Faces with Tobacco-Pipe Clay, Lamp-black, black Lead, and divers other Colours, which they make

make with the ſeveral ſorts of Minerals and Earths that they get in different Parts of the Country, where they hunt and travel. When theſe Creatures are thus painted, they make the moſt frightful Figures that can be imitated by Men, and ſeem more like Devils than Humane Creatures. You may be ſure, that they are about ſome Miſchief, when you ſee them thus painted; for in all the Hoſtilities which have ever been acted againſt the *Engliſh* at any time, in ſeveral of the Plantations of *America*, the Savages always appear'd in this Diſguize, whereby they might never after be diſcover'd, or known by any of the Chriſtians that ſhould happen to ſee them after they had made their Eſcape; for it is impoſſible, ever to know an *Indian* under theſe Colours, although he has been at your Houſe a thouſand times, and you know him, at other times, as well as you do any Perſon living. As for their Women, they never uſe any Paint on their Faces; neither do they ever carry them along with them into the Field, when they intend any Expedition, leaving them at home with the old Men and Children.

Some of the *Indians* wear great Bobs in their Ears, and ſometimes in the Holes thereof they put Eagles and other Birds, Feathers, for a Trophy. When they kill any Fowl, they commonly pluck off the downy Feathers, and ſtick them all over their Heads. Some (both Men and Women) wear great Necklaces of their Money made of Shells. They often wear Bracelets made of Braſs, and ſometimes of Iron Wire. *Ear Bobs.*

Their Money is of different ſorts, but all made of Shells, which are found on the Coaſt of *Carolina*, which are very large and hard, ſo that they are very difficult to cut. Some *Engliſh* Smiths have try'd to drill this ſort of Shell-Money, and thereby thought to get an Advantage; but it prov'd ſo hard, that nothing could be gain'd. They often times make, of this Shell, a ſort of Gorge, which they wear about their Neck in a ſtring; ſo it hangs on their Collar, whereon ſometimes is engraven a Croſs, or ſome odd ſort of Figure, which comes next in their Fancy. There are other ſorts valued at a Doe-Skin, yet the Gorges will ſometimes ſell for three or four Buck-Skins ready dreſt. There be others, that eight of them go readily for a Doe Skin; but the general and current Species of all the *Indians* in *Carolina*, and, I believe, all over the *Indian Money.*

the Continent, as far as the Bay of *Mexico*, is that which we call *Peak*, and *Ronoak*; but *Peak* more eſpecially. This is that which at *New-York*, they call *Wampum*, and have uſed it as current Money amongſt the Inhabitants for a great many Years. This is what many Writers call *Porcelan*, and is made at *New-York* in great Quantities, and with us in ſome meaſure. Five Cubits of this purchaſe a dreſs'd Doe-Skin, and ſeven or eight purchaſe a dreſs'd Buck-Skin. An *Engliſh*-man could not afford to make ſo much of this *Wampum* for five or ten times the Value; for it is made out of a vaſt great Shell, of which that Country affords Plenty; where it is ground ſmaller than the ſmall End of a Tobacco-Pipe, or a large Wheat-Straw. Four or five of theſe make an Inch, and every one is to be drill'd through, and made as ſmooth as Glaſs, and ſo ſtrung, as Beds are, and a Cubit of the *Indian* Meaſure contains as much in Length, as will reach from the Elbow to the End of the little Finger. They never ſtand to queſtion, whether it is a tall Man, or a ſhort one, that meaſures it; but if this *Wampum Peak* be black or purple, as ſome Part of that Shell is, then it is twice the Value. This the *Indians* grind on Stones and other things, till they make it current, but the Drilling is the moſt difficult to the *Engliſh*-men, which the *Indians* manage with a Nail ſtuck in a Cane or Reed. Thus they roll it continually on their Thighs, with their Right-hand, holding the Bit of Shell with their Left, ſo in time they drill a Hole quite through it, which is a very tedious Work; but eſpecially in making their *Ronoak*, four of which will ſcarce make one Length of *Wampum*. The *Indians* are a People that never value their time, ſo that they can afford to make them, and never need to fear the *Engliſh* will take the Trade out of their Hands. This is the Money with which you may buy Skins, Furs, Slaves, or any thing the *Indians* have; it being the Mammon (as our Money is to us) that entices and perſuades them to do any thing, and part with every thing they poſſeſs, except their Children for Slaves. As for their Wives, they are often ſold, and their Daughters violated for it. With this they buy off Murders; and whatſoever a Man can do that is ill, this *Wampum* will quit him of, and make him, in their Opinion, good and vertuous, though never ſo black before.

All

All the *Indians* give a Name to their Children, which is not the ſame as the Father or Mother, but what they fancy. This Name they keep, (if Boys) till they arrive to the Age of a Warriour, which is ſixteen or ſeventeen Years; then they take a Name to themſelves, ſometimes, *Eagle*, *Panther*, *Allegator*, or ſome ſuch wild Creature; eſteeming nothing on Earth worthy to give them a Name, but theſe Wild-Fowl, and Beaſts. Some again take the Name of a Fiſh, which they keep as long as they live. Indians *how named.*

The King is the Ruler of the Nation, and has others under him, to aſſiſt him, as his War-Captains, and Counſellors, who are pick'd out and choſen from among the ancienteſt Men of the Nation he is King of. Theſe meet him in all general Councils and Debates, concerning War, Peace, Trade, Hunting, and all the Adventures and Accidents of Humane Affairs, which appear within their Verge; where all Affairs are diſcourſed of and argued *pro* and *con*, very deliberately (without making any manner of Parties or Diviſions) for the Good of the Publick; for, as they meet there to treat, they diſcharge their Duty with all the Integrity imaginable, never looking towards their Own Intereſt, before the Publick Good. After every Man has given his Opinion, that which has moſt Voices, or, in Summing up, is found the moſt reaſonable, that they make uſe of without any Jars and Wrangling, and put it in Execution, the firſt Opportunity that offers. Indian *King and Counſellors.* *Every Town a Ruler, yet one over all the Nation.*

The Succeſſion falls not to the King's Son, but to his Siſter's Son, which is a ſure way to prevent Impoſtors in the Succeſſion. Sometimes they poiſon the Heir to make way for another, which is not ſeldom done, when they do not approve of the Youth that is to ſucceed them. The King himſelf is commonly chief Doctor in that Cure. *Succeſſion how.*

They are ſo well verſed in Poiſon, that they are often found to poiſon whole Families; nay, moſt of a Town; and which is moſt to be admired, they will poiſon a running Spring, or Fountain of Water, ſo that whoſoever drinks thereof, ſhall infallible die. When the Offender is diſcover'd, his very Relations urge for Death, whom nothing will appeaſe, but the moſt cruel Torment imaginable, which is executed in the moſt publick Manner that it's poſſible to act ſuch a Tragedy in. For all the whole Nation, and all the In-

Indians within a hundred Mile (if it is poſſible to ſend for them) are ſummon'd to come and appear at ſuch a Place and Time, to ſee and rejoyce at the Torments and Death of ſuch a Perſon, who is the common and profeſs'd Enemy to all the friendly *Indians* thereabouts, who now lies under the Condemnation of the whole Nation, and accordingly is to be put to Death. Then all appear (young and old) from all the adjacent Parts, and meet, with all the Expreſſions of Joy, to conſummate this horrid and barbarous Feaſt, which is carried on after this diſmal Manner. Firſt, they bring the Priſoner to the Place appointed for the Execution, where he is ſet down on his Breech on the Ground. Then they all get about him, and you ſhall not ſee one ſorrowful or dejected Countenance amongſt them, but all very merrily diſpos'd, as if ſome Comedy was to be acted, inſtead of a Tragedy. He that is appointed to be the chief Executioner, takes a Knife, and bids him hold out his Hands, which he does, and then cuts round the Wriſt through the Skin, which is drawn off like a Glove, and ſlead quite off at the Fingers Ends; then they break his Joints and Bones, and buffet and torment him after a very inhumane Manner, till ſome violent Blow perhaps ends his Days; then they burn him to Aſhes, and throw them down the River. Afterwards they eat, drink and are merry, repeating all the Actions of the Tormentors and the Priſoner, with a great deal of Mirth and Satisfaction. This Accuſation is laid againſt an *Indian* Heroe ſometimes wrongfully, or when they have a mind to get rid of a Man that has more Courage and Conduct than his neighbouring Kings or great Men; then they alledge the Practice of poiſoning *Indians* againſt him, and make a Rehearſal of every *Indian* that died for a year or two, and ſay, that they were poiſon'd by ſuch an *Indian*; which Reports ſtir up all the Relations of the deceaſed againſt the ſaid Perſon, and by ſuch means make him away preſently. In ſome Affairs, theſe Savages are very reſerv'd and politick, and will attend a long time with a great deal of Patience, to bring about their Deſigns; they being never impatient or haſty in executing any of their Deſigns of Revenge.

Poiſoning Indians *how puniſhed.*

Now I am gone ſo far in giving an Account of the *Indians* Temper, I will proceed; and can give you no other Character of them, but that they are a very wary People, and are never

never hafty or impatient. They will endure a great many Misfortunes, Loſſes, and Diſapointments without ſhewing themſelves, in the leaſt, vex'd or uneaſy. When they go by Water, if there proves a Head-Wind, they never vex and fret as the *Europeans* do, and let what Misfortune come to them, as will or can happen, they never relent. Beſides, there is one Vice very common every where, which I never found amongſt them, which is Envying other Mens Happineſs, becauſe their Station is not equal to, or above, their Neighbours. Of this Sin I cannot ſay I ever ſaw an Example, though they are a People that ſet as great a Value upon themſelves, as any ſort of Men in the World; upon which Account they find ſomething Valuable in themſelves above Riches. Thus, he that is a good Warriour, is the proudeſt Creature living; and he that is an expert Hunter, is eſteem'd by the People and himſelf; yet all theſe are natural Vertues and Gifts, and not Riches, which are as often in the Poſſeſſion of a Fool as a Wiſe-man. Several of the *Indians* are poſſeſs'd of a great many Skins, *Wampum*, Ammunition, and what other things are eſteem'd Riches amongſt them; yet ſuch an *Indian* is no more eſteem'd amongſt them, than any other ordinary Fellow, provided he has no perſonal Endowments, which are the Ornaments that muſt gain him an Eſteem among them; for a great Dealer, amongſt the *Indians*, is no otherwiſe reſpected and eſteemed, than as a Man that ſtrains his Wits, and fatigues himſelf, to furniſh others with Neceſſaries of Life, that live much eaſier and enjoy more of the World, than he himſelf does with all his Pelf. If they are taken Captives, and expect a miſerable Exit, they ſing; if Death approach them in Sickneſs, they are not afraid of it; nor are ever heard to ſay, Grant me ſome time. They know by Inſtinct, and daily Example, that they muſt die; wherefore, they have that great and noble Gift to ſubmit to every thing that happens, and value nothing that attacks them.

Indians *not afraid to die.*

Their Cruelty to their Priſoners of War is what they are ſeemingly guilty of an Error in, (I mean as to a natural Failing) becauſe they ſtrive to invent the moſt inhumane Butcheries for them, that the Devils themſelves could invent, or hammer out of Hell; they eſteeming Death no Puniſhment, but rather an Advantage to him, that is exported out of this into another World.

Therefore, they inflict on them Torments, wherein they prolong Life in that miserable state as long as they can, and never miss Skulping of them, as they call it, which is, to cut off the Skin from the Temples, and taking the whole Head of Hair along with it, as if it was a Night-cap. Sometimes, they take the Top of the Skull along with it; all which they preserve, and carefully keep by them, for a Trophy of their Conquest over their Enemies. Others keep their Enemies Teeth, which are taken in War, whilst others split the Pitch-Pine into Splinters, and stick them into the Prisoners Body yet alive. Thus they light them, which burn like so many Torches; and in this manner, they make him dance round a great Fire, every one buffeting and deriding him, till he expires, when every one strives to get a Bone or some Relick of this unfortunate Captive. One of the young Fellows, that has been at the Wars, and has had the Fortune to take a Captive, returns the proudest Creature on Earth, and sets such a Value on himself, that he knows not how to contain himself in his Senses. The *Iroquois*, or *Sinnagars*, are the most Warlike *Indians* that we know of, being always at War, and not to be perswaded from that Way of Living, by any Argument that can be used. If you go to perswade them to live peaceably with the *Tuskeruros*, and let them be one People, and in case those *Indians* desire it, and will submit to them, they will answer you, that they cannot live without War, which they have ever been used to; and that if Peace be made with the *Indians* they now war withal, they must find out some others to wage War against; for, for them to live in Peace, is to live out of their Element, War, Conquest, and Murder, being what they delight in, and value themselves for. When they take a Slave, and intend to keep him to Work in their Fields, they flea the Skin from the Setting on of his Toes to the middle of his Foot, so cut off one half of his Feet, wrapping the Skin over the Wounds, and healing them. By this cruel Method, the *Indian* Captive is hinder'd from making his Escape, for he can neither run fast or go any where, but his Feet are more easily traced and discover'd. Yet I know one Man who made his Escape from them, tho' they had thus disabled him, as you may see in my Journal.

Indians Cruelty to Prisoners of War.

Indians flea and cut off part of the Feet.

The

The *Indians* ground their Wars on Enmity, not on Intereſt, as the *Europeans* generally do; for the Loſs of the meaneſt Perſon in the Nation, they will go to War and lay all at Stake, and proſecute their Deſign to the utmoſt; till the Nation they were injur'd by, be wholly deſtroy'd, or make them that Satisfaction which they demand. They are very politick, in waging, and carrying on their War, firſt by adviſing with all the ancient Men of Conduct and Reaſon, that belong to their Nation; ſuch as ſuperannuated War-Captains, and thoſe that have been Counſellors for many Years, and whoſe Advice has commonly ſucceeded very well. They have likewiſe their Field Counſellors, who are accuſtomed to Ambuſcades, and Surprizes, which Methods are commonly uſed by the Savages; for I ſcarce ever heard of a Field-Battle fought amongſt them.

One of their Expeditions afforded an Inſtance, worthy mention, which was thus; Two Nations of *Indians* here in *Carolina* were at War together, and a Party of each were in the Foreſt ranging to ſee what Enemies they could take. The leſſer Number found they were diſcover'd, and could not well get over a River (that lay betwixt them and their home) without engaging the other Party, whoſe Numbers were much the greater; ſo they call'd a Council, which met, and having weigh'd their preſent Circumſtances with a great deal of Argument and Debate, for a conſiderable time, and found their Enemies Advantage, and that they could expect no Succeſs in Engaging ſuch an unequal Number; they, at laſt, concluded on this Stratagem, which, in my Opinion, carried a great deal of Policy along with it. It was, That the ſame Night, they ſhould make a great Fire, which they were certain would be diſcover'd by the adverſe Party, and there dreſs up Logs of Wood in their Cloaths, and make them exactly ſeem like *Indians*, that were aſleep by the Fire-ſide; (which is their Way, when in the Woods) ſo, *ſaid they*, our Enemies will fire upon theſe Images, ſuppoſing them to be us, who will lie in Ambuſcade, and, after their Guns are unloaded, ſhall deal well enough with them. This Reſult was immediately put in Execution, and the Fire was made by the ſide of a Valley, where they lay perdu very advantageouſly. Thus, a little before Break of Day, (which commonly is the Hour they ſurprize their Enemies in) the *Indians* Indian Politicks.

ans came down to their Fire, and at once fired in upon those Logs in the *Indians* Cloaths, and run up to them, expecting they had kill'd every Man dead; but they found themselves mistaken, for then the other *Indians*, who had lain all the Night stark-naked in the Bottom, attack'd them with their loaded Pieces, which so surprized them, that every Man was taken Prisoner, and brought in bound to their Town.

Another Instance was betwixt the *Machapunga Indians*, and the *Coranine's*, on the Sand-Banks; which was as follows. The *Machapungas* were invited to a Feast, by the *Coranines*; (which two Nations had been a long time at War together, and had lately concluded a Peace.) Thereupon, the *Machapunga Indians* took the Advantage of coming to the *Coranines* Feast, which was to avoid all Suspicion, and their King, who, of a Savage, is a great Politician and very stout, order'd all his Men to carry their *Tamahauks* along with them, hidden under their Match-Coats, which they did; and being acquainted when to fall on, by the Word given, they all (upon this Design) set forward for the Feast, and came to the *Coramue* Town, where they had gotten Victuals, Fruit, and such things as make an *Indian* Entertainment, all ready to make these new Friends welcome, which they did; and, after Dinner, towards the Evening, (as it is customary amongst them) they went to Dancing, all together; so when the *Machapunga* King saw the best Opportunity offer, he gave the Word, and his Men pull'd their *Tamahauks* or Hatchets from under their Match-Coats, and kill'd several, and took the rest Prisoners, except some few that were not present, and about four or five that escap'd. The Prisoners they sold Slaves to the *English*. At the time this was done, those *Indians* had nothing but Bows and Arrows, neither side having Guns.

Machapunga King Charles.

The *Indians* are very revengeful, and never forget an Injury done, till they have receiv'd Satisfaction. Yet they are the freest People from Heats and Passions (which possess the *Europeans*) of any I ever heard of. They never call any Man to account for what he did, when he was drunk; but say, it was the Drink that caused his Misbehaviour, therefore he ought to be forgiven: They never frequent a Christian's House that is given to Passion, nor will they ever buy or sell with him, if they can get the same Commodities of any other

Drunkenness in Indians.

ther Perſon; for they ſay, ſuch Men are mad Wolves, and no more Men.

They know not what Jealouſy is, becauſe they never think their Wives are unconſtant, unleſs they are Eye-witneſſes thereof. They are generally very baſhful, eſpecially the young Maids, who when they come into a ſtrange Cabin, where they are not acquainted, never ask for any thing, though never ſo hungry or thirſty, but ſit down, without ſpeaking a Word (be it never ſo long) till ſome of the Houſe asks them a Queſtion, or falls into Diſcourſe, with the Stranger. I never ſaw a Scold amongſt them, and to their Children they are extraordinary tender and indulgent; neither did I ever ſee a Parent correct a Child, excepting one Woman, that was the King's Wife, and ſhe (indeed) did poſſeſs a Temper that is not commonly found amongſt them. They are free from all manner of Compliments, except Shaking of Hands, and Scratching on the Shoulder, which two are the greateſt Marks of Sincerity and Friendſhip, that can be ſhew'd one to another. They cannot expreſs *fare you well*; but when they leave the Houſe, will ſay, *I go ſtraightway*, which is to intimate their Departure; and if the Man of the Houſe has any Meſſage to ſend by the going Man, he may acquaint him therewith. Their Tongue allows not to ſay, *Sir, I am your Servants*; becauſe they have no different Titles for Man, only King, War-Captain, Old Man, or Young Man, which reſpect the Stations and Circumſtances Men are employ'd in, and arriv'd to, and not Ceremony. As for Servant, they have no ſuch thing, except Slave, and their Dogs, Cats, tame or domeſtick Beaſts, and Birds, are call'd by the ſame Name: For the *Indian* Word for Slave includes them all. So when an *Indian* tells you he has got a Slave for you, it may (in general Terms, as they uſe) be a young Eagle, a Dog, Otter, or any other thing of that Nature, which is obſequiouſly to depend on the Maſter for its Suſtenance.

Indians *not Jealous.*

Indians *Complements.*

They are never fearful in the Night, nor do the Thoughts of Spirits ever trouble them; ſuch as the many Hobgoblins and Bugbears that we ſuck in with our Milk, and the Foolery of our Nurſes and Servants ſuggeſt to us; who by their idle Tales of Fairies, and Witches, make ſuch Impreſſions on our tender Years, that at Maturity, we carry Pigmies Souls, in Giants Bodies and ever after, are thereby

Indians *not afraid of Spirits.*

ſo

ſo much depriv'd of Reaſon, and unman'd, as never to be Maſters of half the Bravery Nature deſign'd for us.

Not but that the *Indians* have as many Lying Stories of Spirits and Conjurers, as any People in the World; but they tell it with no Diſadvantage to themſelves; for the great Eſteem which the Old Men bring themſelves to, is by making the others believe their Familiarity with Devils and Spirits, and how great a Correſpondence they have therewith, which if it once gains Credit, they ever after are held in the greateſt Veneration imaginable, and whatever they after impoſe upon the People, is receiv'd as infallible. They are ſo little ſtartled at the Thoughts of another World, that they not ſeldom murder themſelves; as for Inſtance, a *Bear*-River *Indian*, a very likely young Fellow, about twenty Years of Age, whoſe Mother was angry at his drinking of too much Rum, and chid him for it, thereupon reply'd, he would have her ſatisfied, and he would do the like no more; upon which he made his Words good; for he went aſide, and ſhot himſelf dead. This was a Son of the politick King of the *Machapunga*, I ſpoke of before, and has the moſt Cunning of any *Indian* I ever met withal.

Moſt of the Savages are much addicted to Drunkenneſs, a Vice they never were acquainted with, till the Chriſtians came amongſt them. Some of them refrain drinking ſtrong Liquors, but very few of that ſort are found amongſt them. Their chief Liquor is Rum, without any Mixture. This the *Engliſh* bring amongſt them, and buy Skins, Furs, Slaves and other of their Commodities therewith. They never are contented with a little, but when once begun, they muſt make themſelves quite drunk; otherwiſe they will never reſt, but ſell all they have in the World, rather than not have their full Doſe. In theſe drunken Frolicks, (which are always carried on in the Night) they ſometimes murder one another, fall into the Fire, fall down Precipices, and break their Necks, with ſeveral other Misfortunes which this drinking of Rum brings upon them; and tho' they are ſenſible of it, yet they have no Power to refrain this Enemy. About five years ago, when *Landgrave Daniel* was Governour, he ſummon'd in all the *Indian* Kings and Rulers to meet, and in a full Meeting of the Government and Council, with thoſe *Indians*, they agreed upon a firm Peace, and the *Indian* Rulers deſired

no

no Rum might be ſold to them, which was granted, and a Law made, that inflicted a Penalty on thoſe that ſold Rum to the Heathens; but it was never ſtrictly obſerv'd, and beſides, the young *Indians* were ſo diſguſted at that Article, that they threatned to kill the *Indians* that made it, unleſs it was laid aſide, and they might have Rum ſold them, when they went to the *Engliſhmens* Houſes to buy it.

Some of the Heathens are ſo very poor, that they have no Manner of Cloaths, ſave a Wad of Moſs to hide their Nakedneſs. Theſe are either luſty and will not work; otherwiſe, they are given to Gaming or Drunkenneſs; yet theſe get Victuals as well as the reſt, becauſe that is common amongſt them, If they are caught in theft they are Slaves till they repay the Perſon, (as I mention'd before) but to ſteal from the *Engliſh* they reckon no Harm. Not but that I have known ſome few Savages that have been as free from Theft as any of the Chriſtians. When they have a Deſign to lie with a Woman, which they cannot obtain any otherwiſe than by a larger Reward than they are able to give, they then ſtrive to make her drunk, which a great many of them will be; then they take the Advantage, to do with them what they pleaſe, and ſometimes in their Drunkenneſs, cut off their Hair and ſell it to the *Engliſh*, which is the greateſt Affront can be offer'd them. They never value Time; for if they be going out to hunt, fiſh, or any other indifferent Buſineſs, you may keep them in talk as long as you pleaſe, ſo you but keep them in Diſcourſe, and ſeem pleaſed with their Company; yet none are more expeditious and ſafer Meſſengers than they, when any extraordinary Buſineſs that they are ſent about requires it.

When they are upon travelling the Woods, they keep a conſtant Pace, neither will they ſtride over a Tree that lies croſs the Path, but always go round it, which is quite contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Engliſh*, and other *Europeans*. When they cut with a Knife, the Edge is towards them, whereas we always cut and whittle from us. Nor did I ever ſee one of them left-handed. Before the Chriſtians came amongſt them, not knowing the Uſe of Steel and Flints, they got their Fire with Sticks, which by vehement Colliſion, or Rubbing together, take Fire. This Method they will ſometimes

Not paſs over a Tree.

Cut with a Knife how.

A Knife of Reed.

Not left-handed.

Get Fire how.

times practiſe now, when it has happen'd thro' rainy Weather, or ſome other Accident, that they have wet their
Get Fire. Spunk, which is a ſort of ſoft corky Subſtance, generally of a Cinnamon Colour, and grows in the concave part of an Oak, Hiccory, and ſeveral other Woods, being dug out with an Ax, and always kept by the *Indians*, inſtead of Tinder or Touch-wood, both which it exceeds. You are to underſtand, that the two Sticks they uſe to ſtrike Fire withal, are never of one ſort of Wood, but always differ from each other.

They are expert Travellers, and though they have not the Uſe of our artificial Compaſs, yet they underſtand the North-point exactly, let them be in never ſo great a Wilderneſs. One Guide is a ſhort Moſs, that grows upon ſome Trees, exactly on the North-Side thereof.

Indian *Company.* Beſides, they have Names for eight of the thirty two Points, and call the Winds by their ſeveral Names, as we do; but indeed more properly, for the North-Weſt Wind is called the cold Wind; the North-Eaſt the wet Wind; the South the warm Wind; and ſo agreeably of the reſt. Sometimes it happens, that they have a large River or Lake to paſs over, and the Weather is very foggy, as it often happens in the Spring and Fall of the Leaf; ſo that they cannot ſee which Courſe to ſteer: In ſuch a Caſe, they being on one ſide of the River, or Lake, they know well enough what Courſe ſuch a Place (which they intend for) bears from them. Therefore, they get a great many Sticks and Chunks of Wood in their Canoe, and then ſet off directly for their Port, and now and then throw over a Piece of Wood, which directs them, by ſeeing how the Stick bears from the Canoes Stern, which they always obſerve to keep right aft; and this is the *Indian* Compaſs by which they will go over a broad Water of ten or twenty Leagues wide. They will find the Head of any River, though it is five ſix or ſeven hundred miles off, and they never were there, in their Lives before; as is often prov'd, by their appointing to meet on the Head of ſuch a River, where perhaps, none of them ever was before, but where they ſhall rendezvous exactly at the prefixt time; and if they meet with any Obſtruction, they leave certain Marks in the Way, where they that come after will underſtand how many have paſs'd by already, and which way they are gone.

Be-

Beſides, in their War Expeditions, they have very certain Hieroglyphicks, whereby each Party informs the other of the Succeſs or Loſſes they have met withal; all which is ſo exactly perform'd by their Sylvian Marks and Characters, that they are never at a Loſs to underſtand one another. Yet there was never found any Letters amongſt the Savages of *Carolina*; nor, I believe, among any other Natives in *America*, that were poſſeſs'd with any manner of Writing or Learning throughout all the Diſcoveries of the New-World. They will draw Maps, very exactly, of all the Rivers, Towns, Mountains, and Roads, or what you ſhall enquire of them, which you may draw by their Directions, and come to a ſmall matter of Latitude, reckoning by their Days Journeys. Theſe Maps they will draw in the Aſhes of the Fire, and ſometimes upon a Mat or Piece of Bark. I have put a Pen and Ink into a Savage's Hand, and he has drawn me the Rivers, Bays, and other Parts of a Country, which afterwards I have found to agree with a great deal of Nicety: But you muſt be very much in their Favour, otherwiſe they will never make theſe Diſcoveries to you; eſpecially, if it be in their own Quarters. And as for Mines of Silver and other Metals, we are ſatisfied we have enow, and thoſe very rich, in *Carolina* and its adjacent Parts; ſome of which the *Indians* are acquainted withal, although no Enquirers thereafter, but what came, and were diſcover'd, by Chance; yet they ſay, it is this Metal that the *Engliſh* covet, as they do their *Peak* and *Ronoak*; and that we have gain'd Ground of them wherever we have come. Now, ſay they, if we ſhould diſcover theſe Minerals to the *Engliſh*, they would ſettle at or near theſe Mountains, and bereave us of the beſt Hunting-Quarters we have, as they have already done wherever they have inhabited; ſo by that means, we ſhall be driven to ſome unknown Country, to live, hunt, and get our Bread in. Theſe are the Reaſons that the Savages give, for not making known what they are acquainted withal, of that Nature. And indeed, all Men that have ever gone upon thoſe Diſcoveries, allow them to be good; more eſpecially, my ingenious Friend Mr. *Francis-Louis Mitchell*, of *Bern* in *Switzerland*, who has been, for ſeveral Years, very indefatigable and ſtrict in his Diſcoveries amongſt thoſe vaſt Ledges of Mountains, and ſpacious Tracts of Land, lying towards the Heads of the great Bays and Rivers

Indians make Maps.

No Diſcovery of Mines.

Mr. Mitchell.

Rivers of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Penſylvania*, where he has diſcover'd a ſpacious Country inhabited by none but the Savages, and not many of them; who yet are of a very friendly Nature to the Chriſtians. This Gentleman has been employ'd by the Canton of *Bern*, to find out a Tract of Land in the *Engliſh America*, where that Republick might ſettle ſome of their People; which Propoſal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a Concluſion, between her Majeſty of *Great-Britain* and that Canton. Which muſt needs be of great Advantage to both; and as for ourſelves, I believe, no Man that is in his Wits, and underſtands the Situation and Affairs of *America*, but will allow, nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to the Crown and Subjects of *Great-Britain*, than to have our Frontiers ſecured by a warlike People, and our Friends, as the *Switzers* are; eſpecially when we have more *Indians* than we can civilize, and ſo many Chriſtian Enemies lying on the back of us, that we do not know how long or ſhort a time it may be, before they viſit us. Add to theſe, the Effects and Product that may be expected from thoſe Mountains; which may hereafter prove of great Advantage to the *Britiſh* Monarchy, and none more fit than an induſtrious People, bred in a mountainous Country, and inur'd to all the Fatigues of War and Travel, to improve a Country. Thus we have no room to doubt, but as ſoon as any of thoſe Parts are ſeated by the *Switzers*, a great many *Britains* will ſtrive to live amongſt them, for the Benefit of the ſweet Air and healthful Climate, which that Country affords, were it only for the Cultivating of Hemp, Flax, Wine, and other valuable Staples, which thoſe People are fully acquainted withal: Not to mention the Advantages already diſcover'd by that worthy Gentleman I juſt now ſpoke of, who is highly deſerving of the Conduct and Management of ſuch an Affair, as that wiſe Canton has entruſted him withal.

Switzers *Settlement in* America.

When theſe Savages go a hunting, they commonly go out in great Numbers, and oftentimes a great many Days Journey from home, beginning at the coming in of the Winter; that is, when the Leaves are fallen from the Trees, and are become dry. 'Tis then they burn the Woods, by ſetting Fire to the Leaves, and wither'd Bent and Graſs, which they do with a Match made of the black Moſs that hangs on the Trees in *Carolina*, and is ſometimes above ſix Foot long. This, when dead

Hunting of the Savages.

dead, becomes black, (tho' of an Aſh-Colour before) and will then hold Fire as well as the beſt Match we have in *Europe*. In Places, where this Moſs is not found, (as towards the Mountains) they make Lintels of the Bark of Cypreſs beaten, which ſerve as well. Thus they go and fire the Woods for many Miles, and drive the Deer and other Game into ſmall Necks of Land and Iſthmus's, where they kill and deſtroy what they pleaſe. In theſe Hunting-Quarters, they have their Wives and Ladies of the Camp, where they eat all the Fruits and Dainties of that Country, and live in all the Mirth and Jollity, which it is poſſible for ſuch People to entertain themſelves withal. Here it is, that they get their Complement of Deer-Skins and Furs to trade with the *Engliſh*, (the Deer-Skins being in Seaſon in Winter, which is contrary to *England*.) All ſmall Game, as Turkeys, Ducks, and ſmall Vermine, they commonly kill with Bow and Arrow, thinking it not worth throwing Powder and Shot after them. Of Turkeys they have abundance; eſpecially, in Oak-Land, as moſt of it is, that lies any diſtance backwards. I have been often in their Hunting-Quarters, where a roaſted or barbakued Turkey, eaten with Bears Fat, is held a good Diſh; and indeed, I approve of it very well; for the Bears Greaſe is the ſweeteſt and leaſt offenſive to the Stomach (as I ſaid before) of any Fat of Animals I ever taſted. The Savage Men never beat their Corn to make Bread; but that is the Womens Work, eſpecially the Girls, of whom you ſhall ſee four beating with long great Peſtils in a narrow wooden Mortar; and every one keeps her Stroke ſo exactly, that 'tis worthy of Admiration. Their Cookery continues from Morning till Night. The Hunting makes them hungry; and the *Indians* are a People that always eat very often, not ſeldom getting up at Midnight, to eat. They plant a great many ſorts of Pulſe, Part of which they eat green in the Summer, keeping great Quantities for their Winter-Store, which they carry along with them into the Hunting-Quarters, and eat them.

Moſs Match.

Beating of Corn.

The ſmall red Peaſe is very common with them, and they eat a great deal of that and other ſorts boil'd with their Meat, or eaten with Bears Fat, which Food makes them break Wind backwards, which the Men frequently do, and laugh heartily at it, it being accounted no ill Manners amongſt the *Indians*: Yet the Women are more modeſt, than to follow that ill Cuſtom. At

their ſetting out, they have *Indians* to attend their Hunting-Camp, that are not good and expert Hunters; therefore are employ'd to carry Burdens, to get Bark for the Cabins, and other Servile Work; alſo to go backward and forward, to their Towns, to carry News to the old People, whom they leave behind them. The Women are forced to carry their Loads of Grain and other Proviſions, and get Fire-Wood; for a good Hunter, or Warriour in theſe Expeditions, is employ'd in no other Buſineſs, than the Affairs of Game and Battle. The wild Fruits which are dry'd in the Summer, over Fires, on Hurdles and in the Sun, are now brought into the Field; as are likewiſe the Cakes and Quiddonies of Peaches, and that Fruit and Bilberries dry'd, of which they ſtew and make Fruit-Bread and Cakes. In ſome parts, where Pigeons are plentiful, they get of their Fat enough to ſupply their Winter Stores. Thus they abide in theſe Quarters, all the Winter long, till the Time approach for planting their Maiz and other Fruits. In theſe quarters, at Spare-hours, the Women make Baskets and Mats to lie upon, and thoſe that are not extraordinary Hunters, make Bowls, Diſhes, and Spoons, of Gum-wood, and the Tulip-Tree; others (where they find a Vein of white Clay, fit for their purpoſe, make Tobacco-pipes, all which are often tranſported to other *Indians*, that perhaps have greater Plenty of Deer and other Game; ſo they buy (with theſe Manufactures) their raw Skins, with the Hair on, which our neighbouring *Indians* bring to their Towns, and, in the Summer-time, make the Slaves and ſorry Hunters dreſs them, the Winter-Sun being not ſtrong enough to dry them; and thoſe that are dry'd in the Cabins are black and naſty with the Lightwood Smoke, which they commonly burn. Their Way of dreſſing their Skins is by ſoaking them in Water, ſo they get the Hair off, with an Inſtrument made of the Bone of a Deer's Foot; yet ſome uſe a ſort of Iron Drawing-Knife, which they purchaſe of the *Engliſh*, and after the Hair is off, they diſſolve Deers Brains, (which beforehand are made in a Cake and baked in the Embers) in a Bowl of Water, ſo ſoak the Skins therein, till the Brains have ſuck'd up the Water; then they dry it gently, and keep working it with an Oyſter-Shell, or ſome ſuch thing, to ſcrape withal, till it is dry; whereby it becomes ſoft and pliable. Yet theſe ſo dreſs'd will not endure wet, but

Servile Indians.

Dry'd Fruits.

Pigeons Fat.

Bowls and Tobacco-Pipes to make. Dreſs Skins.

but become hard thereby; which to prevent, they either cure them in the Smoke, or tan them with Bark, as before obſerv'd; not but that young *Indian* Corn, beaten to a Pulp, will effect the ſame as the Brains. They are not only good Hunters of the wild Beaſts and Game of the Foreſt, but very expert in taking the Fiſh of the Rivers and Waters near which they inhabit, and are acquainted withal. Thus they that live a great way up the Rivers practiſe Striking Sturgeon and Rock-fiſh, or Baſs, when they come up the Rivers to ſpawn; beſides the vaſt Shoals of Sturgeon which they kill and take with Snares, as we do Pike in *Europe*. The Herrings in *March* and *April* run a great way up the Rivers and freſh Streams to ſpawn, where the Savages make great Wares, with Hedges that hinder their Paſſage only in the Middle, where an artificial Pound is made to take them in; ſo that they cannot return. This Method is in uſe all over the freſh Streams, to catch Trout and the other Species of Fiſh which thoſe Parts afford. Their taking of Craw-fiſh is ſo pleaſant, that I cannot paſs it by without mention; When they have a mind to get theſe Shell-fiſh, they take a Piece of Veniſon, and half-barbakue or roaſt it; then they cut it into thin Slices, which Slices they ſtick through with Reeds about ſix Inches aſunder, betwixt Piece and Piece; then the Reeds are made ſharp at one end; and ſo they ſtick a great many of them down in the bottom of the Water (thus baited) in the ſmall Brooks and Runs, which the Craw-fiſh frequent. Thus the *Indians* ſit by, and tend thoſe baited Sticks, every now and then taking them up, to ſee how many are at the Bait; where they generally find abundance; ſo take them off, and put them in a Basket for the purpoſe, and ſtick the Reeds down again. By this Method, they will, in a little time, catch ſeveral Buſhels, which are as good, as any I ever eat. Thoſe *Indians* that frequent the Salt-Waters, take abundance of Fiſh, ſome very large, and of ſeveral ſorts, which to preſerve, they firſt barbakue, then pull the Fiſh to Pieces, ſo dry it in the Sun, whereby it keeps for Tranſportation; as for Scate, Oyſters, Cockles, and ſeveral ſorts of Shell-fiſh, they open and dry them upon Hurdles, having a conſtant Fire under them. The Hurdles are made of Reeds or Canes in the ſhape of a Gridiron. Thus they dry ſeveral Buſhels of theſe Fiſh, and keep them for their Neceſſities. At the time when they are on the Salts,

Fiſh to ſtrike.

Craw-fiſh to take.

Hatteras Indians.

Salts, and Sea Coasts, they have another Fishery, that is for a little Shell-fish, which those in *England* call Blackmoors Teeth. These they catch by tying Bits of Oysters to a long String, which they lay in such places, as, they know, those Shell-Fish haunt. These Fish get hold of the Oysters, and suck them in, so that they pull up those long Strings, and take great Quantities of them, which they carry a great way into the main Land, to trade with the remote *Indians*, where they are of great Value; but never near the Sea, by reason they are common, therefore not esteem'd. Besides, the Youth and *Indian* Boys go in the Night, and one holding a Lightwood Torch, the other has a Bow and Arrows, and the Fire directing him to see the Fish, he shoots them with the Arrows; and thus they kill a great many of the smaller Fry, and sometimes pretty large ones. It is an establish'd Custom amongst all these Natives, that the young Hunter never eats of that Buck, Bear, Fish, or any other Game, which happens to be the first they kill of that sort; because they believe, if he should eat thereof, he would never after be fortunate in Hunting. The like fooliſh Ceremony they hold, when they have made a Ware to take Fish withal; if a big-belly'd Woman eat of the first Dish that is caught in it, they say, that Ware will never take much Fish; and as for killing of Snakes, they avoid it, if they lie in their way, because their Opinion is, that some of the Serpents Kindred would kill some of the Savages Relations, that should destroy him: They have thousands of these fooliſh Ceremonies and Beliefs, which they are strict Observers of. Moreover, several Customs are found in some Families, which others keep not; as for Example, two Families of the *Machapunga Indians*, use the *Jewish* Custom of Circumcision, and the rest do not; neither did I ever know any others amongst the *Indians*, that practis'd any such thing; and perhaps, if you ask them, what is the Reason they do so, they will make you no Manner of Answer; which is as much as to say, I will not tell you. Many other Customs they have, for which they will render no Reason or Account; and to pretend to give a true Description of their Religion, it is impossible; for there are a great many of their Absurdities, which, for some Reason, they reserve as a Secret amongst themselves; or otherwise, they are jealous of their Weakness in the practising them;

Blackmoor Teeth.

Indians *not eat of the first he kills.*

Big bellied Woman never eat of the first Fish caught in a Ware

Indians *not kill Snakes why.*

Circumcision.

them; so that they never acquaint any Christian with the Knowledge thereof, let Writers pretend what they will; for I have known them amongst their Idols and dead Kings in their *Quiogozon* for several Days, where I could never get Admittance, to see what they were doing, though I was at great Friendship with the King and great Men; but all my Persuasions avail'd me nothing. Neither were any but the King, with the Conjurer, and some few old Men, in that House; as for the young Men, and chiefest Numbers of the *Indians*, they were kept as ignorant of what the Elders were doing, as myself.

Indian Idols give an account of.

They all believe, that this World is round, and that there are two Spirits; the one good, the other bad: The good one they reckon to be the Author and Maker of every thing, and say, that it is he, that gives them the Fruits of the Earth, and has taught them to hunt, fish, and be wise enough to overpower the Beasts of the Wilderness, and all other Creatures, that they may be assistant, and beneficial to Man; to which they add, that the *Quera*, or good Spirit, has been very kind to the *English* Men, to teach them to make Guns, and Ammunition, besides a great many other Necessaries, that are helpful to Man, all which, they say, will be deliver'd to them, when that good Spirit sees fit. They do not believe, that God punishes any Man either in this Life, or that to come; but that he delights in doing good, and in giving the Fruits of the Earth, and instructing us in making several useful and ornamental things. They say, it is a bad Spirit (who lives separate from the good one) that torments us with Sicknesses, Disappointments, Losses, Hunger, Travel, and all the Misfortunes, that Humane Life is incident to. How they are treated in the next World, I have already mention'd, and, as I said before, they are very resolute in dying, when in the Hands of Savage Enemies; yet I saw one of their young Men, a very likely Person, condemn'd, on a *Sunday*, for Killing a Negro, and burning the House. I took good Notice of his Behaviour, when he was brought out of the House to die, which was the next Morning after Sentence, but he chang'd his Countenance with Trembling, and was in the greatest Fear and Agony. I never saw any Person under his Circumstances, which, perhaps, might be occasion'd by his being deliver'd up by his own Nation (which was the *Tuskeruro's*)

The World is round.

What they believe of God. Their offering Idols.

Devil what.

Indian condemn'd.

ruro's) and executed by us, that are not their common Enemies, though he met with more Favour than he would have receiv'd at the Hands of Savages; for he was only hang'd on a Tree, near the Place where the Murder was committed; and the three Kings, that but the day before shew'd such a Reluctancy to deliver him up, (but would have given another in his Room) when he was hang'd, pull'd him by the Hand, and said, *Thou wilt never play any more Rogues Tricks in this World; whither art thou gone to shew thy Tricks now?* Which shews these Savages to be what they really are, (*viz*) a People that will save their own Men if they can, but if the Safety of all the People lies at Stake, they will deliver up the most innocent Person living, and be so far from Concern, when they have made themselves easy thereby, that they will laugh at their Misfortunes, and never pity or think of them more.

Indian *Conjurers.*

Their Priests are the Conjurers and Doctors of the Nation. I shall mention some of their Methods, and Practices; and so leave them to the Judgment of the Reader. As I told you before, the Priests make their Orations at every Feast, or other great Meeting of the *Indians*. I happen'd to be at one of these great Meetings, which was at the Funeral of a *Tuskeruro Indian*, that was slain with Lightning at a Feast, the day before, where I was amongst the rest; it was in *July*, and a very fair day, where, in the Afternoon, about six or seven a Clock, as they were dealing out their Victuals, there appear'd a little black Cloud to the North West, which spread and brought with it Rain, Wind and Lightning; so we went out from the Place where we were all at Victuals, and went down to the Cabins where I left the *Indians*, and went to lie in my Canoe, which was convenient enough to keep me dry. The Lightning came so terrible, and down in long Streams, that I was afraid it would have taken hold of a Barrel of Powder I had in my Vessel, and so blown me up; but it pleas'd God, that it did me no Harm; yet the Violence of the Wind had blown all the Water away, where I rid at Anchor, so that my Canoe lay dry, and some *Indian* Women came with Torches in their Hands to the side of the Canoe, and told me, an *Indian* was kill'd with Lightning. The next day, (I think) he was buried, and I stay'd to see the Ceremony, and was very tractable to help the *Indians* to trim their Reeds, and make the Coffin, which pleased them very much, being

Indian *Lightning, at* Chattooka, *at a Feast for rebuilding a King's House burnt.*

becauſe I had a mind to ſee the Interment. Before he was Interr'd according to their Cuſtom, they dealt every one ſome hot Victuals, which he took and did what he would with: Then the Doctor began to talk, and told the People what Lightning was, and that it kill'd every thing that dwelt upon the Earth; nay, the very Fiſhes did not eſcape; for it often reach'd the Porpoiſes and other Fiſh, and deſtroy'd them; that every thing ſtrove to ſhun it, except the Mice, who, he ſaid, were the buſieſt in eating their Corn in the Fields, when it lightned the moſt. He added, that no Wood or Tree could withſtand it, except the black Gum, and that it would run round that Tree a great many times, to enter therein, but could not effect it. Now you muſt underſtand, that ſort of Gum will not ſplit or rive; therefore, I ſuppoſe, the Story might ariſe from thence. At laſt, he began to tell the moſt ridiculous abſurd Parcel of Lyes about Lightning, that could be; as that an *Indian* of that Nation had once got Lightning in the Likeneſs of a Partridge; That no other Lightning could harm him, whilſt he had that about him; and that after he had kept it for ſeveral Years, it got away from him; ſo that he then became as liable to be ſtruck with Lightning, as any other Perſon. There was preſent at the ſame time, an *Indian* that had liv'd from his Youth, chiefly in an *Engliſh* Houſe; ſo I call'd to him, and told him, what a Parcel of Lyes the Conjurer told, not doubting but he thought ſo, as well as I, but I found to the contrary; for he reply'd, that I was much miſtaken, for that old Man (who, I believe was upwards of an hundred Years old) did never tell Lyes; and as for what he ſaid, it was very true; for he knew it himſelf to be ſo. Thereupon, ſeeing the Fellow's Ignorance, I talk'd no more about it. Then the Doctor proceeded to tell a long Tale of a great Rattle-Snake, which, a great while ago, liv'd by a Creek in that River (which was *Neus*) and that it kill'd abundance of *Indians*; but at laſt, a bald Eagle kill'd it, and they were rid of a Serpent, that us'd to devour whole Canoes full of *Indians*, at a time. I have been ſomething tedious upon this Subject, on purpoſe to ſhew what ſtrange ridiculous Stories theſe Wretches are inclinable to believe. I ſuppoſe, theſe Doctors underſtand a little better themſelves, than to give Credit to any ſuch Fooleries; for I reckon them the cunningeſt Knaves in all the Pack. I will

How hard it is to bring the Indians *from their Superſtition.*

Rattle-Snake kill Indians *in Canoes.*

Eagles kill it.

therefore begin with their Phyſick and Surgery, which is next: You muſt know, that the Doctors or Conjurers, to gain a greater Credit amongſt theſe People, tell them, that all Diſtempers are the Effects of evil Spirits, or the bad Spirit, which has ſtruck them with this or that Malady; therefore, none of theſe Phyſicians undertakes any Diſtemper, but that he comes to an Exorciſm, to effect the Cure, and acquaints the ſick Party's Friends, that he muſt converſe with the good Spirit, to know whether the Patient will recover or not; if ſo, then he will drive out the bad Spirit, and the Patient will become well. Now, the general way of their Behaviour in curing the Sick, (a great deal of which I have ſeen, and ſhall give ſome Account thereof, in as brief a manner as poſſible) is, when an *Indian* is ſick, if they think there is much Danger of Life, and that he is a great Man or hath good Frieds, the Doctor is ſent for. As ſoon as the Doctor comes into the Cabin, the ſick Perſon is ſat on a Mat or Skin, ſtark-naked, lying on his Back, and all uncover'd, except ſome ſmall Trifle that covers their Nakedneſs when ripe, otherwiſe in very young Children, there is nothing about them. In this manner, the Patient lies, when the Conjurer appears; and the King of that Nation comes to attend him with a Rattle made of a Gourd with Peaſe in it. This the King delivers into the Doctor's Hand, whilſt another brings a Bowl of Water, and ſets it down: Then the Doctor begins, and utters ſome few Words very ſoftly; afterwards he ſmells of the Patient's Navel and Belly, and ſometimes ſcarifies him a little with a Flint, or an Inſtrument made of Rattle-Snakes Teeth for that purpoſe; then he ſucks the Patient, and gets out a Mouthful of Blood and *Serum*, but *Serum* chiefly; which, perhaps, may be a better Method in many Caſes, than to take away great Quantities of Blood, as is commonly practis'd; which he ſpits in the Bowl of Water. Then he begins to mutter, and talk apace, and, at laſt, to cut Capers, and clap his Hands on his Breech and Sides, till he gets into a Sweat, ſo that a Stranger would think he was running mad; now and then ſucking the Patient, and ſo, at times, keeps ſucking, till he has got a great Quaatity of very ill-coloured Matter out of the Belly, Arms, Breaſt, Forehead, Temples, Neck, and moſt Parts, ſtill continuing his Grimaces, and antick Poſtures, which are not to be match'd in *Bedlam*: At laſt, you will ſee the Doctor all over of a dropping Sweat, and ſcarce

Indian Phyſick and Surgery.

Conjuring over the Sick.

ſcarce able to utter one Word, having quite ſpent himſelf; then he will ceaſe for a while, and ſo begin again, till he comes in the ſame Pitch of Raving and ſeeming Madneſs, as before, (all this time the ſick Body never ſo much as moves, although, doubtleſs, the Lancing and Sucking muſt be a great Puniſhment to them; but they, certainly, are the patienteſt and moſt ſteady People under any Burden, that I ever ſaw in my Life.) At laſt, the Conjurer makes an end, and tells the Patient's Friends, whether the Perſon will live or die; and then one that waits at this Ceremony, takes the Blood away, (which remains in a Lump, in the middle of the Water) and buries it in the Ground, in a Place unknown to any one, but he that inters it. Now, I believe a great deal of Impoſture in theſe Fellows; yet I never knew their Judgment fail, though I have ſeen them give their Opinion after this Manner, ſeveral times: Some affirm, that there is a ſmell of Brimſtone in the Cabins, when they are Conjuring, which I cannot contradict. Which way it may come, I will not argue, but proceed to a Relation or two, which I have from a great many Perſons, and ſome of them worthy of Credit.

Whether live or die.

Bury the Serum.

The firſt is, of a certain *Indian*, that one rainy Night, undermin'd a Houſe made of Logs, (ſuch as the *Swedes* in *America* very often make, and are very ſtrong) which belong'd to *Seth Southwell*, Eſq; Governor of *North-Carolina*, and one of the Proprietors. There was but one place the *Indian* could get in at, which was very narrow; the reſt was ſecur'd, by having Barrels of Pork and other Proviſions ſet againſt the ſide of the Houſe, ſo that if this *Indian* had not exactly hit the very Place he undermin'd, it had been impoſſible for him to have got therein, becauſe of the full Barrels that ſtood round the Houſe, and barricadoed it within. The *Indian* ſtole ſixty or eighty dreſs'd Deer-Skins, beſides Blankets, Powder, Shot and Rum, (this being the *Indian* Store-Houſe, where the Trading Goods were kept.) Now, the *Indian* had made his Eſcape, but dropt ſome of the Skins by the way, and they track'd his Foot-ſteps, and found him to be an *Indian*; then they gueſs'd who it was, becauſe none but that *Indian* had lately been near the Houſe. Thereupon, the Governor ſent to the *Indian* Town that he belong'd to, which was the *Tuskeruro*'s, and acquainted them that if they did not deliver up the *Indian*, who had committed the

Indian Robbery.

Robbery, he would take a Courſe with them, that would not be very agreeable. Upon this, the *Indians* of the Town he belong'd to, brought him in bound, and deliver'd him up to the Governor, who laid him in Irons. At the ſame time, it happen'd, that a Robbery was committed amongſt themſelves, at the *Indian* Town, and this Priſoner was one of their Conjurers; ſo the *Indians* came down to the Governor's Houſe, and acquainted him with what had happen'd amongſt them, and that a great Quantity of *Peak*, was ſtoln away out of one of their Cabins, and no one could find out the Thief, unleſs he would let the Priſoner conjure for it, who was the only Man they had at making ſuch Diſcoveries. The Governor was content he ſhould try his Skill for them, but not to have the Priſoners Irons taken off, which was very well approved of. The *Indian* was brought out in his Fetters, where were the Governor's Family, and ſeveral others of the Neighbourhood, now living, to ſee this Experiment; which he perform'd thus:

Conjuring for ſtoln Goods.

The Conjurer order'd three Fires to be made in a triangular Form, which was accordingly done; then he was hoodwink'd very ſecurely, with a dreſs'd Deer-Skin, two or three doubles, over his Face. After he had made ſome Motions, as they always do, he went directly out of one of the three Gaps, as exactly as if he had not been blindfolded, and kept muttering to himſelf, having a Stick in his Hand, with which, after ſome time, he ſtruck two Strokes very hard upon the Ground, and made thereon a Croſs, after which he told the *Indian*'s Name that had ſtoln the Goods, and ſaid, that he would have a Croſs on his Back; which prov'd true; for when they took and ſearch'd him, there appear'd two great Wheals on his Back, one croſs the other; for the Thief was at Governor *Southwell*'s Houſe, and was under no Apprehenſion of being diſcover'd. The *Indians* proffer'd to ſell him as a Slave to the Governor, but he refuſed to buy him; ſo they took him bound away.

Another Inſtance, of the like Nature, happen'd at the ſame Houſe. One of the *Tuskeruro* Kings had brought in a Slave to the ſame Governor, to whom he had ſold him; and before he return'd, fell ſick at the Governor's Houſe; upon which, the Doctor that belong'd to this King's Nation, was ſent for, being a Man that was held to be the greateſt Conjurer

rer amongſt them. It was three Days, before he could arrive, and he appear'd (when he came) to be a very little Man, and ſo old, that his Hair was as white as ever was ſeen. When he approach'd the ſick King, he order'd a Bowl of Water to be brought him, and three Chunks of Wood, which was immediately done. Then he took the Water, and ſet it by him, and ſpurted a little on him, and with the three Pieces of Wood, he made a Place to ſtand on, whereby he was rais'd higher; (he being a very low ſtatur'd Man) then he took a String of *Ronoak*, which is the ſame as a String of ſmall Beads; this he held by one End, between his Fingers; the other End touch'd the King's Stomach, as he ſtood on the Logs. Then he began to talk, and at length, the By-ſtanders thought really, that they heard ſomebody talk to him, but ſaw no more than what firſt came in. At laſt, this String of Beads, which hung thus perpendicular, turn'd up as an Eel would do, and without any Motion of his, they came all up (in a lump) under his Hand, and hung ſo for a conſiderable time, he never cloſing his Hand, and at length return'd to their priſtine Length and Shape, at which the Spectators were much frightned. Then he told the Company, that he would recover, and that his Diſtemper would remove into his Leg, all which happen'd to be exactly as the *Indian* Doctor had told. Theſe are Matters of Fact, and I can, at this day, prove the Truth thereof by ſeveral ſubſtantial Evidences, that are Men of Reputation, there being more than a dozen People preſent, when this was perform'd; moſt of whom are now alive.

There are a great many other Stories, of this Nature, which are ſeemingly true, being told by Perſons that affirm they were Eye-Witneſſes thereof; as, that they have ſeen one *Roncommock* (a *Chuwou Indian*, and a great Conjurer) take a Reed about two Foot long in his Mouth, and ſtand by a Creek-ſide, where he call'd twice or thrice with the Reed in his Mouth; and, at laſt, has open'd his Arms, and fled over the Creek, which might be near a quarter of a Mile wide or more; but I ſhall urge no Man's Belief, but tell my own; which is, that I believe the two firſt Accounts, which were acted at Mr. *Southwell*'s Plantation, as firmly as any Man can believe any thing of that which is told him by honeſt Men, and he has not ſeen; not at all doubting the Credit of my Authors. Salmon-Creek.

The

The Cures I have ſeen perform'd by the *Indians*, are too many to repeat here; ſo I ſhall only mention ſome few, and their Method. They cure Scald-heads infallibly, and never miſs. Their chief Remedy as I have ſeen them make uſe of, is, the Oil of Acorns, but from which ſort of Oak I am not certain. They cure Burns beyond Credit. I have ſeen a Man burnt in ſuch a manner, (when drunk) by falling into a Fire, that I did not think he could recover; yet they cur'd him in ten Days, ſo that he went about. I knew another blown up with Powder, that was cured to Admiration. I never ſaw an *Indian* have an Ulcer, or foul Wound in my Life; neither is there any ſuch thing to be found amongſt them. They cure the Pox, by a Berry that ſalivates, as *Mercury* does; yet they uſe Sweating and Decoctions very much with it; as they do, almoſt on every Occaſion; and when they are thoroughly heated, they leap into the River. The Pox is frequent in ſome of theſe Nations; amongſt which I knew one Woman die of it; and they could not, or would not, cure her. Before ſhe died, ſhe was worn away to a Skeleton, yet walk'd up and down to the laſt. We had a Planter in *Carolina*, who had got an Ulcer in his Leg, which had troubled him a great many Years; at laſt, he apply'd himſelf to one of theſe *Indian* Conjurers, who was a *Pampticough Indian*, and was not to give the Value of fifteen Shillings for the Cure. Now, I am not poſitive, whether he waſh'd the Ulcer with any thing, before he uſed what I am now going to ſpeak of, which was nothing but the rotten doated Grains of *Indian* Corn, beaten to Powder, and the ſoft Down growing on a Turkey's Rump. This dry'd the Ulcer up immediately, and no other Fontanel was made to diſcharge the Matter, he remaining a healthful Man, till the time he had the Misfortune to be drown'd, which was many Years after. Another Inſtance (not of my own Knowledge, but I had it confirm'd by ſeveral Dwellers in *Maryland*, where it was done) was, of an honeſt Planter that had been poſſeſs'd with a ſtrange Lingring Diſtemper, not uſual amongſt them, under which he emaciated, and grew every Month worſe than another, it having held him ſeveral Years, in which time he had made Tryal of ſeveral Doctors, as they call them, which, I ſuppoſe, were Ship-Surgeons. In the beginning of this Diſtemper, the Patient was very well to paſs, and was poſſeſs'd of ſeveral Slaves,

Scald Head cured.

No ulcerated Wounds.

Pox to cure.

Indian *cure an Ulcer.*

Cure in Maryland.

Slaves, which the Doctors purged all away, and the poor Man was so far from mending, that he grew worse and worse every day. But it happen'd, that, one day, as his Wife and he were commiserating his miserable Condition, and that he could not expect to recover, but look'd for Death very speedily, and condoling the Misery he should leave his Wife and Family in, since all his Negro's were gone. At that time, I say, it happen'd, that an *Indian* was in the same Room, who had frequented the House for many Years, and so was become as one of the Family, and would sometimes be at this Planter's House, and at other times amongst the *Indians*.

This Savage, hearing what they talk'd of, and having a great Love for the Sick Man, made this Reply to what he had heard. *Brother, you have been a long time Sick; and, I know, you have given away your Slaves to your* English *Doctors: What made you do so, and now become poor? They do not know how to cure you; for it is an* Indian *Distemper, which your People know not the Nature of. If it had been an* English *Disease, probably they could have cured you; and had you come to me at first, I would have cured you for a small matter, without taking away your Servants that made Corn for you and your Family to eat; and yet, if you will give me a Blanket to keep me warm, and some Powder and Shot to kill Deer withal, I will do my best to make you well still.* The Man was low in Courage and Pocket too, and made the *Indian* this Reply. *Jack, my Distemper is past Cure, and if our* English *Doctors cannot cure it, I am sure, the* Indians *cannot.* But his Wife accosted her Husband in very mild terms, and told him, he did not know, but God might be pleased to give a Blessing to that *Indian's* Undertaking more than he had done to the *English*; and farther added; *if you die, I cannot be much more miserable, by giving this small matter to the* Indian; *so I pray you, my Dear, take my Advice, and try him*; to which, by her Persuasions, he consented. After the Bargain was concluded, the *Indian* went into the Woods, and brought in both Herbs and Roots, of which he made a Decoction, and gave it the Man to drink, and bad him go to bed, saying, it should not be long, before he came again, which the Patient perform'd as he had ordered; and the Potion he had administred made him sweat after the most violent manner that could be, whereby he smell'd very offensively both to himself, and they

they that were about him; but in the Evening, towards Night, *Jack* came, with a great Rattle-Snake in his Hand alive, which frightned the People almoſt out of their Senſes; and he told his Patient, that he muſt take that to Bed to him; at which the Man was in a great Conſternation, and told the *Indian*, he was reſolv'd, to let no Snake come into his Bed, for he might as well die of the Diſtemper he had, as be kill'd with the Bite of that Serpent. To which the *Indian* reply'd, he could not bite him now, nor do him any Harm; for he had taken out his Poiſon-teeth, and ſhew'd him, that they were gone. At laſt, with much Perſuaſion, he admitted the Snake's Company, which the *Indian* put about his Middle, and order'd nobody to take him away upon any account, which was ſtrictly obſerv'd, although the Snake girded him as hard for a great while) as if he had been drawn in by a Belt, which one pull'd at, with all his ſtrength. At laſt, the Snake's Twitches grew weaker and weaker, till, by degrees, he felt him not; and opening the Bed, he was found dead, and the Man thought himſelf better. The *Indian* came in the Morning, and ſeeing the Snake dead, told the Man, that his Diſtemper was dead along with that Snake, which prov'd ſo as he ſaid; for the Man ſpeedily recover'd his Health, and became perfectly well.

Cure by a Snake.

They cure the Spleen (which they are much addicted to) by burning with a Reed. They lay the Patient on his Back, ſo put a hollow Cane into the Fire, where they burn the End thereof, till it is very hot, and on Fire at the end. Then they lay a Piece of thin Leather on the Patient's Belly, between the Pit of the Stomach and the Navel, ſo preſs the hot Reed on the Leather, which burns the Patient ſo that you may ever after ſee the Impreſſion of the Reed where it was laid on, which Mark never goes off ſo long as he lives. This is uſed for the Belly-Ach ſometimes. They can colour their Hair black, though ſometimes it is reddiſh, which they do with the Seed of a Flower that grows commonly in their Plantations. I believe this would change the reddeſt Hair into perfect black. They make uſe of no Minerals in their Phyſick, and not much of Animals; but chiefly rely on Vegetables. They have ſeveral Remedies for the Tooth-ach, which often drive away the Pain; but if they fail, they have Recourſe to punching out the Tooth, with a ſmall Cane ſet againſt

Spleen how cure.

Colouring of the Hair.

Not many Tears, Rezins.

againſt the ſame, on a Bit of Leather. Then they ſtrike the Reed, and ſo drive out the Tooth; and howſoever it may ſeem to the *Europeans*, I prefer it before the com mon way of drawing Teeth by thoſe Inſtruments than endanger the Jaw, and a Flux of Blood often follows, which this Method of a Punch never is attended withal; neither is it half the Pain. The Spontaneous Plants of *America* the Savages are well acquainted withal; and a Flux of Blood never follows any of their Operations. They are wholly Strangers to Amputation, and for what natural Iſſues of Blood happen immoderately, they are not to ſeek for a certain and ſpeedy Cure. Tears, Rozins, and Gums, I have not diſcover'd that they make much uſe of; And as for Purging and Emeticks, ſo much in faſhion with us, they never apply themſelves to, unleſs in drinking vaſt Quantities of their *Yaupon* or Tea, and vomiting it up again, as clear as they drink it. This is a Cuſtom amongſt all thoſe that can procure that Plant, in which manner they take it every other Morning, or oftner; by which Method they keep their Stomachs clean, without pricking the Coats, and ſtraining Nature, as every Purge is an Enemy to. Beſides, the great Diuretick Quality of their Tea carries off a great deal, that perhaps might prejudice their Health, by Agues, and Fevers, which all watry Countries are addicted to; for which reaſon, I believe, it is, that the *Indians* are not ſo much addicted to that Diſtemper, as we are, they preventing its ſeizing upon them, by this Plant alone. Moreover, I have remark'd, that it is only thoſe Places bordering on the Ocean and great Rivers, that this Diſtemper is frequent in, and only on and near the ſame Places this Evergreen is to be found; and none up towards the Mountains, where theſe Agues ſeldom or never appear; Nature having provided ſuitable Remedies, in all Countries, proper for the Maladies that are common thereto. The Savages of *Carolina* have this Tea in Veneration, above all the Plants they are acquainted withal, and tell you, the Diſcovery thereof was by an infirm *Indian*, that labour'd under the Burden of many rugged Diſtempers, and could not be cured by all their Doctors; ſo, one day, he fell aſleep, and dreamt, that if he took a Decoction of the Tree that grew at his Head, he would certainly be cured; upon which he awoke, and ſaw the *Yaupon* or *Caſſena*-Tree, which was not

Yaupon.

there when he fell asleep. He follow'd the Direction of his Dream, and became perfectly well in a short time. Now, I suppose, no Man has so little Sense as to believe this Fable; yet it lets us see what they intend thereby, and that it has, doubtless, work'd Feats enough, to gain it such an Esteem amongst these Savages, who are too well versed in Vegetables, to be brought to a continual use of any one of them, upon a meer Conceit or Fancy, without some apparent Benefit they found thereby; especially, when we are sensible, they drink the Juices of Plants, to free Nature of her Burdens, and not out of Foppery and Fashion, as other Nations are oftentimes found to do. Amongst all the Discoveries of *America*, by the Missionaries of the *French* and *Spaniards*, I wonder none of them was so kind to the World, as to have kept a Catalogue of the Distempers they found the Savages capable of curing, and their Method of Cure; which might have been of some Advantage to our *Materia Medica* at home, when deliver'd by Men of Learning, and other Qualifications, as most of them are. Authors generally tell us, that the Savages are well enough acquainted with those Plants which their Climate affords, and that some of them effect great Cures, but by what Means, and in what Form, we are left in the dark.

Sassafras. The Bark of the Root of the Sassafras-Tree, I have observ'd, is much used by them. They generally torrefy it in the Embers, so strip off the Bark from the Root, beating it to a Consistence fit to spread, so lay it on the griev'd Part; which both cleanses a fowl Ulcer; and after Scarrification, being apply'd to a Contusion, or Swelling, draws forth the Pain, and reduces the Part to its pristine State of Health, as I have often seen effected. Fats and Unguents never appear in their Chirurgery, when the Skin is once broke. The Fats of Animals are used by them, to render their Limbs pliable, and when wearied, to relieve the Joints, and this not often, because they approve of the Sweating-House (in such cases) above all things. The Salts they mix with their Bread and Soupe, to give them a Relish, are *Alkalis*, (viz.) Ashes, and calcined Bones of Deer, and other Animals. Sallads, they never eat any; as for Pepper and Mustard, they reckon us little better than Madmen, to make use of it amongst our Victuals. They are never troubled with the Scurvy, Dropsy, nor Stone. The Phthisick, Asthma, and Diabetes,

Make Bread, how Alkali Salts.

No Sallads, Pepper, or Mustard.

Diabetes, they are wholly Strangers to; neither do I remember I ever saw one Paralytick amongst them. The Gout, I cannot be certain whether they know what it is, or not. Indeed, I never saw any Nodes or Swellings, which attend the Gout in *Europe*; yet they have a sort of Rhumatism or Burning of the Limbs, which tortures them grievously, at which time their Legs are so hot, that they employ the young People continually to pour Water down them. I never saw but one or two thus afflicted. The Struma is not uncommon amongst these Savages, and another Distemper, which is, in some respects, like the Pox, but is attended with no *Gonorrhœa*. This not seldom bereaves them of their Nose. I have seen three or four of them render'd most miserable Spectacles by this Distemper. Yet, when they have been so negligent, as to let it run on so far without curbing of it; at last, they make shift to patch themselves up, and live for many years after; and such Men commonly turn Doctors. I have known two or three of these no-nose Doctors in great Esteem amongst these Savages. The Juice of the Tulip-Tree is used as a proper Remedy for this Distemper. What Knowledge they have in Anatomy, I cannot tell, neither did I ever see them employ themselves therein, unless, as I told you before, when they make the Skeletons of their Kings and great Mens Bones.

Rhumatick Pains.

The *Indians* are very careless and negligent of their Health; as, by Drunkenness, Wading in the Water, irregular Diet and Lodging, and a thousand other Disorders, (that would kill an *European*) which they daily use. They boil and roast their Meat extraordinary much, and eat abundance of Broth, except the Savages whom we call the naked *Indians*, who never eat any Soupe. They travel from the Banks of the *Messiasippi*, to war against the *Sinnagars* or *Iroquois*, and are (if equal Numbers) commonly too hard for them. They will lie and sleep in the Woods without Fire, being inur'd thereto. They are the hardiest of all *Indians*, and run so fast, that they are never taken, neither do any *Indians* outrun them, if they are pursu'd. Their Savage Enemies say, their Nimbleness and Wind proceeds from their never eating any Broth. The Small-Pox has been fatal to them; they do not often escape, when they are seiz'd with that Distemper, which is a contrary Fever to what they ever knew.

Naked Indians.

Small-Pox.

Moſt certain, it had never viſited *America*, before the Diſcovery thereof by the Chriſtians. Their running into the Water, in the Extremity of this Diſeaſe, ſtrikes it in, and kills all that uſe it. Now they are become a little wiſer; but formerly it deſtroy'd whole Towns, without leaving one *Indian* alive in the Village. The Plague was never known amongſt them, that I could learn by what Enquiry I have made: Theſe Savages uſe Scarrification almoſt in all Diſtempers. Their chief Inſtruments for that Operation is the Teeth of Rattle-Snakes, which they poiſon withal. They take them out of the Snake's Head, and ſuck out the Poiſon with their Mouths, (and ſo keep them for uſe) and ſpit out the Venom, which is green, and are never damag'd thereby. The Small-Pox and Rum have made ſuch a Deſtruction amongſt them, that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the ſixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago. Theſe poor Creatures have ſo many Enemies to deſtroy them, that it's a wonder one of them is left alive near us. The Small-pox I have acquainted you withal above, and ſo I have of Rum, and ſhall only add, that they have got a way to carry it back to the Weſtward *Indians*, who never knew what it was, till within very few Years. Now they have it brought them by the *Tuskeruro's*, and other Neighbour-*Indians*, but the *Tuskeruro's* chiefly, who carry it in Rundlets ſeveral hundred Miles, amongſt other *Indians*. Sometimes they cannot forbear breaking their Cargo, but ſit down in the Woods, and drink it all up, and then hollow and ſhout like ſo many *Bedlamites*. I accidentally once met with one of theſe drunken Crews, and was amaz'd to ſee a Parcel of drunken Savages ſo far from any *Engliſhman*'s Houſe; but the *Indians* I had in Company inform'd me, that they were Merchants, and had drunk all their Stock, as is very common for them to do. But when they happen to carry it ſafe, (which is ſeldom, without drinking ſome part of it, and filling it up with Water) and come to an *Indian* Town, thoſe that buy Rum of them have ſo many Mouthfuls for a Buck-Skin, they never uſing any other Meaſure; and for this purpoſe, the Buyer always makes Choice of his Man, which is one that has the greateſt Mouth, whom he brings to the Market with a Bowl to put it in. The Seller looks narrowly to the Man's Mouth

that

that measures it, and if he happens to swallow any down, either through Wilfulness or otherwise, the Merchant or some of his Party, does not scruple to knock the Fellow down, exclaiming against him for false Measure. Thereupon, the Buyer finds another Mouthpiece to measure the Rum by; so that this Trading is very agreeable to the Spectators, to see such a deal of Quarrelling and Controversy, as often happens, about it, and is very diverting.

Another Destroyer of them, is, the Art they have, and often practise, of poisoning one another; which is done by a large, white, spungy Root, that grows in the Fresh-Marshes, which is one of their Poisons; not but that they have many other Drugs, which they poison one another withal. *Poisoning of Taylor.*

Lastly, the continual Wars these Savages maintain, one Nation against another, which sometimes hold for some Ages, killing and making Captives, till they become so weak thereby, that they are forced to make Peace for want of Recruits, to supply their Wars; and the Difference of Languages, that is found amongst these Heathens, seems altogether strange. For it often appears, that every dozen Miles, you meet with an *Indian* Town, that is quite different from the others you last parted withal; and what a little supplies this Defect is, that the most powerful Nation of these Savages scorns to treat or trade with any others (of fewer Numbers and less Power) in any other Tongue but their own, which serves for the *Lingua* of the Country, with which we travel and deal; as for Example, we see that the *Tuskeruro's* are most numerous in *North-Carolina*, therefore their Tongue is understood by some in every Town of all the *Indians* near us. And here I shall insert a small Dictionary of every Tongue, though not Alphabetically digested. *How the Indians war.*

English.	Tuskeruro.	Pampticough.	Woccon.
One	*Unche*	*Weembot*	*Tonne*
Two	*Nette*	*Neshinnauh*	*Num-perre*
Three	*Ohs-sah*	*Nish-wonner*	*Nam-mee*
Four	*Untoc*	*Tau-Ooner*	*Punnum-punne*
Five	*Ouch-whe*	*Umperren*	*Webtau*
Six	*Houeyoc*	*Who-yeoc*	*If-sto*
Seven	*Chauh-noc*	*Top-po-osh*	*Nommis-sau*
Eight	*Nec-kara*	*Nau-haush-shoo*	*Nupsau*

English

Engliſh.	Tuskeruro.	Pampticough.	Woccon.
Nine	*Wearah*	*Pach-ic-conk*	*Weihere*
Ten	*Wartſauh*	*Coſh*	*Soone noponne*
Eleven	*Unche ſcauwhau*		*Tonne hauk pea*
Twelve	*Nectec ſcaukhau*		*Soone nomme*
Twenty	*Wartſau ſcauhau*		*Winnop*
Thirty	*Oſſa te wartſau*		
Hundred	*Youch ſe*		
Thouſand	*Ki you ſe*		
Rum	*Oonaquod*	*Weeſaccon*	*Yup-ſe*
Blankets	*Oorewa*	*Mattoſh*	*Roo-iune*
White	*Ware-occa*	*Wop-poſhaumoſh*	*Waurraupa*
Red	*Cotcoo-rea*	*Miſh-cosk*	*Tauta*
Black or Blue, *idem*	*Caw-hunſhe*	*Mow-cottowoſh*	*Yah-teſtea*
Gunpowder	*Ou-kn*	*Pungue*	*Rooeyam*
Shot	*Cauna*	*Ar-rounſer*	*Week*
Axe	*Au-nuka*	*Tomma-hick*	*Tau-unta winnik*
Knife	*Ooſocke nauh*	*Rig-coſq*	*Wee*
Tobacco	*Charho*	*Hooh-pau*	*Uu-coone*
Shirt	*Ough-tre's*		*Tacca pitteneer*
Shoes	*Oo-roſs-ſoo*		*Wee-keſſoo*
Hat	*Troſſa*	*Mottau-quahan*	*Intome-poſſwa*
Fire	*Utchar*	*Tinda*	*Yau*
Water	*Awoo*	*Umpe*	*Ejau*
Coat	*Ouſwox* *Kawhitchra*	*Taus-won*	*Rummiſſau*
Awl or Needle	*Ooſe-waure*	*Moc-coſe*	*Wonſh-ſhee*
A Hoe	*Wauche-wocnoc*	*Roſh-ſhocquon*	*Rooe-pau*
Salt	*Cheek-ha*		
Paint	*Quaunt*	*Chuwon*	*Whooyeonne*
Ronoak	*Nauh-houreot*	*Miſ-kiſ-'ſu*	*Rummaer*
Peak	*Chu-teche*	*Ronoak*	*Erroco*
Gun	*Auk-noc*	*Gau hooptop*	*Wittape*
Gun-Lock	*Oo-teſte*	*Gun tock Seike*	*Noonkoſſo*
Flints	*Ou-negh-ra*	*Hinds*	*Matt-teer*
A Flap	*Oukhaure*	*Rappatoc*	*Rhooeyau*
Belt	*Oona-teſte*	*Maachone*	*Wee-kau*

Engliſh

English.	Tuskeruro.	Pampticough.	Waccon.
Scissors and Tobacco-Tongues	*Cheh-ra*		*Toc-koor*
A Kettle	*Ocwaiana*		*Tooseawau*
A Pot	*Ocnock*		
Acorns	*Kooawa*		*Roosomme*
A Pine-Tree	*Heigta*	*Oonossa*	*Hooheh*
Englishman	*Nickreruroh*	*Tosh shonte*	*Wintsohore*
Indians	*Unqua*	*Nuppin*	*Tauh-he*

English.	Tuskeruro.	Woccon.
A Horse	*A hots*	*Yenwetoa*
Swine	*Watsquerre*	*Nommewarraupau*
Moss	*Auoona hau*	*Itto*
Raw skin un-dreft	*Ootahawa*	*Teep*
Buckskin	*Ocques*	*Rookau*
Fawn-skin	*Ottea*	*Wisto*
Bear-skin	*Oochehara*	*Ourka*
Fox-skin	*Che-chou*	*Hannatockore*
Raccoon-skin	*Roo-sotto*	*Auher*
Squirrel-skin	*Soss*	*Tehau*
Wildcat-skin	*Cauhauweana*	
Panther-skin	*Caunerex*	*Wattau*
Wolf	*Squarrena*	*Tire kiro*
Min	*Chac-kauene*	*Soccon*
Otter	*Chaunoc*	*Wetkes*
A Mat	*Ooyethne*	*Soppepepor*
Basket	*Ooyaura*	*Rookeppa*
Feathers	*Oosnooqua*	*Soppe*
Dreft-skin	*Cotcoo*	*Rauhau*
A Turkey	*Coona*	*Yauta*
A Duck	*Sooeau*	*Welka*
A King	*Teethka*	*Roamore*
Fat	*Ootsaure*	*Yendare*
Soft	*Utsauwanne*	*Roosomme*
Hard or heavy	*Waucots ne*	*Itte teraugh*
A Rope	*Utsera*	*Trauhe*
A Possum	*Che-ra*	
Day	*Ootauh-ne*	
A Pestel	*Tic-caugh-ne*	*Miyau*

English.

English.	Turkeruro.	Waccon.
A Mortar	*Ootic caugh-ne*	*Yoſſoo*
Stockings	*Way hauſhe*	
A Creek	*Wackena*	
A River	*Ahunt wackena*	
A Man	*Entequos*	
Old Man	*Occooahawa*	
Young Man	*Quottis*	
Woman	*Con-noowa*	
Old Woman	*Cuſquerre*	*Yicau*
Wife	*Kateocca*	*Yecauau*
A Child	*Woccanookne*	
A Boy	*Wariaugh*	
Infant	*Utſeroſta*	
Ears	*Ooethnat*	
Fiſhgig	*Ootoſne*	*Weetipſa*
A Comb	*Connaquitchra*	*Sacketoome poſſwa*
A Cake bak't	*Ooneck*	
A Head	*Ootaure*	*Poppe*
Hair	*Oowaara*	*Tumme*
Brother	*Caunotka*	*Yenrauhe*
I	*Ee*	
Thou	*Eets*	
There	*Ka*	
Homine	*Cotquerre*	*Roocauwa*
Bread	*Ootocnare*	*Ikettau*
Broath	*Ook-hoo*	
Corn	*Oonaha*	*Coſe*
	Oonave	
	Ooſare	
	Ooſha	
Peaſe	*Saugh-he*	*Cooſauk*
A Bag	*Uttaqua*	*Ekoocromon*
Fiſh	*Cunſhe*	*Yacunne*
A Louſe	*Cheecq;*	*Eppeſyau*
A Flea	*Nauocq;*	
Potato's	*Untone*	*Wauk*
A Stick	*Chinqua*	
Wood	*Ouyunkgue*	*Yonne*
Houſe	*Onouſe*	*Ouke*
A Cow	*Ous-ſarunt*	*Noppinjure*

Engliſh.

English.	Tuskeruro.	Woccon.
A Snake	*Us-quauh-ne*	*Yau-hauk*
A Rat	*Ruſquiane*	*Wittau*
A Gooſe	*Au-hoohaha*	*Auhaun*
A Swan	*Oorhaſt*	*Atter*
Allegator	*Utſfererauh*	*Monwittetau*
A Crab	*Rouare cou*	*Wunneau*
A Canoe	*Ooſhunnawa*	*Watt*
A Box	*Ooanoo*	*Topoonitſa*
A Bowl	*Ortſe*	*Cotſoo*
A Spoon	*Oughquere*	*Cotſau*
A Path	*Wauh-hauhne*	*Yauh*
Sun or Moon	*Heita*	*Wittapare*
Wind	*Hoonoch*	*Yuncor*
A Star	*Uttewiraratſe*	*Wattapi untakeer*
Rain	*Untuch*	*Yawowa*
	Auhuntwood	
Night	*Ooſottoo*	*Yantoha*
A Rundlet	*Oohunawa*	*Ynpyupſeunne*
An Eel	*Cuhn-na*	
A T---d	*Utquera*	*Pulawa*
A F---t	*Uttena*	*Pautyau*
A Cable	*Utquichra*	
Small Ropes	*Utſera utquichra*	
A Button	*Tic-hah*	*Rummiſſauwoune*
Breeches	*Wahunſhe*	*Rooeyaukitte*
Stockings	*Oowiſſera*	*Rooeſoo poſſoo*
Day	*Wauwoc-hook*	*Waukhaway*
Mad	*Coſſerunte*	*Rockcumne*
Angry	*Cotcheroore*	*Roochcha*
Afraid	*Werricauna*	*Reheſhiwau*
Smoak	*Oo-teighne*	*Too-ſhe*
A Thief or Rogue	*Katitchhei*	
A Dog	*Cheeth*	*Tauh-he*
A Reed	*Cauna*	*Weekwonne*
Lightwood	*Kakoo*	*Sek*
To morrow	*Jureha*	*Kittape*
Now	*Kahunk*	
To day	*Kawa*	
A little while ago	*Kakoowa*	*Yauka*

Engliſh.	Tuskeruro.	Woccon.
Yeſterday	*Oouſotto*	*Tottoha*
How many	*Ut-tewots*	*Tontarinte*
How far	*Untateawa*	
Will you go along with me	*Unta hah*	*Quauke*
Go you	*Its warko*	*Yuppa me*
Give it me	*Cotſhau*	*Mothei*
That's all	*Ut chat*	*Cuttaune*
A Cubit length	*Kihooſocca*	*Iſhewounaup*
Dead	*Whaharia*	*Caure*
A Gourd or Bottle	*Utchaawa*	*Wattape*
A lazy Fellow	*Wattattoo watſe*	*Tontaunete*
Engliſhman is thirſty	*Oukwockaninniwock*	
I will ſell you Goods very cheap	*Wauſthanocha*	*Nau hau hoore-ene*
All the *Indians* are drunk	*Connaugh joſt twane*	*Nonnupper*
Have you got any thing to eat	*Utta-ana-wox*	*Noccoo Eraute*
I am ſick	*Connauwox*	*Waurepa*
A Fiſh-Hook	*Oos-skinna*	
Don't loſe it	*Oon eſt nonne it quoſt*	
A Tobacco-pipe	*Ooſquaana*	*Intom*
I remember it	*Oonutſauka*	*Aucummato*
Let it alone	*Tnotſaurauweek*	*Sauhau*
Peaches	*Roo-ooe*	*Yonne*
Walnuts	*Rootau-ooe*	
Hickery Nuts	*Rootau*	*Nimmia*
A *Jew*'s-Harp	*Ooratſa*	*Wottiyau*
I forget it	*Merrauka*	
Northweſt-Wind	*Hothooka*	
Snow	*Acaunque*	*Wawawa*

To

To repeat more of this *Indian* Jargon, would be to trouble the Reader; and as an Account how imperfect they are in their Moods and Tenses, has been given by several already, I shall only add, that their Languages or Tongues are so deficient, that you cannot suppose the *Indians* ever could express themselves in such a Flight of Stile, as Authors would have you believe. They are so far from it, that they are but just able to make one another understand readily what they talk about. As for the two Consonants *L* and *F*, I never knew them in any *Indian* Speech I have met withal; yet I must tell you, that they have such a Way of abbreviating their Speech, when in their great Councils and Debates, that the young Men do not understand what they treat about, when they hear them argue. It is wonderful, what has occasion'd so many different Speeches as the Savages have. The three Nations I now mention'd, do not live above ten Leagues distant, and two of them, *viz.* the *Tuskeruro's* and the *Woccon*, are not two Leagues asunder; yet their Speech differs in every Word thereof, except one, which is *Tsaure*, *Cockles*, which is in both Tongues the same, and nothing else. Now this Difference of Speech causes Jealousies and Fears amongst them, which bring Wars, wherein they destroy one another; otherwise the Christians had not (in all Probability) settled *America* so easily, at they have done, had these Tribes of Savages united themselves into one People or general Interest, or were they so but every hundred Miles. In short, they are an odd sort of People under the Circumstances they are at present, and have some such uncouth Ways in their Management and Course of Living, that it seems a Miracle to us, how they bring about their Designs, as they do, when their Ways are commonly quite contrary to ours. I believe, they are (as to this Life) a very happy People; and were it not for the Feuds amongst themselves, they would enjoy the happiest State (in this World) of all Mankind. They met with Enemies when we came amongst them; for they are no nearer Christianity now, than they were at the first Discovery, to all Appearance. They have learnt several Vices of the *Europeans*, but not one Vertue, as I know of. Drunkenness was a Stranger, when we found them out, and Swearing their Speech cannot express; yet those that speak *English*, learn to swear the first thing they talk

Indian *Speech.*

Tartarian *Hurds.*

Indians *learn of the* Europeans.

talk of. It's true, they have ſome Vertues and ſome Vices; but how the Chriſtians can bring theſe People into the Boſom of the Church, is a Propoſal that ought to be form'd and follow'd by the wiſeſt Heads and beſt Chriſtians. After I have given one Remark or two farther, of ſome of their ſtrange Practices and Notions, I will give my Opinion, how I think, in probability, it may be (if poſſible) effected, and ſo ſhall conclude this Treatiſe of *Carolina*.

They are a very craving People, and if a Man give them any thing of a Preſent, they think it obliges him to give them another; and ſo on, till he has given them all he has; for they have no Bounds of Satisfaction in that way; and if they give you any thing, it is to receive twice the Value of it. They have no Conſideration that you will want what you give them; for their way of Living is ſo contrary to ours, that neither we nor they can fathom one anothers Deſigns and Methods. They call Rum and Phyſick by one Name, which implies that Rum make People ſick, as when they have taken any poiſonous Plant; yet they cannot forbear Rum. They make Offerings of their Firſt-Fruits, and the more ſerious ſort of them throw into the Aſhes, near the Fire, the firſt Bit or Spoonful of every Meal they ſit down to, which, they ſay, is the ſame to them, as the pulling off our Hats, and talking, when we go to Victuals, is to us. They name the Months very agreeably, as one is the Herring-Month, another the Strawberry-Month, another the Mulberry-Month. Others name them by the Trees that bloſſom; eſpecially, the Dogwood-Tree; or they ſay, we will return when Turkey-Cocks gobble, that is in *March* and *April*. The Age of the Moon they underſtand, but know no different Name for Sun and Moon. They can gueſs well at the time of the Day, by the Sun's Height. Their Age they number by Winters, and ſay, ſuch a Man or Woman is ſo many Winters old. They have no Sabbath, or Day of Reſt. Their Slaves are not over-burden'd with Work, and ſo not driven by Severity to ſeek for that Relief. Thoſe that are acquainted with the *Engliſh*, and ſpeak the Tongue, know when *Sunday* comes; beſides, the *Indians* have a diſtinct Name for *Chriſtmas* which they call *Winnick Keſhuſe*, or the *Engliſhmans Gods Moon*. There is one moſt abominable Cuſtom amongſt them, which they call *Husquenawing* their young Men; which I have not made

made any Mention of as yet, ſo will give you an Account of it here. You muſt know, that moſt commonly, once a Year, or, at fartheſt, once in two Years, theſe People take up ſo many of their young Men, as they think are able to undergo it, and *huſquenaugh* them, which is to make them obedient and reſpective to their Superiors, and (as they ſay) is the ſame to them, as it is to us to ſend our Children to School, to be taught good Breeding and Letters. This Houſe of Correction is a large ſtrong Cabin, made on purpoſe for the Reception of the young Men and Boys, that have not paſſed this Graduation already; and it is always at *Chriſtmas* that they *huſquenaugh* their Youth, which is by bringing them into this Houſe, and keeping them dark all the time, where they more than half-ſtarve them. Beſides, they give them Pellitory-Bark, and ſeveral intoxicating Plants, that make them go raving mad as ever were any People in the World; and you may hear them make the moſt diſmal and helliſh Cries, and Howlings, that ever humane Creatures expreſs'd; all which continues about five or ſix Weeks, and the little Meat they eat, is the naſtieſt, loathſome ſtuff, and mixt with all manner of Filth it's poſſible to get. After the Time is expired, they are brought out of the Cabin, which never is in the Town, but always a diſtance off, and guarded by a Jaylor or two, who watch by Turns. Now, when they firſt come out, they are as poor as ever any Creatures were; for you muſt know ſeveral die under this diabolical Purgation. Moreover, they either really are, or pretend to be dumb, and do not ſpeak for ſeveral Days; I think, twenty or thirty; and look ſo gaſtly, and are ſo chang'd, that it's next to an Impoſſibility to know them again, although you was never ſo well acquainted with them before. I would fain have gone into the mad Houſe, and have ſeen them in their time of Purgatory, but the King would not ſuffer it, becauſe, he told me, they would do me, or any other white Man, an Injury, that ventured in amongſt them; ſo I deſiſted. They play this Prank with Girls as well as Boys, and I believe it a miſerable Life they endure, becauſe I have known ſeveral of them run away, at that time, to avoid it. Now, the Savages ſay, if it was not for this, they could never keep their Youth in Subjection, beſides that it hardens them ever after to the Fatigues of War, Hunting, and all manner of Hard-

ſhip,

ſhip, which their way of living expoſes them to. Beſides, they add, that it carries off thoſe infirm weak Bodies, that would have been only a Burden and Diſgrace to their Nation, and ſaves the Victuals and Cloathing for better People, that would have been expended on ſuch uſeleſs Creatures. Theſe Savages are deſcribed in their proper Colours, but by a very few; for thoſe that generally write Hiſtories of this new World, are ſuch as Intereſt, Preferment, and Merchandize, drew thither, and know no more of that People than I do of the *Laplanders*, which is only by Hear-ſay. And if we will make juſt Remarks, how near ſuch Relations generally approach Truth and Nicety, we ſhall find very few of them worthy of Entertainment; and as for the other part of the Volume, it is generally ſtufft with Invectives againſt the Government they lived under, on which Stage is commonly acted greater Barbarities, in Murdering worthy Mens Reputations, than all the Savages in the new World are capable of equalizing, or ſo much as imitating.

And ſince I hinted at a Regulation of the Savages, and to propoſe a way to convert them to Chriſtianity, I will firſt particularize the ſeveral Nations of *Indians* that are our Neighbours, and then proceed to what I promis'd.

Tuskeruro Indians are fifteen Towns, *viz. Haruta, Waqui, Contah-nah, Anna Ooka, Conauh-Kare Harooka, Una Nauhan, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naur-hegh-ne, Oonoſſoora, Toſneoc, Nonawharitſe, Nurſoorooka*; Fighting Men 1200. *Waccon.* Towns 2, *Tupwauremau, Tooptatmeer*, Fighting Men 120. *Machapunga*, Town 1, *Maramiskeet*, Fighting Men 30. *Bear* River, Town 1, *Raudauqua-quank*, Fighting Men 50. *Maherring Indians*, Town 1, *Maherring* River, Fighting Men 50. *Chuwon Indians*, Town 1, *Bennets* Creek, Fighting Men 15. *Paſpatank Indians*, Town 1, *Paſpatank* River, Fighting Men 10. *Poteskeit*, Town 1, *North* River, Fighting Men 30. *Nottaway Indians*, Town 1, *Winoack* Creek, Fighting Men 30. *Hatteras* Town 1, Sand Banks, Fighting Men 16. *Connamox Indians*, Towns 2, *Coranine, Raruta*, Fighting Men 25. *Neus Indians*, Towns 2, *Chattooka, Rouconk*, Fighting Men 15. *Pampticough Indians*, Town 1, *Iſland*, Fighting Men 15. *Jaupim Indians*, 6 People. Theſe five Nations of the *Totero's, Sapona's, Keiauwee's, Aconechos*, and *Schoccories*, are lately come amongſt us, and may contain, in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children. Total 4780.

Now

Now, there appears to be one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve Fighting Men, of our Neighbouring *Indians*; and probably, there are three Fifths of Women and Children, not including Old Men, which amounts to four thouſand and thirty Savages, beſides the five Nations lately come. Now, as I before hinted, we will ſee what grounds there are to make theſe People ſerviceable to us, and better themſelves thereby.

On a fair Scheme, we muſt firſt allow theſe Savages what really belongs to them, that is, what good Qualities, and natural Endowments, they poſſeſs, whereby they being in their proper Colours, the Event may be better gueſs'd at, and fathom'd.

Firſt, they are as apt to learn any Handicraft, as any People that the World affords; I will except none; as is ſeen by their Canoes and Stanking Heads, which they make of themſelves; but to my purpoſe, the *Indian* Slaves in South *Carolina*, and elſewhere, make my Argument good.

Secondly, we have no diſciplin'd Men in *Europe*, but what have, at one time or other, been branded with Mutining, and Murmuring againſt their Chiefs. Theſe Savages are never found guilty of that great Crime in a Soldier; I challenge all Mankind to tell me of one Inſtance of it; beſides, they never prove Traitors to their Native Country, but rather chuſe Death than partake and ſide with the Enemy.

They naturally poſſeſs the Righteous Man's Gift; they are Patient under all Afflictions, and have a great many other Natural Vertues, which I have ſlightly touch'd throughout the Account of theſe Savages.

They are really better to us, than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take care we are arm'd againſt Hunger and Thirſt: We do not ſo by them (generally ſpeaking) but let them walk by our Doors Hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Diſdain, and think them little better than Beaſts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we ſhall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we poſſeſs more Moral Deformities, and Evils than theſe Savages do, or are acquainted withal.

We reckon them Slaves in Compariſon to us, and Intruders, as oft as they enter our Houſes, or hunt near our Dwel-

Dwellings. But if we will admit Reaſon to be our Guide, ſhe will inform us, that theſe *Indians* are the freeſt People in the World, and ſo far from being Intruders upon us, that we have abandon'd our own Native Soil, to drive them out, and poſſeſs theirs; neither have we any true Balance, in Judging of theſe poor Heathens, becauſe we neither give Allowance for their Natural Diſpoſition, nor the Sylvian Education, and ſtrange Cuſtoms, (uncouth to us) they lie under and have ever been train'd up to; theſe are falſe Meaſures for Chriſtians to take, and indeed no Man can be reckon'd a Moraliſt only, who will not make choice and uſe, of better Rules to walk and act by: We trade with them, it's true, but to what End? Not to ſhew them the Steps of Vertue, and the Golden Rule, to do as we would be done by. No, we have furniſhed them with the Vice of Drunkenneſs, which is the open Road to all others, and daily cheat them in every thing we ſell, and eſteem it a Gift of Chriſtianity, not to ſell to them ſo cheap as we do to the Chriſtians, as we call our ſelves. Pray let me know where is there to be found one Sacred Command or Precept of our Maſter, that counſels us to ſuch Behaviour? Beſides, I believe it will not appear, but that all the Wars, which we have had with the Savages, were occaſion'd by the unjuſt Dealings of the Chriſtians towards them. I can name more than a few, which my own Enquiry has given me a right Underſtanding of, and I am afraid the remainder (if they come to the teſt) will prove themſelves Birds of the ſame Feather.

Indians *Averſion to Chriſtianity.*

As we are in Chriſtian Duty bound, ſo we muſt act and behave ourſelves to theſe Savages, if we either intend to be ſerviceable in converting them to the Knowledge of the Goſpel, or diſcharge the Duty which every Man, within the Pale of the Chriſtian Church, is bound to do. Upon this Score, we ought to ſhew a Tenderneſs for theſe Heathens under the weight of Infidelity; let us cheriſh their good Deeds, and, with Mildneſs and Clemency, make them ſenſible and forwarn them of their ill ones; let our Dealings be juſt to them in every Reſpect, and ſhew no ill Example, whereby they may think we adviſe them to practiſe that which we will not be conformable to ourſelves: Let them have cheap Penniworths (without Guile in our Trading with them) and learn them the Myſteries of our Handicrafts, as well as our Re-

Religion, otherwiſe we deal unjuſtly by them. But it is highly neceſſary to be brought in Practice, which is, to give Encouragement to the ordinary People, and thoſe of a lower Rank, that they might marry with theſe *Indians*, and come into Plantations, and Houſes, where ſo many Acres of Land and ſome Gratuity of Money, (out of a publick Stock) are given to the new-married Couple; and that the *Indians* might have Encouragement to ſend their Children Apprentices to proper Maſters, that would be kind to them, and make them Maſters of a Trade, whereby they would be drawn to live amongſt us, and become Members of the ſame Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government we are under; then we ſhould have great Advantages to make daily Converſions amongſt them, when they ſaw that we were kind and juſt to them in all our Dealings. Moreover, by the *Indians* Marrying with the Chriſtians, and coming into Plantations with their *Engliſh* Huſbands, or Wives, they would become Chriſtians, and their Idolatry would be quite forgotten, and, in all probability, a better Worſhip come in its Stead; for were the *Jews* engrafted thus, and alienated from the Worſhip and Converſation of *Jews*, their Abominations would vaniſh, and be no more.

Thus we ſhould be let into a better Underſtanding of the *Indian* Tongue, by our new Converts; and the whole Body of theſe People would arrive to the Knowledge of our Religion and Cuſtoms, and become as one People with us. By this Method alſo, we ſhould have a true Knowledge of all the *Indians* Skill in Medicine and Surgery; they would inform us of the Situation of our Rivers, Lakes, and Tracts of Land in the Lords Dominions, where by their Aſſiſtance, greater Diſcoveries may be made than has been hitherto found out, and by their Accompanying us in our Expeditions, we might civilize a great many other Nations of the Savages, and daily add to our Strength in Trade, and Intereſt; ſo that we might be ſufficiently enabled to conquer, or maintain our Ground, againſt all the Enemies to the Crown of *England* in *America*, both Chriſtian and Savage.

What Children we have of theirs, to learn Trades, *&c.* ought to be put into thoſe Hands that are Men of the beſt Lives and Characters, and that are not only ſtrict Obſervers of their Religion, but alſo of a mild, winning and ſweet Diſpoſition, that theſe *Indian* Parents may often go and ſee how

well their Children are dealt with, which would much win them to our Ways of Living, Mildneſs being a Vertue the *Indians* are in love withal, for they do not practiſe beating and correcting their Children, as we do. A general Complaint is, that it ſeems impoſſible to convert theſe People to Chriſtianity, as, at firſt ſight, it does; and as for thoſe in *New Spain*, they have the Prayer of that Church in Latin by Rote, and know the external Behaviour at Maſs and Sermons; yet ſcarce any of them are ſteady and abide with conſtancy in good Works, and the Duties of the Chriſtian Church. We find that the *Fuentes* and ſeveral other of the noted *Indian* Families about *Mexico*, and in other parts of *New Spain*, had given ſeveral large Gifts to the Altar, and outwardly ſeem'd fond of their new Religion; yet thoſe that were the greateſt Zealots outwards, on a ſtrict Enquiry, were found guilty of Idolatry and Witchcraft; and this ſeems to proceed from their Cohabiting, which, as I have noted before, gives Opportunities of Cabals to recal their ancient priſtine Infidelity and Superſtitions. They never argue againſt our Religion, but with all imaginable Indifference own, that it is moſt proper for us that have been brought up in it.

In my opinion, it's better for Chriſtians of a mean Fortune to marry with the Civiliz'd *Indians*, than to ſuffer the Hardſhips of four or five years Servitude, in which they meet with Sickneſs and Seaſonings amidſt a Crowd of other Afflictions, which the Tyranny of a bad Maſter lays upon ſuch poor Souls, all which thoſe acquainted with our Tobacco Plantations are not Strangers to.

This ſeems to be a more reaſonable Method of converting the *Indians*, than to ſet up our Chriſtian Banner in a Field of Blood, as the *Spaniards* have done in *New Spain*, and baptize one hundred with the Sword for one at the Font. Whilſt we make way for a Chriſtian Colony through a Field of Blood, and defraud, and make away with thoſe that one day may be wanted in this World, and in the next appear againſt us, we make way for a more potent Chriſtian Enemy to invade us hereafter, of which we may repent, when too late.

THE

THE SECOND

CHARTER

Granted by

King *CHARLES* II.

TO THE

PROPRIETORS

OF

CAROLINA.

CHARLES II. by the Grace of God, *&c.* Whereas by Our Letters Patents, bearing Date the Four and Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign, We were Graciously Pleas'd to Grant unto Our right Trusty, and right Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, our High Chancellor of *England*, Our right Trusty, and right entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, Master of our Horse, Our right Trusty and Well Beloved *William*, now Earl of *Craven*, our right Trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, our right Trusty, and well-beloved Counsellor, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Chancellor of our Exchequer, our right Trusty and Well-beloved Counsellor Sir *George Carteret* Knight and Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of

our Houſhold, Our right Truſty and well-beloved, Sir *John Colleton* Knight and Baronet, and Sir *William Berkeley* Knight, all that Province, Territory, or Tract of Ground, called *Carolina*, ſituate, lying and being within our Dominions of *America*, Extending from the *North* End of the Iſland, called *Luke Iſland*, which lyeth in the *Southern Virginia* Seas, and within ſix and thirty Degrees of the *Northern* Latitude; and to the *Weſt*, as far as the *South* Seas; and ſo reſpectively as far as the River of *Mathias*, which bordereth upon the Coaſt of *Florida*, and within One and Thirty Degrees of the *Northern* Latitude, and ſo *Weſt* in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas aforeſaid.

Now, know Ye, that We, at the Humble Requeſt of the ſaid Grandees in the aforeſaid Letters Patents named, and as a farther Mark of Our eſpecial Favour towards them, We are Graciouſly Pleaſed to Enlarge Our ſaid Grant unto them, according to the Bounds and Limits hereafter Specifyed, and in Favour to the Pious and Noble Purpoſe of the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, all that Province, Territory, or Tract of Ground, ſituate, lying, and being within Our Dominions of *America* aforeſaid, extending *North* and *Weſtward*, as far as the *North* End of *Carahtuke* River, or *Gulet*, upon a ſtreight *Weſterly* Line, to *Wyonoake* Creek, which lies within, or about the Degrees of Thirty Six, and Thirty Minutes *Northern* Latitude, and ſo *Weſt*, in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas; and *South* and *Weſtward*, as far as the Degrees of Twenty Nine Incluſive *Northern* Latitude, and ſo *Weſt* in a direct Line, as far as the *South* Seas; together with all and ſingular Ports, Harbours, Bays, Rivers and Iſlets, belonging unto the Province or Territory, aforeſaid. And alſo, all the Soil, Lands, Fields, Woods, Mountains, Ferms. Lakes, Rivers, Bays and Iſlets, ſituate, or being within the Bounds, or Limits, laſt before mentioned; with the Fiſhing of all ſorts of Fiſh, *Whales*, *Sturgeons*, and all other Royal Fiſhes in the Sea, Bays, Iſlets and Rivers, within the Premiſes, and the Fiſh therein taken; together with the Royalty of the Sea, upon the Coaſt within the Limits aforeſaid. And moreover, all Veins, Mines and

and Quarries, as well discovered as not discover'd, of Gold, Silver, Gems and Precious Stones, and all other whatsoever; be it of Stones, Metal, or any other thing found, or to be found within the Province, Territory, Islets and Limits aforesaid.

And furthermore, the Patronage and Advowsons of all the Churches and Chappels, which as the Christian Religion shall encrease within the Province, Territory, Isles and Limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected; together with Licence and Power to build and found Churches, Chappels and Oratories in convenient and fit places, within the said Bounds and Limits; and to cause them to be Dedicated and Consecrated, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of Our Kingdom of *England*; together with all and singular, the like, and as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities and Franchises, of what Kind soever, within the Territory, Isles, Islets and Limits aforesaid. To have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy the same, as amply, fully, and in as ample Manner, as any Bishop of *Durham* in Our Kingdom of *England*, ever heretofore had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right ought, or could have, use, or enjoy; and them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns; We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the said Province, or Territory, and of all other the Premises, saving always the Faith, Allegiance and Sovereign Dominion due to Us, our Heirs and Successors, for the same; to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said Province, Territory, Islets, and all and singular, other the Premises, to them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton* and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, for Ever, to be holden of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, as of Our Mannor of *East Greenwich*, in *Kent*, in free and common Soccage, and not in *Capite*, or by *Knights Service*, yielding and paying yearly to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the same, the fourth Part of all Goods and Silver Oar, which within the Limits hereby Granted,

shall

ſhall from Time to Time, happen to be found, over and beſides the Yearly Rent of Twenty Marks and the fourth part of the Gold and Silver Oar, in and by the ſaid recited Letters Patents reſerved and payable.

And that the Province, or Territory hereby granted and deſcribed, may be dignifyed with as large Titles and Priviledges, as any other Parts of our Dominions and Territories in that Region; Know ye, That We, of our farther Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, have thought fit to annex the ſame Tract of Ground and Territory, unto the ſame Province of *Carolina*; and out of the Fulneſs of our Royal Power and Prerogative, We do for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, annex and unite the ſame to the ſaid Province of *Carolina*. And foraſmuch as We have made and ordained the aforeſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, the true Lords and Proprietors of all the Province or Territory aforeſaid; Know ye therefore moreover, that We repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in their Fidelity, Wiſdom, Juſtice and provident Circumſpection for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant full and abſolute Power, by virtue of theſe Preſents, to them the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Catterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs and Aſſigns, for the good and happy Government of the ſaid whole Province or Territory, full Power and Authority to erect, conſtitute, and make ſeveral Counties, Baronies, and Colonies, of and within the ſaid Provinces, Territories, Lands and Hereditaments, in and by the ſaid recited Letters Patents, and theſe Preſents, granted, or mentioned to be granted, as aforeſaid, with ſeveral and diſtinct Juriſdictions, Powers, Liberties and Privileges. And alſo, to ordain, make and enact, and under their Seals, to publiſh any Laws and Conſtitutions whatſoever, either appertaining to the publick State of the ſaid whole Province or Territory, or of any diſtinct or particular County, Barony or Colony, of or within the ſame, or to the private Utility of particular Perſons, according to their beſt Diſcretion, by and with the Advice, Aſſent and Approbation of the Freemen of the ſaid Province

vince or Territory, or of the Freemen of the County, Barony or Colony, for which such Law or Constitution shall be made, or the greatest Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for enacting of the said Laws, when, and as often as need shall require, We will that the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton* and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs or Assigns, shall from Time to Time, assemble in such Manner and Form as to them shall seem best: And the same Laws duly to execute upon all People within the said Province or Territory, County, Barony or Colony, and the Limits thereof, for the Time being, which shall be constituted under the Power and Government of them, or any of them, either sailing towards the said Province or Territory of *Carolina*, or returning from thence towards *England*, or any other of our, or foreign Dominions, by Imposition of Penalties, Imprisonment, or any other Punishment: Yea, if it shall be needful, and the Quality of the Offence require it, by taking away Member and Life, either by them, the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, or by them or their Deputies, Lieutenants, Judges, Justices, Magistrates, or Officers whatsoever, as well within the said Province, as at Sea, in such Manner and Form, as unto the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, shall seem most convenient: Also, to remit, release, pardon and abolish, whether before Judgment or after, all Crimes and Offences whatsoever, against the said Laws; and to do all and every other Thing and Things, which unto the compleat Establishment of Justice, unto Courts, Sessions and Forms of Judicature, and Manners of proceedings therein, do belong, altho' in these Presents, express Mention is not made thereof; and by Judges, to him or them delegated to award, process, hold Pleas, and determine in all the said Courts and Places of Judicature, all Actions, Suits and Causes whatsoever, as well criminal as civil, real, mixt, personal, or of any other Kind or Nature whatsoever:

ſoever: Which Laws ſo as aforeſaid, to be publiſhed, Our Pleaſure is, and We do enjoyn, require and command, ſhall be abſolutely firm and available in Law; and that all the Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, within the ſaid Province or Territory, do obſerve and keep the ſame inviolably in thoſe Parts, ſo far as they concern them, under the Pains and Penalties therein expreſſed; or to be expreſſed; provided nevertheleſs, that the ſaid Laws be conſonant to Reaſon, and as near as may be conveniently, agreeable to the Laws and Cuſtoms of this our Realm of *England*.

And becauſe ſuch Aſſemblies of Free-holders cannot be ſo ſuddenly called, as there may be Occaſion to require the ſame; We do therefore by theſe Preſents, give and grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, by themſelves or their Magiſtrates in that Behalf, lawfully authorized, full Power and Authority from Time to Time, to make and ordain fit and wholſome Orders and Ordinances, within the Province or Territory aforeſaid, or any County, Barony or Province, of or within the ſame, to be kept and obſerved, as well for the keeping of the Peace, as for the better Government of the People there abiding, and to publiſh the ſame to all to whom it may concern: Which Ordinances we do, by theſe Preſents, ſtreightly charge and command to be inviolably obſerved within the ſame Province, Counties, Territories, Baronies, and Provinces, under the Penalties therein expreſſed; ſo as ſuch Ordinances be reaſonable and not repugnant or contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this our Kingdom of *England*; and ſo as the ſame Ordinances do not extend to the binding, charging or taking away of the Right or Intereſt of any Perſon or Perſons, in their freehold Goods, or Chattels, whatſoever.

And to the end the ſaid Province or Territory, may be the more happily encreaſed by the Multitude of People reſorting thither, and may likewiſe be the more ſtrongly defended from the Incurſions of Savages and other Enemies, Pirates, and Robbers.

There-

Therefore, We for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant by theſe Preſents, Power, Licenſe and Liberty unto all the Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors in our Kingdom of *England*, or elſewhere, within any other our Dominions, Iſlands, Colonies or Plantations; (excepting thoſe who ſhall be eſpecially forbidden) to tranſport themſelves and Families into the ſaid Province or Territory, with convenient Shipping, and fitting Proviſions; and there to ſettle themſelves, dwell and inhabit, any Law, Act, Statute, Ordinance, or other Thing to the contrary in any wiſe, notwithſtanding.

And we will alſo, and of Our eſpecial Grace, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do ſtreightly enjoyn, ordain, conſtitute and demand, That the ſaid Province or Territory, ſhall be of our Allegiance; and that all and ſingular, the Subjects and Leige People of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, tranſported, or to be tranſported into the ſaid Province, and the Children of them, and ſuch as ſhall deſcend from them, there born, or hereafter to be born, be, and ſhall be Denizens and Lieges of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors of this our Kingdom of *England*, and be in all Things, held, treated and reputed as the Liege faithful People of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, born within this our ſaid Kingdom, or any other of our Dominions; and may inherit, or otherwiſe purchaſe and receive, take, hold, buy and poſſeſs any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, within the ſaid Places, and them may occupy, and enjoy, ſell, alien and bequeath; as likewiſe, all Liberties, Franchiſes and Privileges of this our Kingdom, and of other our Dominions aforeſaid, may freely and quietly have, poſſeſs and enjoy, as our Liege People born within the ſame, without the Moleſtation, Vexation, Trouble or Grievance of Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, any Act, Statute, Ordinance, or Proviſion to the contrary, notwithſtanding.

And furthermore, That Our Subjects of this Our ſaid Kingdom of *England*, and other our Dominions, may be the rather encouraged to undertake this Expedition, with ready and chearful Minds; Know Ye, That We, of Our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, do give and grant, by virtue of theſe Preſents, as well to the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*,

Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, and their Heirs, as unto all others as ſhall, from time to time, repair unto the ſaid Province or Territory, with a Purpoſe to inhabit there, or to trade with the Natives thereof; Full Liberty and Licenſe to lade and freight in every Port whatſoever, of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors; and into the ſaid Province of *Carolina*, by them, their Servants and Aſſigns, to tranſport all and ſingular, their Goods, Wares and Merchandizes; as likewiſe, all ſort of Grain whatſoever, and any other Thing whatſoever, neceſſary for their Food and Cloathing, not prohibited by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom and Dominions, to be carried out of the ſame, without any Lett or Moleſtation of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, or of any other our Officers or Miniſters whatſoever; ſaving alſo to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the Cuſtoms, and other Duties and Payments due for the ſaid Wares and Merchandizes, according to the ſeveral Rates of the Place from whence the ſame ſhall be tranſported.

We will alſo, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant Licenſe by this our Charter, unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, and to all the Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Province or Territory aforeſaid, both preſent and to come, full Power and Authority to import or unlade by themſelves, or their Servants, Factors or Aſſigns, all Merchandizes and Goods whatſoever, that ſhall ariſe of the Fruits and Commodities of the ſaid Province or Territory, either by Land or Sea, into any the Ports of Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, in our Kingdom of *Engl. Scotl.* or *Ireland*, or otherwiſe, to diſpoſe of the ſaid Goods, in the ſaid Ports. And if need be, within one year next after the unlading, to lade the ſaid Merchandizes and Goods again in the ſame, or other Ships; and to export the ſame into any other Countries, either of our Dominins or foreign, being in Amity with Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſo as they pay ſuch Cuſtoms, Subſidies and other Duties for the ſame to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, as the reſt of our Subjects of this our Kingdom, for the Time being, ſhall be bound to pay. Beyond which We will not that the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province or Territory, ſhall be any ways charged. Provided, nevertheleſs, and our Will and Pleaſure is, and we have further,

ther, for the Conſiderations aforeſaid, of our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, given and granted, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full and free Licenſe, Liberty, Power and Authority, at any Time or Times, from and after the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord Chriſt, One Thouſand, Six Hundred, Sixty and Seven; as well to import and bring into any our Dominions from the ſaid Province of *Carolina*, or any Part thereof, the ſeveral Goods and Commodities herein after mentioned; That is to ſay, Silks, Wines, Currants, Raiſons, Capers, Wax, Almonds, Oil and Olives, without paying or anſwering to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, any Cuſtom, Impoſt, or other Duty, for, or in reſpect thereof, for and during the Time and Space of Seven Years to commence and be accompted from and after the firſt Importation of Four Tons of any the ſaid Goods, in any one Bottom Ship or Veſſel, from the ſaid Province or Territory, into any of our Dominions; as alſo, to export and carry out of any of our Dominions into the ſaid Province or Territory, Cuſtom-free, all ſorts of Tools, which ſhall be uſeful or neceſſary for the Planters there, in the Accommodation and Improvement of the Premiſes, any thing before in theſe Preſents contained, or any Law, Act, Statute, Prohibition, or other Matter or Thing, heretofore had, made, enacted or provided, or hereafter to be had, made, enacted or provided, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And furthermore, of our more ample and eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, We do for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *Will. Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full and abſolute Power and Authority to make, erect and conſtitute within the ſaid Province or Territory, and the Iſles and Iſlets aforeſaid, ſuch and ſo many Sea-Ports, Harbours, Creeks and other Places for diſcharge and unlading of Goods and Merchandizes out of Ships, Boats, and other Veſſels, and for lading of them in ſuch and ſo many Places, as with ſuch Juriſdictions,

Privileges and Franchiſes, unto the ſaid Ports belonging, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt expedient; And that all and ſingular, the Ships, Boats and other Veſſels, which ſhall come for Merchandizes, and trade into the ſaid Province or Territory, or ſhall depart out of the ſame, ſhall be laden and unladen at ſuch Ports only, as ſhall be erected and conſtitued by the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, and not elſewhere, any Uſe, Cuſtom, or any thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And we do furthermore will, appoint and ordain, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton* and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, That they the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, may from Time to Time, for ever, have and enjoy the Cuſtoms and Subſidies in the Ports, Harbours, Creeks and other Places, within the Province aforeſaid, payable for the Goods, Merchandizes and Wares there laded, or to be laded or unladed, the ſaid Cuſtoms to be reaſonably aſſeſſed upon any Occaſion by themſelves, and by and with the Conſent of the free People, or the greater Part of them, as aforeſaid; to whom We give Power by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, upon juſt Cauſe and in a due Proportion to aſſeſs and impoſe the ſame.

And further, of our eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge and meer Motion, we have given, granted and confirmed, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, do give, grant and confirm unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full and abſolute Power, Licenſe and Authority, that they the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*,

Ashley, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, from Time to Time, hereafter for ever, at his and their Will and Pleasure, may assign, alien, grant, demise or enfeoff the Premises or any Part or Parcel thereof to him or them, that shall be willing to purchase the same; and to such Person and Persons, as they shall think fit, to have, and to hold to them the said Person or Persons, their Heirs and Assigns, in Fee simple or in Fee Tayle, or for the Term of Life or Lives, or Years to be held of them, the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, by such Rents, Services and Customs, as shall seem fit to them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, and not of Us, our Heirs and Successors: And to the same Person and Persons, and to all and every of them, We do give and grant by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, License, Authority and Power, that such Person or Persons, may have and take the Premises, or any Parcel thereof, of the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, and the same to hold to themselves, their Heirs or Assigns, in what Estate of Inheritance soever, in Fee simple, or in Fee Tayle, or otherwise, as to them the said *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Ashley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Assigns, shall seem expedient; The Statute in the Parliament of *Edward*, Son of King *Henry*, heretofore King of *England*, our Predecessor, commonly called, The Statute of *Quia Emptores Terrar*; or any other Statute, Act, Ordinance, Use, Law, Custom, any other Matter, Cause or Thing heretofore published or provided to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

And because many Persons born and inhabiting in the said Province for their Deserts and Services may expect, and be capable of Marks of Honour and Favour, which, in respect of

of the great Diſtance cannot conveniently be conferred by Us; our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, and We do by theſe Preſents, give and grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Lord *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full Power and Authority to give and confer unto, and upon ſuch of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, or Territory, as they ſhall think, do, or ſhall merit the ſame, ſuch Marks of Favour, and Titles of Honour, as they ſhall think fit, ſo as their Titles of Honours be not the ſame as are enjoyed by, or conferred upon any of the Subjects of this Our Kingdom of *England*.

And further alſo, We do by theſe Preſents, for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, give and Grant, Licenſe to them the *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton* and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full Power, Liberty and Licenſe, to Erect, Raiſe and Build within the ſaid Province and Places aforeſaid, or any Part or Parts thereof, ſuch and ſo many Forts, Fortreſſes, Caſtles, Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Villages and other Fortifications whatſoever; and the ſame or any of them to Fortify and Furniſh with Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Armour and all other Weapons, Ammunition and Habiliments of War, both Defenſive and Offenſive, as ſhall be thought fit and convenient for the Safety and Welfare of the ſaid Province, and Places, or any Part thereof; and the ſame, or any of them, from Time to Time, as Occaſion ſhall require, to Diſmantle, Diſfurniſh, Demoliſh and Pull down; And alſo to Place, Conſtitute and Appoint in, or over all, or any of the ſaid Caſtles, Forts, Fortifications, Cities, Towns and Places aforeſaid, Governours, Deputy Governours, Magiſtrates, Sheriffs and other Officers, Civil and Military, as to them ſhall ſeem meet; and to the ſaid Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Villages, or any other Place or Places, within the ſaid Province or Territory, to Grant Letters or Charters of Incorporation, with all Liberties, Franchiſes and Privileges requiſite, or uſual, to, or within this our Kingdom of *England* granted, or belonging; And in the ſame Cities, Boroughs, Towns and other Places, to Conſtitute, Erect and Appoint ſuch, and ſo many Markets, Marts and Fairs,

Fairs as ſhall in that Behalf be thought fit and neceſſary; And further alſo, to Erect and Make in the Province or Territory aforeſaid, or any Part thereof, ſo many Mannors with ſuch Signories as to them ſhall ſeem meet and convenient, and in every of the ſame Mannors to have and to hold a Court-Baron, with all Things whatſoever, which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold Views of Frank Pledge, and Court-Leet, for the Conſervation of the Peace, and better Government of thoſe Parts, with ſuch Limits, Juriſdiction and Precincts, as by the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, or their Heirs, ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe, with all things whatſoever, which to a Court-Leet, or view of Franck Pledge, do belong; the ſame Courts to be holden by Stewards, to be Deputed and Authorized by the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, or their Heirs, by the Lords of the Mannors and Leets, for the Time being, when the ſame ſhall be Erected.

And becauſe that in ſo remote a Country, and Situate among ſo many Barbarous Nations, the Invaſions as well of Savages as other Enemies, Pirates, and Robbers may probably be feared; Therefore We have Given, and for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors do give Power by theſe Preſents, unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs or Aſſigns by themſelves, or their Captains, or their Officers to Levy, Muſter and Train up all ſorts of Men, of what Condition ſoever, or whereſoever Born, whether in the ſaid Province, or elſewhere, for the Time being; and to make War and purſue the Enemies aforeſaid, as well by Sea, as by Land; yea, even without the Limits of the ſaid Province, and by God's Aſſiſtance, to Vanquiſh and Take them, and being Taken, to put them to Death by the Law of War, and to ſave them at their Pleaſure; And to do all and every other thing, which to the Charge and Office of a Captain General of an Army belongeth, or hath accuſtomed

ſtomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain General of an Army hath had the ſame.

Alſo, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and by this Our Charter, We do give and grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Lord *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full Power, Liberty and Authority, in Caſe of Rebellion, Tumult, or Sedition (if any ſhould happen, which God forbid) either upon the Land within the Province aforeſaid, or upon the main Sea, in making a Voyage thither, or returning from thence, by him and themſelves, their Captains, Deputies or Officers, to be authorized under his or their Seals, for that purpoſe: To whom alſo for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do give and grant by theſe Preſents, full Power and Authority to exerciſe Martial Law againſt mutinous and ſeditious Perſons of thoſe Parts; ſuch as ſhall refuſe to ſubmit themſelves to their Government, or ſhall refuſe to ſerve in the Wars, or ſhall fly to the Enemy, or forſake their Colours or Enſigns, or be Loiterers or Stragglers, or otherwiſe howſoever offending againſt Law, Cuſtom, or Military Diſcipline, as freely, and in as ample Manner and Form as any Captain General of an Army, by virtue of his Office, might, or hath accuſtomed to uſe the ſame.

And Our further Pleaſure is, and by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, We do grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, and to the Tenants and Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, or Territory, both preſent and to come, and to every of them, that the ſaid Province, or Territory, and the Tenants and Inhabitants thereof, ſhall not from henceforth, be held or reputed any Member, or Part of any Colony whatſoever, in *America* or elſewhere, now tranſported or made, or hereafter to be tranſported or made; nor ſhall be depending on, or ſubject to their Government in any Thing, but be abſolutely ſeparated and divided from the ſame: And our Pleaſure is, by theſe Preſents, That they may be ſeparated, and that they be ſubject im-

immediately to our Crown of *England*, as depending thereof for ever. And that the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province or Territory, or any of them, ſhall at any Time hereafter, be compelled or compellible, or be any ways ſubject, or liable to appear or anſwer to any Matter, Suit, Cauſe, or Plaint whatſoever, out of the Province or Territory aforeſaid, in any other of our Iſlands, Colonies or Dominions in *America*, or elſewhere, other than in our Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*.

And becauſe it may happen, That ſome of the People and Inhabitants of the ſaid Province, cannot in their private Opinions conform to the Publick Exerciſe of Religion according to the Liturgy, Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, or take or ſubſcribe the Oaths and Articles made and eſtabliſhed in that Behalf: And for that the ſame, by reaſon of the remote Diſtances of thoſe Places, will, as we hope, be no Breach of the Unity, and Conformity, Eſtabliſhed in this Nation; Our Will and Pleaſure therefore is, and We do by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, Give and Grant unto the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, full and free Licence, Liberty and Authority, by ſuch Ways and Means as they ſhall think fit, To Give and Grant unto ſuch Perſon any Perſons, Inhabiting, and being within the ſaid Province or Territory, hereby or by the ſaid recited Letters Patents, mentioned to be granted as aforeſaid, or any Part thereof, ſuch Indulgencies and Diſpenſations, in that Behalf, for, and during ſuch Time and Times, and with ſuch Limitations and Reſtrictions, as they the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carterett*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs, or Aſſigns, ſhall in their Diſcretion think fit and reaſonable. And that no Perſon or Perſons, unto whom ſuch Liberty ſhall be given, ſhall be any way moleſted, puniſhed, diſquieted, or called in queſtion for any Differences in Opinion or Practice, in Matters of Religious Concernment, who do not actually diſturb the civil Peace of the Province, County or Colony, that they ſhall make their abode in. But all and every ſuch Perſon and

Perſons, may from Time to Time, and at all Times, freely and quietly have and enjoy his and their Judgment and Conſciences, in Matters of Religion, throughout all the ſaid Province, or Colony, they behaving themſelves peaceably, and not uſing this Liberty to Licentiouſneſs, nor to the Civil Injury or outward Diſturbance of others. Any Law, Statute or Clauſe contained, or to be contained, Uſage or Cuſtoms of our Realm of *England* to the contrary hereof in any wiſe, notwithſtanding.

And in Caſe it ſhall happen, that any Doubts or Queſtions ſhould ariſe concerning the True Senſe and Underſtanding of any Word, Clauſe, or Sentence, contained in this Our preſent Charter, We Will, Ordain, and Command, that at all Times, and in all Things, ſuch Interpretations be made thereof, and allow'd in all and every of Our Courts whatſoever, as Lawfully may be Adjudged moſt Advantageous and Favourable to the ſaid *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, *William* Earl of *Craven*, *John* Lord *Berkeley*, *Anthony* Lord *Aſhley*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *John Colleton*, and Sir *William Berkeley*, their Heirs and Aſſigns, although Expreſs Mention, *&c.*

Witneſs our Self at *Weſtminſter*, the Thirtieth Day of *June*, in the Seventeenth Year of our Reign.

Per Ipſum Regem.

AN

AN ABSTRACT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF CAROLINA.

AS to the Government of *Carolina*, the Laws of *England* are there in Force; yet the Lords-Proprietors, by their Deputies, have Power, with the Consent of the Inhabitants, to make By-Laws for the better Government of the ſaid Province; ſo that no Law can be made, or Money rais'd, unleſs the Inhabitants, or their Repreſentatives, conſent thereto: One Law which they have in South-*Carolina* deſerves particular Mention, which is, their Method of chuſing Juries, it being done by making a conſiderable Number of Paper-Billets, on which are written the Names of as many of the moſt ſubſtantial Freeholders. Theſe Billets are put into a Hat, out of which Twenty-four are choſen by the next Child that appears. Then, out of thoſe Twenty-four, Twelve are choſen at the next Court, after the ſame manner; which is an infallible way to prevent all Manner of Fraud.

North and South-*Carolina* Settlements are distant from one another some hundreds of Miles; so that Necessity compels each Colony to keep to themselves, a Governour, Council and Assembly. The Governor represents the Lord-Palatine; the rest of the Counsellors are the Lord-Deputies; who, of themselves, make a Palatines Court, and a Court of Chancery; wherein they pass several Orders of Council, much of the Nature of the Prince's Proclamation; which continues no longer in Force, than the next Assembly. Likewise, they grant several sorts of Commissions, Warrants, *&c.* yet Military Commissions lie wholly in the Governor's Power; but Making of War or Peace, in all, or the Majority of the Lords-Deputies; by whom (the Governor being one) it is determin'd, and by whose Commissions all other Magistrates act. On these Heads they have settled, and maintain an admirable Constitution of Government, for the lasting Peace, Security, and Well-being of all the Inhabitants. The way of any ones taking up his Land in *Carolina*, due to him either by Purchasing it of the Lords Proprietors here in *England*, who keep their Board at *Craven-House* in *Drury-Lane*, *London*, the first *Thursday* in every Month; or if purchas'd in *Carolina*, is after this manner: He first looks out for a Place to his Mind, that is not already possess'd by any other; then applies himself to the Governor and Lords Proprietors Deputies, and shews what Right he hath to such a Tract of Land, either by Purchase of the Lords in *England*, or by an Entry in the Surveyor-General's Office, in order to purchase of the Governor and Lords Deputies there in *Carolina*, who thereupon issue out their Warrant-Land as is due to him. Who making Certificate, that he had measured out so much Land and the Bounds, a Deed is prepared of Course, by the Secretary, which is sign'd by the Governor and the Lords Proprietors Deputies, and the Proprietors Seal affix'd to it, and register'd in the Secretaries Office, which is a good Coveyance in Law of the Land therein mention'd, to the Party and his Heirs for ever.

Thus have I given you as large and exact an Account of *Carolina*, as the Discovery of so few Years (in this great and

and extenſive Land) would permit. Which flouriſhing Country will, doubtleſs, in time, increaſe the Number of its Productions, and afford us plentifully thoſe Neceſſaries and rich Commodities, which the *Streights*, *Turky* and other Countries ſupply us withal at preſent, and not ſeldom in their own Shipping; whereas, were thoſe Merchandizes the Produce of an *Engliſh* Plantation, and brought us home by our own Hands and Bottoms, of what Advantage ſuch an Improvement would be to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and the People in general, I leave to Men of Reaſon and Experience to judge. I do intend (if God permit) by future Voyages (after my Arrival in *Carolina*) to pierce into the Body of the Continent, and what Diſcoveries and Obſervations I ſhall, at any time hereafter, make, will be communicated to my Correſpondents in *England*, to be publiſh'd, having furniſh'd myſelf with Inſtruments and other Neceſſaries for ſuch Voyages.

For the better Underſtanding of this Country, I have already drawn a very large and exact Map thereof, as far as any Diſcoveries have been yet made, either by others or my ſelf, and have ſpared neither Coſt nor Pains, to procure the moſt correct Maps and Journals thereof, that are extant in Print, or in Manuſcript. This Map containing nine Sheets of Imperial Paper, and now fit for engraving, begins at Cape *Henry* in *Virginia*, 37 deg. N. Lat. and contains all the Coaſts of *Carolina*, or *Florida*, with the *Bahama* Iſlands, great Part of the Bay of *Mexico*, and the Iſland of *Cuba*, to the Southward, and ſeveral Degrees to the Weſtward of of the *Meſſiaſippi* River, with all the *Indian* Nations and Villages, and their Numbers, which of them are ſubject to *Carolina*, and trade with their People, what Places are convenient Factories and Forts, to increaſe and ſecure our Trade on the *Meſſiaſippi*, and what Forts and Factories the *French* and *Spaniards* have gain'd in thoſe Latitudes, eſpecially on the great River and the Neighbouring Streams; all which they illegally poſſeſs, ſince the very Mouth of the River *Meſſiaſippi* is in the King of *England*'s Grant to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, it falling ſomething to the North-

Northward of 29 Degr. *North* Lat. whose Claim and Right I question not, but a Peace will adjust, and restore, which every *Englishman* is bound in Duty and Interest, to wish for; if we consider how advantageously they have seated themselves, whereby to disturb the Peace and Interest of all the *English* Plantations on the Continent of *America*.

FINIS.

THE

Seventeen Years TRAVELS

OF

PETER de CIEZA,

Through the Mighty KINGDOM of

PERU,

AND

The large PROVINCES of

CARTAGENA and POPAYAN

IN

South *AMERICA:*

From the City of *PANAMA*, on the Isthmus, to the Frontiers of *CHILE.*

Now first Translated from the SPANISH, and Illustrated with a MAP, and several CUTS.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCIX.

Seventeen Years Travels

for the Discovery of Peru

PETER de CIEZA

Translated by Clements R.

PERU

AND

CARTAGENA and Peru in

South AMERICA.

From the Entry of Pedro de Heredia in the Year

to the Year

To the HONOURABLE

EDMUND POLEY,

OF

BADLEY

IN THE

County of *SUFFOLK*, Esq;

SIR,

THE constant Practice of all Ages, has so well Authoriz'd the prefixing the Names of Worthy Patrons, to useful Books, thought fit to appear in Publick, that it may be reckon'd, in some Measure, a Fault, to make use of none upon the like Occasions; because either it seems to imply a Want of such deserving Persons,

sons, or is denying their Due to those, who have Merited to be Honourably transmitted to Posterity. Mankind is so well acquainted with the Usefulness of Works of this Nature, I mean of Travels, that it is altogether needless to Endeavour to Convince any one of the Advantages we reap by them; nothing being more commendable in a Gentleman, than to know, and Discourse well of the Situation, Constitution and Product of other Countries; nothing more Beneficial to a Merchant, than to understand, what Commodities they want, and what they have to spare; and nothing more Profitably entertaining to all Sorts, than to be Inform'd of the Various and Strange Manners, Customes, Laws, Religions, Habits, and all other Particulars of the several Parts of this World we live in. It will, perhaps, be thought too Censorious, to say there are few so qualify'd,

lify'd, as that their Patronage can give any Reputation to the Work they eſpouſe, and yet it is but too viſible, that very often Authors diſcredit themſelves, and their Writings, by Dedicating them to Perſons of no other Worth, than their undeſerv'd, and ſometimes ill gotten Wealth.

To avoid this Danger, Sir, I have had Recourſe to You, as to one above all Exception, which ſhould I go about to Demoſtrate, by attempting to recite thoſe Excellent Qualities You are Endow'd with, I muſt fall ſo ſhort, as rather to leſſen, than add any thing to Your Character. Yet am I Satisfy'd, that is an Error you would readily forgive me, becauſe Your Modeſty could not bear to hear that Commendation, which is Your Due; and Envy never fails to Stigmatize the juſt Praiſes of the Meritorious, with the Odious Title of Flattery. I muſt therefore

therefore forbear, that which is the proper Subject of a Dedication, being a true Representation of You to Futurity; leſt Baſhfulneſs prevail on You to blame me, and Malice excite others to rail. All I ſhall therefore preſume to add is, that Nature having been generouſly bountiful in furniſhing You with excellent Parts, and You having omitted nothing for improving of them in Learning and Languages, none can be a more Competent Judge of what my Author has Perform'd in Compoſing, and I in Tranſlating this ſmall Piece, and conſequently none a properer, or more worthy Patron, as ſuch I lay it before you, and am, in all Sincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt Obedient, and

moſt Devoted Servant.

JOHN STEVENS.

THE PREFACE.

IT is a vain Piece of Presumption to expect to please all Men, whose Tempers and Affections, are so various, that nothing can be found so Universal, as to be agreeable to them all. What one Delights in, another Loaths; that which some most admire, is the Aversion of others. No Religion, no Government, no Customs, no Habit, and no Diet was ever so Universal, as to satisfy Mankind in general. Opinions, and Humours differ so much, that it is hard, if not impossible to meet with two Persons exactly of the same Mind. This wonderful Disagreement renders it so difficult a Task to publish any thing that may find a good Reception, and meet with proper Incouragement. Scandal, Irreligion, Lewdness, and Ribaldry are supported by the greater Numbers; because deprav'd human Nature is proud of exposing the Faults of its fellow Creatures; Prophaneness is look'd upon as Wit; Debauchery is not only reckon'd Pardonable, but Genteel; and Scurrility suits the meaner Capacities, on whom more solid things are lost. The Wiser and better Sort, have other Views in reading, the most commendable, to improve in Knowledge, and as subservient to that, the diverting of themselves, without losing Time. But as all Talents are not alike, so neither do all Subjects equally content them. There are some Gusts so deprav'd, that, to come to what we have in Hand, they are more taken with Sr. John Mandevil, Fernan Mendez Pinto, *or such like Romantick Writers of their own Dreams, than with those, who giving sincere Relations of their Travels, cannot furnish them with so much matter of Surprize, and Admiration. Others would have such Accounts consist of much Variety of pleasing Incidents, and Adventures within the Bounds of Truth; yet cannot relish, those they call dry Descriptions, because those do not so pleasingly amuse, and tickle the Fancy. Thus every Reader seeks himself, and therefore so few Writers of this Sort find a general Approbation. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, it is hop'd this Piece may meet with a favourable Reception, being recommended to the Publishers of this Collection by several Gentlemen of unquestion'd Judgment, who understand the Original.*

However that every one may make a Satisfactory Guess at the Performance, it is proper to say something of the Author, and his Work in Particular. As to himself, he informs us, that he spent above Seventeen Years in those Parts, he *undertakes to give an Account of, travelling from* Par- *and almost to the utmost bounds of* Peru, *and across the Country in several*

ral Places; so that he scarce delivers any thing, but upon his own Perfect Knowledge; or where he happens to do otherwise, alledges such creditable Witnesses, that there remains not the least ground to doubt of his Assertions. His Reputation has hitherto stood unquestion'd, and all the best Spanish Writers, who have treated of that Part of America, *quote him upon several Occasions, as an undeniable Testimony. Even* Garcilasso de la Vega, *tho' born and bred in* Peru, *and so well acquainted with it, being his Native Country, in his History of that Kingdom, makes often Use of him, as a most Authentick Voucher. Besides, the very plainness of his Stile, and genuine way of Expression, are sufficient to convince all unprejudic'd Readers of his Sincerity; considering how frankly he confesses his want of Learning to embellish such a Work, having been always bred to Arms, and in the continual Fatigues of Conquests, and Discoveries. This Defect he informs us, at first deterr'd him from attempting what his Genius dictated; till observing that no other of greater Capacity undertook it, he resolv'd rather to expose himself to the Censure of Criticks, than that the World should be entirely depriv'd of the true Knowledge of those Countries; of the almost incredible Actions, and Sufferings of the* Spaniards, *his Country-Men; and of the Manner how it pleas'd God, after those Immense Regions had lain so long unknown to the rest of the World, to lay them open to* Europeans. *As it is in short express'd by himself, he treats of the Description, and Division of the Provinces of* Peru, *both along the Coast, and up the Inland, the Founding of all Cities, and Towns by the* Spaniards, *the ancient Manners, Customs, Religion, and Habit, of the Native* Indians, *the Product of the Country, the Politick Government of the* Ingas, *their Wonderful Structures, the Immense Roads they made, and many other Curiosities.*

His first five Chapters may perhaps (to those who read 'em only for Delight) seem somewhat heavy, as treating only of the Description of the Coast; but they will do well to consider how useful, and advantageous it is to be perfectly inform'd of the true Distances of Places, and the exact Latitudes of all Rivers, Creeks, Bays, Harbours, Roads, and other remarkable things along that noble Kingdom, which perhaps has never been so nicely done by any but Peter de Cieza, *and this must certainly be very acceptable to all Lovers of Geography, and Navigation. Thirty Chapters following are of the Provinces of* Cartagena, *and* Popayan, *before he enters upon the Kingdom of* Peru *properly so call'd, which is at Chap. 36. the Account growing still more entertaining the farther a Man enters into it. Great Care has been taken, that the Cuts should exactly answer the Description, which may be observ'd others have fail'd in, having drawn them at Pleasure, or borrow'd them from* de Brye, *without much regard to Truth. To conclude nothing seems to be omitted that may recommend this to the Curious, there being that Variety which may please the several Humours of Men, and much Sincerity, and Exactness, which ought to be acceptable to all.*

THE

THE Seventeen Years Travels OF *PETER de CIEZA*, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Discovery of the West-Indies.

IN the Year 1492, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, reigning in *Spain*, the Renowned *Christopher Columbus* set sail from the Port of *Palos de Moguer* in *Andaluzia*, with three Caravels and ninety *Spaniards*, their said Majesties had appointed him, for his intended Discovery of the *West Indies*. Having sail'd 1200 Leagues on the Main Ocean, to the Westward, always before the Wind, the first Land he made was that of the *Lucayo* Islands, whence he stood over to that of *Hispaniola*, where now the City of *Santo Domingo* stands. The Caravels mention'd are Vessels, little or not at all known in the Northern Parts, and at present much less us'd in *Spain* and the Streights than formerly, they are very sharp before, and ill shap'd every Way, the Masts not standing upright as in Ships, but stooping forwards, all the Sails are Triangular, like our common Mizens, and will lie nearer the Wind than others, but are not so commodious to hand. From *Hispaniola Columbus* return'd into *Spain*, and he and others prosecuting that successful Undertaking, they discover'd the Islands of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *S. John de Puerto Rico*, &c. as also the Provinces of *Yucatan*, *Terra Firma*, *New Spain*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatimala*, with many more as far as *Florida*, and then

Discovery of the West Indies.

the Vaſt Kingdom of *Peru*, the River of *Plate*, and the Straits of *Magellan*, an Immenſe Tract of Land, which had continu'd altogether unknown to *Europeans* for ſo many Ages. The Judicious Reader may eaſily conceive, what incredible Fatigues, what Hunger and Thirſt, what Terrors and Dangers, the *Spaniards* underwent in thoſe unuſual Voyages, and in marching by Land through ſo many barbarous Nations; and may well judge how much Bloodſhed, and what Numbers of Lives it coſt them. The Emperor *Charles* the 5th. who ſucceeded in the Monarchy of *Spain*, in all his Orders, and Inſtructions, ſtrictly enjoin'd, that ſpecial Care ſhou'd be taken of the Converſion of the Natives of all thoſe new found Countries, and that the Governors, Commanders, and Diſcoverers ſhould treat them as Brethren, and Fellow Subjects, and yet ſeveral of thoſe Perſons then in Authority, acted directly contrary, cruelly oppreſſing and abuſing the *Indians*. They again took up Arms in their own Defence, killing many *Spaniards*, and among them ſome Commanders, which occaſion'd the putting ſeveral of them to cruel Tortures, burning of ſome, and executing others in dreadful Manner, to ſtrike a Terror into the reſt, and prevent any Inſurrections for the Future. To do all Men right, I muſt declare, that all the *Spaniards* were not guilty of this miſuſing the *Indians*; for I have often ſeen, and can affirm of my own Knowledge, that they were kindly treated by good and moderate Men, who when they happned to be ſick, would bleed, and ſerve them with their own Hands, and perform other Acts of Charity, and Humanity towards them at other Times. The King being inform'd of the great Oppreſſion the *Indians* lay under, and conſidering how much it concern'd the Honour of his Government to aboliſh all ſuch wicked Practices, was pleas'd to appoint Viceroys, and Soveraign Courts, with Preſidents, and Judges, filling all thoſe Places with Men of Worth and Integrity; by which means, the *Indians* ſeem to be rais'd again from the Grave, and their Miſeries have ceas'd; ſo that now no *Spaniard*, tho' never ſo Great, dares offer them the leaſt Injury; for not to mention the Biſhops, Clergy, and Religious Men

Indians *protected by the King.*

ſent

ſent over by his Majeſties Order for inſtructing of thoſe People; thoſe Learned and upright Perſons employ'd in the Soveraign Courts aforeſaid, never fail to puniſh any that preſume to wrong the *Indians*. Thus at preſent they are upon a Level with the *Spaniards*, being as free in their Perſons, and as Abſolute Maſters of their Eſtates as they, and every Townſhip is appointed what Moderate Taxes it is to pay. I remember, when I was in the Province of *Xauxa* ſome Years ſince, the *Indians* with much Pleaſure and Satisfaction, ſaid to me, Theſe are truly happy Days, like thoſe of *Topainga Yupangue*. That had been an excellent King of theirs in former Times, who had made his People eaſie, and his Memory was ſtill honour'd. Having premis'd thus much as to the *Weſt-Indies* in general, I will now proceed to my own Travels.

CHAP. II.

Of the City of Panama, *and its Foundation, and why treated of before any other.*

I Might, before I enter upon the Deſcription of *Peru*, and the adjacent Provinces, have given an Account of what the Natives ſay concerning their own Original, but have thought fit to refer that to be treated of at large in my ſecond Part. I ſhall therefore begin with the City of *Panama*, in regard that the firſt Commanders, Soldiers, and Interpreters employ'd upon the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of *South America*, were ſent from thence. In the next Place I will proceed to the Port of *Uraba*, in the Province of *Cartagena*, not far from the great River of *Darien*, and ſo orderly ſpeak of all the *Indian* Towns, and *Spaniſh* Cities, as far as that of *La Plata*, and the Settlement at *Potoſi*, which are the Southern Boundaries of *Peru*. This Tract of Land is above 1200 Leagues in Length, which I travell'd over by Land, and was an Eye-Witneſs to what I write, being things within my own Knowledge, and all carefully examin'd into, that I might

deliver nothing but the Truth, without the leaſt Allay of Falſhood.

Panama deſcrib'd. The City of *Panama* ſtands near the South Sea, 18 Leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, which is on the North Sea. The Compaſs of it is but ſmall, becauſe enclos'd on one Side by a Lake and Moraſs, from which ſuch thick Vapors are exhal'd as render the Place unwholſome. It is built due Eaſt and Weſt, ſo that, when the Sun riſes, there is no ſtirring in any of the Streets, becauſe there is no Shade, and the Heat is exceſſive, and ſo prejudicial to Health, that it is almoſt certain Death to be in it but a few Hours. There are good wholeſome Places, but half a League from the Sea, where this City might have been built at firſt; but the Houſes being of great Value, becauſe Building is extraordinary chargeable, they have never remov'd from thence, tho' they are ſenſible of the great Inconveniency of it, and this chiefly for that the ancient Conquerors are Dead, and the preſent Inhabitants are all Traders, who only deſign to ſtay till they grow Rich. Thus when ſome go, others come, and few, or none regard the publick Good. Cloſe by the City runs a River, whoſe Springs are on the Mountains. It has other Liberties, and in them ſeveral other Rivers, upon ſome of which the *Spaniards* have their Settlements and Farms, and have planted various Sorts of the Product of *Spain*, as Orange, Citron, and Fig Trees. Beſides theſe there are other Kinds of the Country Fruit; being delicious Pine Apples, and Plantans; Abundance of good *Guaiavas*, *Caymitos*, *Aguacates*, &c. The Fields are full of great Flocks of Cattle, the Soil being proper for them. In the Rivers there is much Gold, whereof a great Quantity was gather'd, as ſoon as the City was founded. It has Plenty of Proviſions, as being ſupply'd from both Seas, the Northern, which brings the Ships from *Spain* to *Nombre de Dios*, [or *Portobelo*] and the Southern, on which they Sail to all the Ports of *Peru*. No *European* Wheat, or Barley grows within the Liberties of this City; but the Proprietors have good Crops in their Farms, of *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, and Meal brought them from *Peru* and *Spain*. All the Rivers afford Fiſh, and very good is taken in

in the Sea, tho' different from that in ours. Along the Shore, near the very Houſes of the City they find Abundance of very ſmall Muſcles, which they call *Chucha*; and I am apt to believe the City was firſt ſettled there on that Account, becauſe that Fiſh ſecur'd the *Spaniards* againſt Want. In the Rivers there are great Numbers of *Alligators*, ſo large, and fierce, that it is dreadful to behold them. I have ſeen ſome very great in the River of *Cenu*, and eaten many of their Eggs they lay on the Shore. We found one of theſe Alligators upon dry Land, at the River of St. *George*, as we went with Captain *Caceres*, to diſcover the Provinces of *Vrute*; it was above 20 Foot in Length, we kill'd it with our Lances, tho' it was wonderful fierce, and being very hungry we eat it, but the Fleſh is naught, and has a loathſome Scent. Theſe Crocodiles have Devour'd many *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and Horſes, as they croſs'd theſe Rivers, Travelling from one Place to another.

Great Trade at *Panama*.

There are but few of the Natives left in the Territory of this City, moſt of them being conſum'd by the ill Uſage they have receiv'd from the *Spaniards*, and by Diſeaſes that rag'd among them. The City is chiefly inhabited by conſiderable Merchants from all Parts, who trade there and at *Nombre de Dios*, the Commerce being ſo great, that it may almoſt compar'd to *Venice*; for Ships come often loaded with Gold and Silver by the South Sea, to unlade there, and ſeveral Fleets from *Spain* by the North Sea, to *Nombre de Dios*, [or *Portobelo*] Abundance of whoſe Cargo is brought into this Kingdom up the River *Chagre* in Boats, and thence five Leagues by Land to *Panama* on numerous Beaſts of Burden, kept for that Purpoſe by the Merchants. Near the City, the Sea forms a great Inlet, where the Ships come to an Anchor, and with the Tide enter the Harbour, which is very convenient for ſmall Veſſels.

The Founder.

This City of *Panama* was founded and inhabited by *Peter Arias de Avila*, Governor of the Province of *Tierra Firme*, in the Year 1520. It is ſeated in near eight Degrees of North Latitude, and has a good Harbour for Ships, which are left aground when the Tide is out. The Wa-

ter

ter riſes and falls here ſo much, that upon the Ebb, the Coaſt is dry for above half a League, and fills up again with the Flood; which I ſuppoſe is occaſion'd by its Flatneſs, for at the Ebb, Ships at Anchor without have but three Fadom Water, and ſeven at the Flood. Having in this Chapter ſpoken of the City of *Panama* and its Situation, in the next I will treat of the Rivers and Harbours that are along the Coaſt, as far as *Chile*, becauſe it will render this Work the more plain and intelligible.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ports, Bays, Rivers, Capes, &c. between the City of Panama, *and the Borders of the Kingdom of* Peru, *the Diſtance they are from one another, and the Latitude they lye in.*

Seaſon for ſailing on the South Sea.

THE Seaſon for ſailing from *Panama* for *Peru* is in *January*, *February*, and *March*, for then there are always great Breezes, which are Winds blowing off from the Land and Sea by turns, and the *Vendavales*, being in that Sea, the South Winds reigning all the other part of the Year, have leſs Power, ſo that the Ships make their Paſſage, before the ſaid South Wind, ſo prevalent on that Coaſt, comes on. They may ſet out in *Auguſt* and *September*; but will not make ſo good a Voyage as in the aforeſaid Seaſon. Such as depart *Panama*, at any other Time, will meet with a very tedious, and troubleſome Paſſage, and it is frequent for them to be drove back, without being able to reach their intended Port. The South Wind, and no other, as has been ſaid, reigns very long from *Chile* to near as far as *Tumbez*, and is proper to come from *Peru* to *Tierra Firme*, *Nicaragua*, and other Parts, but contrary to go thither. The Ships ſailing from *Panama*, make directly for the Iſlands of Pearls, which lye in bare eight Degrees of North Latitude. Theſe Iſlands are about 25, or 30 in Number, lying cloſe about one that is the greateſt of them all. They were

formerly inhabited by Natives; whereof there are none left at prefent. The Proprietors of them keep Blacks, and *Indians* of *Nicaragua*, and *Cubagua*, who look after their Cattle, and Sow their Corn; for the Soil is Fruitful. Befides Abundance of valuable Pearls have been taken there, whence they had the Name of Pearl Iflands. From thefe Iflands they fteer directly for the Point of *Carachine*, being ten Leagues from them, and bearing North Weft and South Eaft in Regard of the great one. Thofe who come to this Cape will find it a high and mountain Land, and in feven Degrees and a Quarter Latitude. The Coaft from this Point bears South Weft and by South eight Leagues to Port *Pinnas*, in fix Degrees and a Quarter; the Land high Crags and Mountains. Near the Sea there are great Woods of Pine Trees, whence it was call'd *Puerto de Pinnas*, or *Port Pines*. Thence the Coaft Winds South and by Weft to Cape *Corrientes*, or Currents, which juts out into the Sea, and is fharp. Holding on the fame Courfe they proceed to the Ifland *de Palmas*, or of Palms, becaufe of the many Palm Trees there are in it, being little above a League, and a half in Compafs, has Rivers of good Water, and us'd to be inhabited; is 25 Leagues from Cape *Corrientes*, and in four Degrees 20 Minutes Latitude. From this Ifland the Coaft runs upon the fame Point of the Compafs as far as the Bay *de la Buenaventura*, or of good Fortune, which is little above three Leagues diftant. Near the Bay, which is very large, is a high Rock, and the Mouth of the Bay is in three Degrees 40 Minutes. All that Part of the Country is very Mountainous, and many great Rivers coming from the Hills fall into the Sea; up one of which, Ships fail to the Town, or Port of *Buenaventura*. The Pilot that ventures up ought to be very well acquainted with the River, elfe he will be put to very much Trouble, as has hapned to me and others, who had unskilful Pilots. From this Bay the Coaft runs away to Eaft and by South, as far as the Ifland they call *Gorgona*, 25 Leagues diftant. This Part of the Coaft is low, and cover'd with thofe they call *Mangla*, and other wild Trees. Several confiderable Rivers fall into the

Carachine Cape.

Port *Pinnas*.

Cape *Corrientes*

Palm Island

Buenaventura Bay.

S. John's River. the Sea, and among them the greateſt of all, which is that of *S. John*, the Sides whereof were inhabited by Barbarous People, who had their Houſes rais'd high on great forked Timbers, like Scaffolds, in which many Inhabitants liv'd, the Huts or Houſes being long, and very wide. Theſe *Indians* are extraordinary rich in Gold, their Land very fruitful, and the Rivers roll much of that precious Metal; but the Country is ſo uncooth, and full of Lakes and Moraſſes, that it requir'd much Toil, and Loſs of Men to conquer it.

Gorgona Iſland. The Iſland *Gorgona* is high and never free from Thunder and Rain, as if the Elements were at a continual Struggle among themſelves. The Compaſs of it is about two Leagues, full of Mountains, with Streams of good ſweet Water; and on the Trees there are many Pea-hens, Pheaſants, curious colour'd Monkeys, great Snakes and Night Birds; but it ſeems never to have been inhabited. Here the Marquiſs *Don Franciſco Pizarro* liv'd a long Time, with thirteen *Spaniards*, his Companions, who were the Diſcoverers of this Country we call *Peru*, and they all ſuffer'd very much by Hunger and otherwiſe, till they were entirely Succeſsful in their Enterprize. This Iſland *Gorgona* is in three degrees of Latitude, and from it the Coaſt runs Weſt South Weſt to the Iſland *del Gallo*, or of the Cock, and is all low and wooded, with many Rivers running down it.

Iſland del Gallo. The Iſland *del Gallo* is ſmall, and almoſt a League about, full of red Crags, as is the oppoſite Shore of the Continent, and lies in two Degrees of Latitude. Hence the Coaſt winds to the South Weſt, as far as the Cape they call *de Manglares*, from that ſort of Trees, and is in two Degrees hare, the Diſtance between the Iſland and the Point being 8 Leagues, very little over or under. This Coaſt is low and wooded, with ſome Rivers falling into the Sea, along which, up the Land that ſort of People dwell, which I mention'd at the River of St. *John*. Hence the Coaſt runs South-weſt as far as the Bay they call of *Santiago*, or S. *James*, making a large opening, in which there is a Creek, they call *de Sardinas*, or of *Pilchards*, and there falls the great, and rapid River of *Santiago*, which was

was the Boundary of the Marquiſs *Don Franciſco Pizarroes* Government. This Bay is 15 Leagues from Cape *Manglares*, and here ſometimes the Stem of a Ship is in 81 Foot Water, and the Stern lies aground, and ſometimes from two Fathom Water, they on a ſudden fall into 90, which is caus'd by the Impetuouſneſs of the River. Yet tho' there are ſuch Shelves, they are not dangerous, but the Ships ſail in and out at Pleaſure. The Bay of Saint *Matthew* is in one degree large, whence they run Weſt to Cape *S. Francis*, which is ten Leagues from the Bay, being a high Ground, and near it are lofty Sloughs, or Breaks of red and white Earth, the Latitude of this Cape is one degree North. Hence the Coaſt advances South Weſt to Cape *Paſſaos*, which is under the Equinoctial. Between theſe two Capes, or Headlands, four very great Rivers fall into the Sea, and are call'd *los Quiximies*, and there is a reaſonable good Harbour, where Ships take in Wood and Water. From Cape *Paſſaos* there are high Ridges running up the Inland, and call'd of *Quaque*. The Cape it ſelf is no very low Land, and has ſome Sloughs like thoſe above.

Santiago *River.*

Cape Paſſaos.

CHAP. IV.

Containing the Deſcription of the Coaſt, as far as that they call el Callao de Lima, *which is the Port to the City of* Lima, *otherwiſe call'd* de los Reyes, *or of the Kings.*

I Have already briefly ſet down the Courſe of Sailing, on the South Sea as far as the Port of *Quiximies*, which is in the Limits of *Peru*, and will now proceed as far as the City of *Lima*, or *de los Reyes*, that is of the Kings. Leaving Cape *Paſſaos*, the Coaſt bears South and by Weſt as far as *Puerto Viejo*, that is, the old Harbour, and ſhort of it is the Bay they call of *Caraques*, which Ships enter without any Danger; and is ſo convenient that they

Caraques *Bay.*

may there Careen Veſſels of a thouſand Tuns. It is ſafe going in, or out, bating that in the midſt of the Eddy, occaſion'd by the Bay, there is a Parcel of Rocks, or an Iſland compos'd of them; yet the Ships may paſs on either Side, with all poſſible Security, becauſe there is no Slope from them, but what appears to the Eye. Near *Puerto Viejo*, two Leagues up the Land ſtands the City of *Santiago*, and two Leagues to the Southward a round Mount, which they call *Monte Chriſto*. *Puerto Viejo* is in one Degree of South Latitude, and five Leagues from it holding the ſame Courſe Southward, is Cape *St. Laurence*; and three Leagues South-weſt from that, the Iſland *de la Plata*, or of Plate; about a League and a half in Compaſs, where formerly the Native *Indians* us'd to perform their Sacrifices, killing abundance of Lambs, and Sheep, and ſome Children, whoſe Blood they offer'd to the Idols, or Devils, the Figures whereof they had of Stone in the Places where they worſhipp'd. When the Marquiſs *Don Franciſco Pizarro*, was going upon Diſcovery with his thirteen Companions, they fell upon this Iſland, where they found ſome Silver, and Pieces of Gold, and a Quantity of Gay Woollen Mantles, or Blankets, and Jerkins of ſeveral Colours, and for that Reaſon it ever ſince retain'd the Name of the *Iſland* of *Plate*.

Iſland Plata.

Cape St. Laurence *and* S. Helen.

Cape *S. Laurence* is in one Degree of South Latitude, whence the Coaſt holds on South and by Weſt, as far as Cape *S. Helen*. Short of this Headland there are two Ports, the one call'd *Cullo*, and the other *Zalango*, where Ships Anchor, and take in Wood, and Water. Point *S. Hellen* is 15 Leagues from Cape *S. Laurence*, and lies in two Degrees large South, the Point forming a Bay to the Northward, which is a good Port. About a Bow Shot from it is a Spring, which yields a great Quantity of Bituminous Subſtance, like natural Pitch, and it guſhes out at four or five Holes; we ſhall hereafter treat of this, and of the Wells the Giants made at this Point, which is remarkable.

Tumbez *River.*

From Point *S. Helen* they go on to the River of *Tumbez*, 25 Leagues diſtant, and lying from it South and by Eaſt, with a large Bay between them: North Eaſt from the River

River *Tumbez* is an Island above ten Leagues in Compass, which has been very rich and populous, in so much, that the Natives of it stood at Defiance with those of *Tumbez*, and others of the Continent, and there were bloody Wars between them, and several Battels fought, which together with the Wars they had with the *Spaniards*, has in Process of Time much lessen'd their Numbers. The Island is very fruitful, and full of Trees, and belongs to the King. It is confidently reported that a vast Quantity of Gold and Silver was formerly buried in their Places of Worship. The *Indians* that now remain say the Inhabitants of this Island were very superstitiously given, and us'd to observe Signs, and Presages; that they were extraordinary vicious, and particularly addicted to the horrid Sin of *Sodomy*, and lay with their own Sisters, besides other Abominations. Near this Island, call'd *Puna*, is another farther out at Sea, known by the Name of *S. Clare*, where there neither is, nor ever was any Inhabitants, nor Wood, or Water; but the Natives of *Puna* had there the Burial Places of their Ancestors, and offer'd Sacrifices; and on the High Places, where their Altars stood, there was a great Quantity of Gold and Silver, and fine Garments, all dedicated to the Service of their God. Upon the coming in of the *Spaniards*, it was laid up so safe, as the *Indians* report, that it cou'd never be found. The Sides of the River of *Tumbez* are very populous, and were so much more in former times. Near it stood a very strong and beautiful Fort, built by the Kings of *Cuzco*, who were Soveraigns of *Peru*; where they had mighty Treasures, and there was a Temple of the Sun, and a House of *Mamaconas*, that is, Virgins of Quality, dedicated to the Service of the Temple, who liv'd much after the Manner of the *Roman Vestals*. This Fort is now much decay'd and gone to Ruin, yet not so but that it still shews what it once was. The Mouth of the River of *Tumbez* is in four Degrees of South Latitude.

Tumber *River.*

Puna *Island.*

Mamaconas *Vestals.*

Thence the Coast runs South South West to *Cabo Blanco*, or the *White Cape*, which is 15 Leagues distant, and in four Degrees and a half of South Latitude, where the Coast turns away South, as far as the Island *de Lobos*, or of Wolves. Between *Cabo Blanco* and the Island *de Lobos* is a

Cape Blanco

a Headland call'd of *Pariña*, butting out into the Sea, almoſt as far as the ſaid Cape. From this Point the Coaſt turns again to South Weſt as far as *Payta*. The Coaſt of *Tumbez* forwards has no Mountains, and if there be any Ridges they are Naked, and all Rocky; but the greateſt Part is Sandy, and few Rivers fall into the Sea. The Port of *Payta* is little more than eight Leagues from the laſt Point, and a very good Harbour, where the Ships Waſh and Tallow, being the principal Place for all Veſſels going to and coming from *Peru* to touch at, and lies in 5 Degrees of South Latitude. From the Iſland *Lobos* they run four Leagues Eaſt to it, and thence the Coaſt goes on South to *Punta del Aguja*, or Cape *Needle*. Between them is a large Bay, very well Shelter'd to ſecure Ships. *Punta del Aguja* is in 6 Degrees of South Latitude, and to the Southward of it are two Iſlands, call'd *de Lobos Marinos*, or of Sea Wolves, from the great Number there is of thoſe Creatures. The firſt Iſland and the Point ſtand North and South, the Iſland being four Leagues from the Continent, and all Ships may paſs between them. The other outwardmoſt Iſland is twelve League from this firſt, and in bare 7 Degrees South Latitude.

Payta Port.

At *Punta de Aguja* the Coaſt turns South South Eaſt to the Port of *Caſma*. Between the firſt Iſland and *Malabrigo*, which is a Port Ships can only enter to provide themſelves in fair Weather, the Coaſt lies North Weſt, and South Eaſt. Ten Leagues beyond it is that they call *el Arracife de Truxillo*, or the Ridge of Rocks of *Truxillo*, which is a baſe Port, without any other Shelter than the Buoys of the Anchors; yet ſometimes the Ships take in freſh Proviſions there. The City *Truxillo*, is two Leagues up the Country. From this Port they proceed to that of *Guanape*, which is eight Leagues from the City *Truxillo*, in 8 Degrees 20 Minutes of South Latitude. Farther on South is the Port of *Santa*, where Ships put in, and near it is a great River of very pleaſant Water. The Coaſt, as I ſaid before, is all free from Mountains, being nothing but Sands and bare Rocky Crags. *Santa* is in 9 Degrees Latitude. Five Leagues beyond it to the Southward is a ſafe Harbour, call'd *Ferrol*, but has neither Wood, nor Water; ſix Leagues beyond that, is the Port of *Caſma*, with another

Arracife de Truxillo.

ther River, and Plenty of Wood, where the Ships take fresh Provisions, it is in ten Degrees Latitude.

From *Casma* the Coast runs on South, to the Place they call *los Farallones de Guaura*, or the great Rocks of *Guaura*; and beyond them is *Guarmey*, where there is a River, and thence they hold on the same Course 20 Leagues Southward, to that they call *la Barranca*. Six Leagues from it is the Port of *Guaura*, where Ships may take in as much Salt as they please, the Quantity of it being so great, that it might supply all *Italy* and *Spain*, and yet not be exhausted. Four Leagues farther are the *Farallones*, or great Rocks. They bear with the Point the Land makes against them North East and South West. The outward-most Rock is 8 Leagues out at Sea, and they all lye in 8 Degrees 20 Minutes. Thence the Coast Winds South East as far as the Island of *Lima*. About half Way, rather nearer *Lima*, than the Rocks, is a Shoal call'd *Salmerina*, 9, or 10 Leagues from the Land. The Island aforesaid shelters the *Callao*, which is the Port to the City of *Lima*, rendering it a safe Harbour for Ships. The *Callao* lyes in 12 Degrees 20 Minutes of South Latitude.

Plenty of Salt.

Callao.

CHAP. V.

Of the Ports, Rivers, &c, *from the City of* Lima *to the Kingdom of* Chile, *the Latitude they lye in and other matters relating to Navigation.*

I Have been in most of the Ports and Rivers I have spoken of, and spar'd no Pains to sift out the Truth of what I deliver, confering about it with the most Skilful Pilots in those Parts, who have taken the Latitude in my Presence, and therefore I write nothing but what is certain, and out of Dispute. I will therefore in this Chapter proceed to give the like Account of the Ports and Rivers along the Coast from *Lima* to the Kingdom of *Chile*; for I shall not be able to treat exactly of what relates to the Streights of *Magellan*, because I have lost an ample Relation.

tion I had from a Pilot that came home in one of the Ships sent out by the Bishop of *Plasencia*.

Sangalla *Port*

The Ships departing from the Port of *Lima* run South till they come to the Port of *Sangalla*, which is a very good one, and it was believ'd at first, that the said City of *Lima* would have been built near it, being 35 Leagues distant from that City, and in bare 14 Degrees of South Latitude. Near this Port of *Sangalla* is an Island they call *de Lobos Marinos*, or of Sea Wolves. All the Coast from hence forwards is low, tho' in some Places there are bare Rocky Crags, and all the rest is deep Sands, where I believe it never did, nor does it now ever rain, only a small Dew falls, of which Secret in Nature I shall treat hearafter. Near the aforesaid Island *de los Lobos Marinos*, there are 7 or 8 smalls ones more, lying triangularly to one another. Some of them are high, and others low, desert, without Water, Wood, Tree, Grass, or any other thing, but only Sea Wolves, and great Banks of Sand. The *Indians*, as they themselves inform us, were wont to go over from the Continent to offer their Sacrifices in them, and it is believ'd there are mighty Treasures bury'd there. They are about four Leagues from the Continent. Farther on still South is another Island, call'd also, *de Lobos*, or of Wolves, from the Multitude of them; it lyes in 14 Degrees 20 Minutes.

Lobos Marinos *Island.*

Nasca *Promontory.*

From this Island they run along the Coast South East and by South, and 12 Leagues beyond the said Island come to a Promontory call'd *de la Nasca*, in 14 Degrees 45 Minutes Latitude. There is Shelter for Ships, but no Conveniency for going ashore in their Boats. Holding on still the same Course, there is another Point, or Cape, call'd, St. *Nicholas*, in 15 Degrees 20 Minutes. From this Point the Coast turns to South East, and at 12 Leagues Distance is the Port of *Hacari*, where Ships take in Provisions, and they bring Wood and Water from the Vale, which is little above 5 Leagues from the Port. *Hacari*, lies in 16 Degrees. Farther on along the Coast which is all high, lies the River *Ocona*; beyond it another call'd *Camana*, and again, beyond that, a third, nam'd *Quilca*. About half a League from this River is a Creek very good and safe, where the Ships put in. This Port is call'd *Quilca*,

Hacari *Port.*

Quilca *Port*

Quilca, as well as the River, and what is landed there supplies the City of *Arequipa*, which is 17 Leagues from it. Proceeding from this Port along the Coaſt, they diſcover a Parcel of Iſlands lying 4 Leagues out at Sea, where there are always *Indians*, who go over from the Continent a Fiſhing. Three Leagues farther is another ſmall Iſland, very near the Continent, and Ships Anchor to the Leeward of it, becauſe they alſo ſend from hence to the City of *Arequipa*; and this Port they call *Chuli*, being 12 Leagues beyond *Quilca*, in 17 Degrees and a half large.

Two Leagues beyond this Port is a great River call'd *Tambopalla*; and 10 Leagues from that River, a Point of Land runs a League into the Sea from the reſt of the Continent, and there are three great Rocks on it. Under the Shelter of this Cape, a little above a League ſhort of it, is a ſecure Port call'd *Ylo*, and through it runs into the Sea a River of the ſame Name, whoſe Water is very good, lying in 18 Degrees 20 Minutes. Hence the Coaſt runs South Eaſt and by Eaſt, and 7 Leagues farther is a Promontory, which Sailers call *Morro de los Diablos*, that is, Headland of Devils. All this Coaſt, as has been ſaid, is high, and very Rocky. Five Leagues beyond this Cape is a River, not large, but of good Water; and 10 Leagues South Eaſt and by Eaſt from the River, another very high Headland, buts out with ſeveral Crags, or Sloughs. Above this Headland is an Iſland, and by it the Port of *Arica*, in 19 Degrees 20 Minutes.

Tambopalla *River.*

Morro de los Diablos.

From the Port of *Arica*, the Coaſt runs South South Weſt, and at nine Leagues Diſtance, a River call'd *Pizagua* falls into the Sea. From this River to the Port of *Tarapaca*, the Coaſt bears upon the ſame Point, and 5 Leagues beyond it is a Point they call *Tacama*. Sixteen Leagues beyond this Point, is the Port *de los Moxillones*, or of Muſcles, in 22 Degrees and a half. Thence the Coaſt runs on about 90 Leagues South South Weſt, it is moſt ſtraight, but has ſome Points, and Bays, and at the End of them is a large one, where there is a ſafe Harbour call'd *Copayapo*, with good Water, in 26 Degrees.

Arica *Port.*

Moxillones *Port.*

Copayapo *Harbour.*

Before

Before this Bay is a ſmall Iſland, half a League from the Continent, and here begin the Provinces of *Chile*.

A little beyond this Port of *Copayapo*, a Point juts out, and by it is form'd another Bay, before which there are two ſmall Rocks, and at the End of the Bay a River of very good Water, the Name of it *Guaſco*. The aforeſaid Point lies in 28 Degrees and a quarter. Hence the Coaſt runs South Weſt, and at ten Leagues Diſtance another Cape buts out, affording Shelter for Ships, but neither Wood, nor Water. Near this Point is the Port of *Coquimbo*, ſeven Iſlands lying between them, and the Port is in 29 Degrees and a half. Ten Leagues farther, ſtill on the ſame Courſe, another Point buts out, and forms a great Bay call'd *de Atongayo*. Five Leagues onward is the River *Limara*, and holding on the ſame Courſe, nine Leagues from it, is a Bay, call'd *Choapa*, in 31 Degrees, with a great Rock in it, but no Freſh Water. Holding on the ſame Courſe about 21 Leagues is a Port, call'd *Quintero*, in 32 Degrees, and ten Leagues farther that of *Valparayſo*, belonging to the City *Santiago*, which is in *Chile*, properly ſo call'd, in 32 Degrees 40 Minutes. Following ſtill upon the ſame Point of the Compaſs they come to another Port, call'd *Potocalma*, 24 Leagues from the laſt before mention'd. Twelve Leagues beyond it is a Point of Land, on one Side whereof runs a River they call *Monque*, or *Maule*; and 14 Leagues from it another they name *Ytata*; whence proceeding South and by Weſt 24 Leagues, is another River call'd *Biobio*, in 38 Degrees bare. Fifteen Leagues onward, the ſame way, lies the large Iſland *Luchenga*, 5 Leagues from the Continent, and inhabited. Beyond it again is the very ſpacious Bay of *Valdivia* into which falls the great River of *Aynilendos*, the Bay lies in 39 Degrees 40 Minutes. Then in 42 Degrees 20 Minutes is Cape St. *Mary*. One of the Ships ſent from *Spain* by the Biſhop of *Plaſencia*, paſs'd the Streights of *Magellan*, and put into the Port of *Quilca*, near *Arequipa*, in the Kingdom of *Chile*, whence ſhe proceeded to *Lima* and *Panama*. She brought a good Account of the Latitude the Streights lye in and of all the Circumſtances, and Hardſhips of that difficult Voyage, which I would have inſerted here, but that at the Time when we fought *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in the

Coquimbo *Port.*

Limara River.

Valparayſo *Port.*

Maule *and* Ytata *Rivers.*

Cape St. Mary.

the Valley of *Xaquixaguana*, 5 Leagues from *Cuzco*, I left it behind, with other Papers, and Remarks, and it was ſtolen, which has troubl'd me very much, in regard it would have been of great uſe, to continue this Deſcription of the Coaſt. I hope the Reader will accept of my good will, for I have taken much Pains to find out the Truth, obſerving the New Sea Charts deſcrib'd by able Pilots, who were employ'd in Diſcoveries upon thoſe Seas. Having here concluded what relates to the Inſtruction for Sailing on the South Sea, as far as I have ſeen, and could be certainly inform'd, I will now proceed to an Account of the Nations and Provinces there are from the Port of *Uraba*, as far as the Town of *la Plata*, being above 1200 Leagues in Diſtances, laying down the Form, and Plan of the Government of *Popayan*, and the Kingdom of *Peru*. And becauſe it is convenient, for the clearer underſtanding of what I write, to treat of this Port of *Uraba*, as having began my Travels there, I will take it firſt in Order, then proceed to the City *Antiocha*, and the other Parts, as will appear in the Sequel.

CHAP. VI.

The founding of the City of St. Sebaſtian, *in the Place they call* la Culata de Uraba, *and of the Native* Indians *in the Country about it.*

IN the Year 1509 *Alonſo de Hojeda*, and *Niqueſa*, were Governours of the Province call'd *Tierra Firme*, [which is that Part where North and South *America* are join'd by the *Iſthmus*, or narrow Neck of Land,] and then was founded the City call'd *Nueſtra Sennora la Antigua*, in the Province of *Darien*, where ſome old *Spaniards* affirm, the prime of the Commanders in the *Weſt Indies* were preſent. Tho' the Province of *Cartagena* was at that Time diſcover'd, yet the *Spaniards* made no Settlements in it, but only Traded with the Native *Indians*, of whom they had very much high and low Gold, by way of Barter. The

Taruaco, Indian *Town.*

Governour *Hojeda*, enter'd the great Town of *Taruaco*, which is four Leagues from *Cartagena*, formerly call'd *Calamar*, and had a bloody Battel with the *Indians*, who slew many of the Christians, and among them Captain *John de la Cosa*, a brave and daring Commander; and *Hojeda* himself was forc'd to retire to his Ships, for Fear of undergoing the same Fate. After this the said Governour Founded a Town in that Part they call *Uraba*, appointing *Francis Pizarro*, who was afterwards Governour, and a Marquess, his Lieutenant; and in this Town of *Uraba*, the said *Pizarro* endur'd very much, both from the Natives, and by Hunger and Sickness, which will render his Name Immortal. Those *Indians* said, they were not originally of that Part of the Country, but came from about the great River of *Darien*, having forsaken their Native Soil, with their Arms, their Wives and Children, to get away from under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, who us'd them very ill. These People coming to the Gulph call'd *Uraba*, cruelly slaughter'd all the Natives, seiz'd their Goods, and became Masters of their Lands and Estates.

The Governour *Hojeda* hearing what had hapen'd, and hoping to find some Wealth in that Country, and to pacify those who were gone to Settle in it, sent *Francis Pizarro*, as his Lieutenant, to Plant the Colony aforesaid, and he was the first Christian Commander in that Country. The two Governours *Hojeda* and *Niquesa* afterwards coming to miserable Ends, the People of *Darien* treating *Niquesa* with extraordinary Cruelty, as is well known to such as surviv'd those Times, and *Peter Arias*, coming to govern the Province of *Tierra Firme*, tho' there were above 2000 *Spaniards* in the City of *Darien*, no Care was taken for peopling of *Uraba*.

Afterwards, when the Governour *Peter Arias* had beheaded his Son in Law, the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Vasco Nunnez de Balboa*, and Captain *Francis Herrandez*, in *Nicaragua*, and when the *Indians* of the River *Cenu* had slain Captain *Bezerra*, with the other Christians that follow'd him, and many other Accidents had hapen'd; *Don Pedro de Heredia*, appointed to govern the Province of *Cartagena*, sent his Brother, Captain *Alonso de Heredia*, with

with a Number of *Spaniards* of Note, to reſtore the Town of *Uraba*, calling it the City of St. *Sebaſtian de Buena Viſta*, which is ſeated upon ſome ſmall flat Hillocks, in the Plain, without any Woods, but what are on the Rivers, and Marſhes. The Country about it is populous, and in ſeveral Parts full of Mountains and Woods, and it is about half a League from the North Sea. The Fields are full of large and thick Palm-Trees, bearing Branches like the Date Tree, and cover'd with ſeveral Rhinds, before you come to the ſolid Part, which tho' not exceſſive hard, is very troubleſome to cut. Within the Body of the Tree grows a pithy Subſtance, call'd *Palmito*, ſo large that two of them are a good Burden for a Man, they are White and very Sweet. When the *Spaniards* were upon Diſcovery, and making Incurſions, at the Time that *Alonſo Lopez de Ayala*, and the Commendary *Hernan Rodriguez de Soſa*, were Deputy Governours, for ſeveral Days they us'd to eat nothing but thoſe *Palmitos*, and it is ſo laborious to hew down the Tree, and get out the ſaid Pith, that it took up a Man half a Days Work, with an Ax, before he could compaſs it, and the Men eating it without Bread, and drinking much Water, they ſwell'd, and many of them dy'd

St. Sebaſtian de Buena Viſta.

Palm-Trees.

Palmitos.

Within the Town, and on the Banks of the Rivers there are Abundance of *Orange*, *Plantan*, *Guayava*, and other ſorts of Fruit Trees. The Inhabitants are few, becauſe the Trade is inconſiderable. There are many Rivers coming down from the Mountains. Up the Country there are ſome *Indians*, and *Caciques*, who were formerly very rich as having a great Trade with thoſe who inhabite the Plains beyond the Mountains, and at *Dabaybe*. I declar'd before, that theſe *Indians*, who at preſent are poſſeſs'd of the Country, ſay they came from beyond the great River *Darien*, as alſo the Reaſon why they left their Native Soil. The Petty Lords, or *Caciques* are generally honour'd, and fear'd by the *Indians*, they are for the moſt Part clever clean limb'd Men, and their Wives ſome of the Handſomeſt, and moſt lovely I have ſeen, in any Part of the *Weſt Indies* where I have been. Their Diet is cleanly, and they follow not the filthy Cuſtoms of other Nations. They have little Towns, and the

Caciques.

See the Cut Houſes are like long Arbours, or Huts, made of the Boughs of Trees of ſeveral Bays. They did, and ſtill lye in Hammocks, uſing no other Beds. The Soil is fruitful, abounding in Proviſions, and Roots, which are pleaſant to them, and to others that are us'd to eat them. There are great Heards of ſmall Cheſtnut Coulour Swine, which are good Meat, and Abundance of large and ſwift Dantas. *Dantas*, Creatures ſome will have to be of the Race of that call'd *Zebra*. Of *Turkeys*, and other Fowl there is Plenty, as alſo of Fiſh in the Rivers; many large Tigers, who kill ſome *Indians*, and deſtroy Cattle; alſo very great Snakes, and other Creatures in the Woods and Mountains, whoſe Names we know not. Among them are thoſe call'd *Pericos Ligeros*, their Bulk and Fierceneſs is very remarkable, as is the ſlowneſs of their Motion.

When the *Spaniards* us'd to fall upon the *Indian* Towns, and ſurprize them, they found Abundance of Gold, in a ſort

sort of little Baskets they call *Habas*, made up in valuable Utensils of Bells, Dishes, Jewels, and those they call *Carracuries*, and other large Shells, like those of Snails, all of pure Gold, wherewith they cover'd their Privities. They had also Ear-rings, and very small Strings of Beads, and many other sorts of Ornaments, and much Cotton Cloath. The Women wore a sort of Blankets wrapp'd about them, which reach'd from their Breasts almost to their Feet, and had another Piece of the same Cloath to cover them from their Breasts upwards. They value themselves upon their Beauty, and are therefore always comb'd, and well dress'd, after their Fashion. The Men went naked, and barefooted, without any Cloaths on them more than Nature provided; but on their Privities they had Shells, like those of Snails, made of Bone, or of fine Gold, weighing 40, or 50 Pieces of Eight, some more and few less, as I have seen them, and these ty'd on with Threads. There are considerable Dealers among them, who drive great Numbers of the Swine the Country affords up the Inland to sell. These Swine differ from ours in *Spain*, being smaller, and have their Navel on their Backs, or rather some Excrescency like it. They also carry Fish, and Salt, for which they bring home Gold, and Cloth, and such other things as they stand in need of. The Weapons they use are, very stiff Bows, made of a sort of Black Palm-Trees, about a Fathom in Length, and others longer, with great sharp pointed Arrows, dipp'd in such a Malignant Poison, that whosoever is wounded with them, tho' they draw no more Blood than the Prick of a Pin wou'd do, infallibly dies, so that few, or none that were ever hurt with them have escap'd.

See the Cut

Manners and Product.

CHAP. VII.

How they make the Poisonous Composition, wherewith the Indians *of* Santa Marta, *and* Cartagena *have kill'd so many* Spaniards.

THE poisonous Composition us'd by the *Indians* of *Santa Marta*, and *Cartagena*, being much spoken of in all Parts,

Indian Poison.

Parts, I thought fit to set down the Ingredients it is made of, as follows. It consists of several Simples, the chiefest whereof I enquir'd out, at a Town on the Coast of the Province of *Cartagena* call'd *Bahayre*, of a *Cacique*, or Lord of the Place, whose Name was *Macuriz*. He shew'd me some short Roots, of an ill Scent, and a darkish Colour, and told me; they dug upon the Sea Coast near the Trees we call *Manzanillos*, and took them from the Roots of that mischievous Tree. These they burn in earthen Pans, or Pipkins, and make a Paste of them. Then they gather a sort of very black, and pernicious Pismires, as big as our Beetles in *Spain*; which, if they happen to sting a Man, raise a Wheal, and put him to such violent Pain, as almost deprives him of his Senses. This happen'd to us, when we travell'd with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, one *Noguerol* and I passing a River, where we waited for some Soldiers that lagg'd behind, he being a Corporal upon that Occasion, one of these Pismires I speak of happen'd to sting him, which occasion'd such an intolerable Pain, as almost distracted him, his Leg swell'd up, and the Excess of Anguish cast him into three or four Fits of a Fever, till the Venom had spent it self. They also, towards this Vile Composition, find out some large Spiders, and add to it a sort of hairy Worms about half the Length of a Man's Finger, which Insects I shall never forget; for as I was upon Guard at a River on the Mountains, they call *Abibe*, one of these Worms crept down a Branch of a Tree, where I stood, and bit me in the Neck, and that was the most painful Night I ever felt in all my Life. They add to it the Wings of a Bat, and the Head and Tail of a small Fish there is in those Seas call'd *Pexe Tamborino*, extraordinary Venemous; as also Toads, the Tails of Snakes, and a sort of small Apples, call'd *Manzanillas*, which in Scent and Colour resemble ours in *Spain*, so that some new Comers into these Parts, at their first Landing have eaten them, not knowing they are poisonous. I was acquainted with one *John Agraz*, whom I saw lately in the City of *S. Francis del Quito*, and was one of those that went from *Cartagena* with *Vadillo*, who when he came out of *Spain*, and landed on the Coast of *Santa Marta* eat ten, or twelve of these Apples, and he swore in

Manzanilla Roots.

Pismires venemous.

Poisonous Worms.

Pexe Tamborino.

my

my Presence, that there cou'd be no better for Smell, Colour, and Taste; but that there is a sort of Milk in them, which must be the mischievous Substance that turns to Poison. When he had eaten them, he thought he shou'd burst, and must have infallibly died, but that he was immediately drench'd with Oil. They add other Herbs and Roots to this Composition, and when it is to be made, they kindle a great Fire, in a Plain, remote from their Houses, or Dwellings, on which they put their Pots, and seek out some Slave or *Indian* Woman of small Value, who boils, and brings it to the due Temper, and I was told the Person so doing was always kill'd with the Steem and Stench of it. Manzanilla *Poison*

CHAP. VIII.

A farther Account of the Customs of the Indians *in the District of the City of* Uraba.

IN this pernicious Poison I have describ'd, the *Indians* dip the Points of their Arrows, and they are such sure Marksmen, and shoot them with such Force, that they have often struck through a Horse, or a Man in Armour, if it were not extraordinary Good, and well stuff'd with Cotton; for in that Country, Cuirasses and Coats of Mail are not good by reason of the great Wet, and Badness of the Ways, nor are they serviceable in War, against these *Indians*, who fight with Arrows. Yet, notwithstanding all their Arts, and the Difficulties of the Country, Foot Soldiers have subdu'd, and often plunder'd them, driving all before them, without any other Weapons but their Swords and Targets, and ten or twelve Spaniards made nothing of attacking 100, or 200 of them. They have no Temples, or other particular Houses of Worship, nor cou'd any thing be discover'd as yet, but that such as are appointed for it certainly converse with, and honour the Devil, having a great Veneration for him. He appears, as I have been told by some of them, in dreadful Shapes, and they are much terrify'd at the Sight of him. They have *Customs of* Indians.

have very little Knowledge in Natural Matters. The Sons by the principal Wife are Heirs to their Parents. They marry their Brothers Daughters, and all Great Men have many Wives. When the Lord dies, all his Servants and Friends meet in his House, at Night, in the Dark, without any Light, and having laid in a good Stock of Liquor made of their *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, they drink and bewail the Dead. When all their Ceremonies, and Charms are perform'd, they put him into his Grave, burying with the Body his Arms, and Treasure, Abundance of Meat, Pitchers of their *Chicha*, or Liquor aforesaid, and some Women alive. The Devil perswades them, that they are to come to Life again in another Kingdom he has provided for them, and that they must carry the Provision, I have spoken of, to serve them by the Way. This City of *S. Sebastian de Buena Vista* was Founded by *Alonso de Heredia*, Brother to the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Heredia*, his Majesty's Governour of the Province of *Cartagena*, as I said before.

Chap. IX.

Of the Road between the City of S. Sebastian de Buena Vista, *and that of* Antiocha. *Of the Mountains, Woods and Rivers that are along it; and how and when to travel it.*

I Was in this City of *S. Sebastian de Buena Vista* in the Year 1536, and in 1537 the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, Judge of Appeals, and then Governour of *Cartagena*, set out from thence, with one of the best Parties that ever went from the Province of *Tierra Firme*, and we were the first *Spaniards* that clear'd the Passage from the North to the South Sea. From this Town of *Uraba*, I travell'd to that of *La Plata*, which is the Boundary of *Peru*, and went aside every where to view as many Provinces, as my Affairs wou'd permit, to observe and note down, what was remarkable in them, which I shall faithfully deliver.

Leaving

Leaving the City of St. *Sebaſtian de Buena Viſta*, which is call'd the Port of *Vraba*, to travel to *Antiocha*, the Way is Five Leagues along the Coaſt, till we come to a ſmall River, call'd *Rio Verde*, or the Green River; whence, there are 48 Leagues to the City of *Antiocha*. All the way from this River, to a Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Abibe*, of which I ſhall ſoon ſpeak, is plain; but full of thick Woods, and many Rivers. The Country, near the Road is deſert, the Natives having withdrawn themſelves to remote Parts. Moſt of the way is along Rivers, there being no other, by Reaſon of the impenetrable Woods. *January*, *February*, *March* and *April*, are the proper Seaſon to Travel, and croſs the Mountains ſafely; for after theſe Months, the Waters are great, and the Rivers ſwollen and outrageous, and tho' there be a Poſſibility of Travelling, it is with much Trouble, and more Danger. Thoſe who are to go this way muſt carry able Guides, at all Seaſons, that may know how to conduct them along the Rivers. All theſe Woods are full of mighty Herds of the Swine above mention'd, ſo numerous, that there are ſometimes above 1000 together, with their Pigs, and they make a prodigious Noiſe, whereſoever they are. Whoſoever Travels that way with good Dogs, will never want Meat. There are very large *Dantas*, Beaſts peculiar to thoſe Countries, many Lions, great Bears, and greater Tigers, and on the Trees the fineſt colour'd Monkeys in the World, call'd *Gatos Pintados*, or painted Cats, and large Baboons, making ſuch a Noiſe, that thoſe who are unacquainted with the Country, at a Diſtance take them for Swine. When the *Spaniards* paſs under the Trees on which the Monkeys are, they break off Boughs, and ſtrike them chakling and making Faces.

Rio Verde.

The Rivers are ſo full of Fiſh, that any Net will take a great Quantity. Coming from the City of *Antiocha* to *Cartagena*, when it was firſt founded, Captain *George Robledo*, and others of us, found ſuch Abundance of Fiſh, that we kill'd as much as we had Occaſion for with Sticks. On the Trees that grow along the ſides of the Rivers, there is a ſort of Creature they call *Yguana*, like a Snake, or the great Lizards there are in *Spain*, only the Head is

bigger, and more Hideous to look to, and the Tail longer, but exactly resembling them in Colour and Shape. These Creatures flead and dress'd, are as good to eat as Rabbits, and in my Opinion much more Delicious; the Females are full of Eggs; in short, they are excellent Meat; and yet such as know them not would rather be Frighted at their Sight, than have any Stomach to eat them. I cannot decide whether they are Fish or Flesh, nor can any Man comprehend it; for we see they cast themselves off the Trees into the Water, and live in it, and yet others are found up the Country, far from any River. Another sort they call *Hicoteas*, which are also good Food, but more like Tortoises. Here is Plenty of Peacocks, Pheasants, Parrets of several sorts, and *Guacamayas*, which are larger, and of various Colours; as also small Eagles, Turtles, Partridges, Pidgeons and Birds of Prey, and Night Fowl. On the Mountains there are vast Snakes, to which Purpose I will recount a Passage, as most certain, tho' I did not see it my self, but know there were several creditable Men present, it is thus. The Lieutenant *John Greciano* travelling this way, by Order of the Licenciate *Santa Cruz*, to find out the Licenciate *John de Vadillo*, and with him some *Spaniards*, among whom were *Emanuel de Peralta*, *Peter de Barros* and *Peter Ximon*, they spy'd a Serpent, or Snake above 20 Foot long, and very thick. The Head of it was reddish, the Eyes green, and starting out. This Creature would have made at them, but *Peter Ximon* gave it such a Wound with his Spear, that it dy'd after a long struggle, and in the Belly of it they found a small Fawn entire, as it was swallow'd; and I was told, that some *Spaniards*, being press'd by Hunger, eat the Fawn, and Part of the Serpent. There are other Snakes, not so large as this, which when they move make a Noise like that of a Rattle; and their Bite is Mortal. The Native *Indians* tell us of many other sorts of Snakes, and fierce Animals in those Woods, which I do not mention, because I have not seen them. There are Abundance of the *Uraba* Palm Trees, and of other sorts of wild Fruit.

Rattle Snake.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the mighty Mountains of Abibe, *and the Strange and uſeful Wood growing on them.*

HAving paſs'd thoſe Plains and Foreſts above mention'd, we come to the long, and wide Mountain of *Abibe*, which thruſts on its Ridge to the Weſtward, runs through many ſeveral Provinces, and Parts others. The whole length of it is not certainly known; the Breadth in ſome Places is 20 Leagues, in others much more, and now and then ſomething leſs. The Roads the *Indians* had to croſs theſe uncooth Mountains, ſeveral Parts whereof are inhabited, were ſo bad, and difficult, that Horſes could not paſs along them. Captain *Francis Cæſar*, was the firſt Chriſtian that went over them, travelling Eaſtward, till, with immenſe Labour, he came into the Valley of *Guaca*, which is beyond the Mountain, where the Ways are moſt rugged, being all cover'd with Woods and Shrubs, the Roots whereof are ſo thick, that they entangle the Feet of Men and Horſes. It is very troubleſome climbing to the Top of the Mountain, and the Deſcent more Dangerous. When we went down it, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, the ſides of it, for the moſt Part, being very upright and difficult, a ſort of Wall was rais'd with forked Timbers and Poles, and a great deal of Earth, that the Horſes might go ſafe; and tho' this did ſome good, yet ſeveral Horſes tumbl'd down, and were beaten to Pieces, and even ſome *Spaniards* dy'd, and others were ſo ſick, that rather than go on with ſo much Toil, they hid themſelves among the Thickets, on the Mountains, expecting Death in a moſt miſerable Condition; for Fear thoſe who were in Health ſhould carry them away, if they were found. Some Horſes were alſo left behind alive, being ſo ſpent that, they could go no farther. Many Blacks ran away, and others periſh'd. We that went that Journey ſuffer'd very much, as will appear by what I have ſaid. There are no Habitations on the Top of the Mountain, or if any be, they are remote from that

Abibe *Mountain.*

Part where we croſs'd it, for there are every where Valleys in the Breadth of theſe Mountains, and in them Abundance of *Indians*, very rich in Gold. The Rivers that fall from this Mountain to the Weſtward, have been found to roul much of that Mettle. It rains on them the greateſt Part of the Year, and the Trees are continually dripping with the Water that falls. There is no Graſs for the Horſes, but only ſome ſhort Palm-Trees, which ſhoot long Leaves, and the *Palmitos* in the Heart of them exceſſive bitter, which I have eaten through extraordinary Hunger. The Rain being continual, and the *Spaniards*, and other Travellers always wet, they muſt inevitably periſh, if they wanted Fire. And tho' there is no want of Wood on theſe Mountains, it is all ſo wet, that it would rather quench than feed the Flame; to ſupply this want, which would be very great, Nature has provided certain tall ſlender Trees, that look almoſt like Aſhes, the inſide Wood of them white and very dry. Theſe being cut down ſoon take Fire, and burn like dry Fir, never going out till quite conſum'd. The finding of this Wood ſav'd our Lives.

Where the *Indians* have their Dwellings, there is Plenty of Proviſions, Fruit and Fiſh, and Abundance of their Cotton Cloth of ſeveral Colours. None of the Poiſonous Compoſition us'd at *Vraba*, is found in theſe Parts; nor have theſe Mountain *Indians* any other Weapons, but only Spears of Palm-Tree Wood, Darts and *Mazanas*, or heavy Wooden Swords. Over the Rivers, which are very many, they lay Bridges of a ſort of thick, and tough Withies, if we may ſo call them, being like long Roots, growing among the Trees, ſome of which are as ſtrong as Hempen Ropes. They twiſt many of theſe together in the Nature of Cables, and lay ſeveral of them over the River cloſe to one another, making faſt the Ends to the Trees on the Banks, and knit all together with ſtrong Pieces of Wood laid croſs. They are ſo dangerous, that I would rather chuſe to go fifty Miles about, than to paſs the beſt of them; and yet the *Indians* and their Wives croſs the Rivers on them with Burdens, and ſmall Children on their Backs, as unconcern'd as if they went on dry Land. All, or moſt of the People inhabiting

Strange Bridges.

inhabiting these Mountains; were subject to a mighty *Cacique*, whose name was *Nutibara*. Beyond these Mountains is a pleasant Vale, all Down, or *Savana*, that is, without any Wood, but only some steep and lofty bare Ridges, very bad to travel over, bating that the *Indians* have some scurvy Roads along the Tops and Sides of them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Cacique Nutibara, *and his Dominions; and of other* Caciques *within the Liberties, or Jurisdiction of the City* Antiocha.

WHen we came into this Vale, with the Licenciate *John de Vadillo*, it was full of many very large Timber Houses, Thatch'd with a sort of long Straw; and

Nutibara *Vale.*

and all the Fields ſtock'd with ſuch Proviſions as they uſe. Many ſtately Rivers riſe in the upper Part of the Mountains, the Banks whereof are cover'd with Variety of Fruit Trees, and among them very tall, ſlender, and prickly Palm-Trees; on whoſe Tops grows a Cluſter of Fruit, which they call *Pixibaes*, and are large and extraordinary uſeful; for they make Bread and Wine of it; and when the Tree is cut down, they take out of the Heart of it a *Palmito*, or Pith, of a conſiderable Bulk, ſweet and well reliſh'd. There is alſo Plenty of the Trees they call *Aguacates*, of *Guavas*, *Guayavas*, and delicious Pine-Apples. One *Nutibara*, Son to *Annayhe*, was Lord, or petty King of that Province. He had a Brother call'd *Quinucho*, who was his Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy over the *Indians* inhabiting the Mountains of *Abibe*, we have already mention'd and other Parts. He always furniſh'd the *Cacique* with Abundance of Swine, Fiſh, Fowl, and other things that Country affords, and they paid him Tribute in Cotton Cloth, and Gold. When he went to the Wars he was follow'd by great Numbers of Men in Arms, and when he happen'd to travel about the Vales, was carry'd by the Prime Men, on a thing like a Bier, adorn'd with Gold. He kept many Wives; and before his Door, as alſo before thoſe of his Commanders, many Heads of their Enemies were ſet up, as Trophies, after they had eaten their Bodies.

Pixibaes *Palm-trees*

All the Natives of this Country did eat Man's Fleſh, without any Mercy, for they devour'd all they took, provided they were not of the ſame Town. There are Abundance of large burial Places, which it is likely muſt be very rich; and they had formerly a great Houſe, or Temple dedicated to the Devil; the Timber Work whereof I ſaw my ſelf. When Captain *Francis Cæſar* enter'd this Vale, the Natives conducted him to that Houſe, or Temple, believing, that ſince the Number of Chriſtians he had with him was ſo ſmall, they might eaſily kill them, and accordingly above 20000 Men appear'd in Arms, with much Noiſe and Confuſion; yet tho' the *Spaniards* were but 39, and had only 13 Horſes, they behav'd themſelves ſo bravely, that the *Indians* fled, after an obſtinate Fight, which

which lasted a considerable Time, leaving the Christians Masters of the Field, where *Cæsar* shew'd he well deserv'd that Name. Those who write of *Cartagena*, have enough to say of this Commander; what I mention is only for the rendring my Work more plain and intelligible. Had any considerable number of *Spaniards* enter'd this Valley with *Cæsar*, they wou'd all most certainly have enrich'd themselves, and carry'd away Abundance of Gold, which the *Indians* afterwards remov'd, by the Advice of the Devil, who gave them notice of our Coming, as they themselves do declare, and affirm. Before the *Indians* fell upon Captain *Cæsar*, they conducted him to the House, abovemention'd, which, as they say, was deputed to honour the Devil, and digging there, discover'd a Vault handsomely built, with the Mouth of it towards the East, and in it many Pots full of Gold Ornaments, most of it one and twenty Carats fine, which amounted to above 40000 Ducats. They told him, there was another House farther on, and by it another Tomb, like that, but much richer; besides which they affirm'd he wou'd meet with others in the Valley, still greater and wealthier, tho' that they spoke of was very considerable. When we came afterwards with *Vadillo*, we found some of those Tombs empty'd, and the House, or Temple burnt down. An *Indian* Woman, that belong'd to one *Baptist Zimbron* told me, That when *Cæsar* was gone back to *Cartagena*, all the prime Men of those Valleys met, and after performing their Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, the Devil, whom in their Language they call *Guaca*, appear'd to them, in the Shape of a fierce Tiger, and told them, That those Christians were come from beyond the Sea; and that they wou'd soon return much stronger, and endeavour to possess them of, and subdue the Country, and therefore they must prepare to War with them. Having given them this Account, he immediately vanish'd, and they began to Arm, first drawing vast Treasure out of many Tombs.

Rich Graves.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

The Manners, and Customs of these Indians; *what Weapons they use and what Ceremonies they practise, and who founded the City of* Antiocha.

Habit.

THE People of these Valleys were brave, for *Indians*, and therefore they were much dreaded by their Neighbours. The Men go naked and barefoot, wearing only narrow Clouts, which cover their Privities, ty'd about their Waste with a String. They value themselves upon having very long Hair. The Weapons they use are Darts, and long Pikes, made of the black Palm-Tree above-mention'd, Javelins, Slings, and long Staves, like two Handed Swords, or Faulchions, which they call *Mazanas*. The Women from the Waste downwards have Pieces of fine Cotton Cloth curiously colour'd, wrapp'd about them. When the great Men marry, they perform a Sort of Sacrifice to their God, and assembling together in a House, where the most beautiful Women are plac'd beforehand, they pick out her they like best, and her Son is Heir, but if the Lord has no Son, then his Sister's Son inherits.

Tatabe.

Houses on Trees. See Cut 2d.

These People border on another Nation, call'd *Tatabe* very full of wealthy, and warlike *Indians*, much resembling their Neighbours in Manners. They build their Houses on mighty Trees, and fram'd with tall thick forked Timbers, each of them containing above 200 Inhabitants; the Joices and Rafters are no less bulky, and they cover'd with Palm Leaves. These Nations extend as far as the South Sea Westward, and Eastward they border on the great River of *Darien*. All the Country hereabouts is full of wild and dreadful Mountains; and about this Place is said to be the prodigious Treasure of *Dabaybe*, so much spoken of in the Province of *Tierra Firme*. On the other Side of this Valley, that is subject to *Nutibara*, the Borderers are certain *Indians*, inhabiting the fertile, and plentiful Valleys call'd of *Nore*, and in one of them now stands the the City of *Antiocha*. These Valleys were formerly

merly very populous, as appears by their Structures, and Places of Burial, which are many, and very remarkable, as being so big, that they look like little Hills. These People, tho' they us'd the same Habit, and Language as those of *Guaca*, were always at Variance with, and warr'd upon them, in so much that they considerably decreas'd in their Numbers, because they devour'd all the Prisoners they took; and set up their Heads before their Doors. They went naked like the others; but the Lords and prime Men sometimes wore a Cotton Blanket, of several Colours, and the Women smaller Cloths about them, of the same Sort.

Parents eat their Children.

The second time we travell'd over those Valleys, which was, when the City *Antiocha* was built on the Mountains that are over them; I was told, that the Lords or *Caciques* of these Valleys of *Nore*, got all the Women they could out of their Enemies Country, of whom, when brought home, they made the same use as of their Wives. If they prov'd with Child, they bred up the Infants very cheerily till they came to 12, or 13 Years old, and at that Age, being well fatted, they fed on them as a great Dainty, without regarding, that they were their own Flesh and Blood; and thus they kept Women, only to beget Children on them, to serve them for Food; an Abomination beyond all the others, they are guilty of. I can not question the Truth of what I say, when I reflect upon what pass'd between one of these Chiefs, and the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, who is at this time in *Spain*, and if ask'd will vouch for the Truth of what I write, which is thus. The first Time any *Spaniards* went into those Valleys, of which Number I was one, there came to us in peaceable manner a *Cacique*, whose Name was *Nabonuco*, and brought with him three Women. At Night two of them lay down at full Length on a Carpet, and the other across them like a Pillow, the *Indian* Lord lay down upon them, and took a fourth beautiful Woman by the Hand, who had been brought by some of his Retinue, he had left behind. The Licentiate *Vadillo* seeing him in that Posture, ask'd him for what he brought that Woman he had by the Hand? The *Indian* looking him in the Face, with a pleasant Countenance, answer'd, to Eat her, and if he had not come, it

An Instance of eating their Wives.

had been done already. *Vadillo* amaz'd at what he heard, said. How can you eat her, since she is your Wife? And the *Cacique*, raising his Voice reply'd, take Notice, I will eat the Child she shall be deliver'd of. What I here Write hapn'd in the Valley of *Nore*, and in that of *Guaca*, which I said was behind it. I several Times heard this Licenciate *Vadillo* declare, that some Old *Indians*, had by means of our Interpreters inform'd him, that when the Natives went out to War, they made Slaves of the *Indians* they took Prisioners, whom they Marry'd to their Kinswomen and Neighbours, and then eat the Children they got on them, and when the Slaves themselves were grown too Old for Procreation, they devour'd them too. The Slaughter of so many People was the Occasion, that when we discover'd those Countries, we found such Numbers of Heads of *Indians*, before the Doors of the prime Men, that they look'd as if Shambles of Human Flesh had been kept before each of them.

Funerals. When any of the Lords of these Valleys dy'd, they were lamented for many Days, their Wives cut off their Hair, the best belov'd among them kill'd themselves, and they made a vast Grave, or Tomb, as big as a little Hill, with the entrance into it towards the East. Within it was a Vault larger than for the dead Person, Pav'd with Stones, in which they laid the Dead Body, well wrapp'd in Cotton Blankets, and with it Gold, and the Arms he had, then making his most beautiful Wives, and some Boys, that serv'd him drunk, with Liquor of *Maiz*, or, *Indian* Wheat, and other Roots; they put them alive into the Vault, where they left them, that their Lord might go to the Devil with Company.

Antiocha *City.* The City of *Antiocha* is seated in one of these Valleys, lying between the famous, and most wealthy Rivers of *Darien* and *Santa Marta*, and the two Ridges of Mountains. The Situation is very good, in a large Plain, near a small River, and more Northward than any City in the Kingdom of *Peru*. Not far from it run many other considerable Rivers, rising on the Mountains on both sides, and many Springs of very clear and well tasted Water. Most of the Rivers roul Abundance of fine Gold, and the Banks of them are cover'd with much Variety of Fruit

Fruit Trees. All the Provinces round about inhabited by *Indians*, who are very rich in Gold, which they gather in their own Townſhips, and drive a great Trade, uſing little Stilliards, and Weights to Weigh it. They are all great Devourers of Man's Fleſh, and never ſpare thoſe they take Priſoners. When Captain *George Robledo* Founded the City *Antiocha*, on the Hills, whence it was afterwards remov'd, by Order of Captain *John Cabrera*, to the Place where it now ſtands, I happen'd to be in a Field of *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, where at a very ſmall Diſtance from me, I ſaw four *Indians* ſet upon another, who came that way, and kill'd him with their *Mazanas*, or Wooden Swords; and upon my crying out to them, they left the Body, carrying away his Legs, having before the poor Wretch was Dead, ſuck'd his Blood and eat Morſels of his Entrails. *Man Eaters.*

They uſe no Arrows, nor any other Weapons than thoſe already mention'd; nor did we ever find any Temple, or Houſe of Worſhip they had, beſides that which was burnt in the Vale of *Guaca*. They all generally converſe with the Devil, and in every Town there are two, or three ancient *Indians*, well skill'd in Superſtitions, who particularly talk with him, and theſe give his Anſwers, and declare what he ſays ſhall happen. They have no perfect Knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul. All the Product of the Earth, and Water they aſſign to Nature, tho' they have ſome Notion of a Creator, but it is a falſe one, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. This City of *Antiocha* was firſt founded by Captain *George Robledo*, in the Name of the mighty Emperour *Charles* the Vth. King of *Spain*, and the *Weſt Indies*, and under the Direction of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, his Governour, and Captain General of the Province of *Popayan*, in the Year 1541. The City ſtands in 7 Degrees of North Latitude. *Religion.*

Chap. XIII.

The Description of the Province of Popayan, *and the Reason why the* Indians *of it are so hard to be subdu'd, and those of* Peru *so gentle.*

I Will ſpake of this Province of *Popayan* together with that of *Peru*, becauſe it was diſcover'd, and Peopled by the Commanders belonging to the latter; yet will I not make one and the ſame of them, becauſe the Natives differ very much, as does the Nature of the Soil, and all other Particulars. For which Reaſon it will be requiſite, that I deſcribe its Scituation, and give an Account of all Particulars, from *Quito*, where *Peru*, properly ſo call'd, commences, and *Paſto* where this Province alſo begins on that ſide, as far as *Antiocha*, where it ends.

Popayan *Province.* This Province had the name of *Popayan* given it, from the City ſo call'd which is its Metropolis. The length of it is about 200 Leagues, little more or leſs, and the Breadth 30, or 40, widening in ſome Parts, and narrowing in others. On one ſide it has the South Sea, and vaſt high uncooth Mountains, which run along it to the Eaſtward. On the other ſide is a long Ridge of Mountains call'd the *Andes*, from both which many Rivers, ſome of them very conſiderable, run down, and form ſpacious Vales; and through one of them, which is the greateſt in all theſe Parts of *Peru*, paſſes the mighty River of *Santa Marta*. Within this Government are the Cities of *Paſto*, and *Popayan*, of *Cali*, near the Port of *Buenaventura*; thoſe of *Cartago*, and *Antiocha*; the Town of *Timana*, beyond the Mountains *Andes*, that of *Anzerma*, that of *Arma*, and others built ſince I came from thence.

Some Townſhips here are hot, others cold, ſome Places Healthy, and other Sickly; in ſome Parts it rains very much, and in others very little; in ſome Diſtricts the Natives eat Man's Fleſh, and in others not. On one ſide it borders on the New Kingdom of *Granada*, which

is

is beyond the Mountains *Andes*, and lies on the East; on the South the Kingdom of *Peru*, on the West the South Sea, and Government of *Rio de San Juan*, or *St. John*'s River, and on the North the Province of *Cartagena*. Many admire that these *Indians* have prov'd so Obstinate, and Difficult to be subdu'd, considering that several of their Towns stand in such Places as may be easily reduc'd, and that throughout all this Government, excepting only the Town of *Pasto*, there is no excess of Heat, or Cold; nor do there want any other Conveniencies of Conquest; and that those of *Peru*, whose Valleys lye among Mountains of Snow, with many Rocks, and Rivers, and the People are more Numerous than the others; besides, that they have many Deserts, are so submissive, peaceable and tame. To this I answer, that all the *Indians* Subject to the Government of *Popayan*, ever were, and still are a free People, having no Lords that they stood in awe of. They are Slothful and Lazy, and utterly averse to any Subjection, which was a sufficient Reason for them to oppose being brought under by a strange Nation. Yet this would not have avail'd them, for Necessity must have reduc'd them to do as others did; but there is a stronger Reason, which is, that all these Provinces are extraordinary fertile, and every Way there are thick Woods, Fields of Canes, and other Places of difficult Access; so that when the *Spaniards* press'd them, they burnt the Houses they dwelt in, as being of Timber Thatch'd, and went a League, or two farther, where in three or four Days, they built others and in as short a time Sow'd as much *Indian* Wheat, as they had Occasion for, and Reap'd it within four Months after. If they were pursu'd thither, they either went away farther, or turn'd back again, and whereso'ever they were, found enough to eat, and a fertil Soil to furnish them with Fruit. Therefore they continu'd in Subjection when they pleas'd, had the Power of Peace and War, and never wanted a Subsistance. Those of *Peru* are peaceable, and submissive, because they were all subdu'd by the *Inga* Kings, to whom they paid Tribute, and did them Service; they were born under that Obligation, and if they would not do it, necessity compell'd

Why difficult to Conquer.

pell'd them; becauſe the Country of *Peru*, is full of Deſarts, and Mountains, and Fields of Snow; ſo that, if they withdrew from their Towns, and Valleys, to theſe Solitudes, they could not live, the Soil producing no Fruit, nor is there any to be found, but in their own Vales, and Provinces. This obliges them to ſerve, and not forſake their Lands, rather than ſtarve, and is a ſufficient Argument to ſolve the aforeſaid Doubt. I will now proceed to give a particular Account of the ſeveral Provinces in this Government, and of the *Spaniſh* Towns erected in it, with the Names of the Founders. From this City of *Antiocha* there are two Roads, the one leading to the Town of *Anzerma*, and the other to the City of *Cartago*. I will firſt ſpeak of that which goes to the Town of *Anzerma*, and then return to the other conducting to *Cartago*, and *Arma*.

Chap. XIV.

Of the Road from the City Antiocha, *to the Town of* Anzerma, *the Diſtance between them, and the Lands and Diſtricts in the Way.*

Buritica *rich hill.*

IN the Way from *Antiocha* to *Anzerma*, is to be ſeen that Famous and Wealthy Hill of *Buritica*, which has yeilded ſuch immenſe Quantity of Gold in paſt times. The Diſtance between thoſe two Places is 70 Leagues, the Road very craggy, over great bare Mountains, with little Wood. All, or the greater part is inhabited by *Indians*, who have their Houſes very remote from the Road. A little way out of *Antiocha*, is a ſmall Hill, call'd *Corome*, ſtanding amidſt ſmall Vales, where there us'd to be many Dwellings of *Indians*, but they are much decreas'd, ſince the *Spaniards* came in to conquer them. To this Town belong very rich Gold Mines, and ſeveral Brooks, where they may gather it. Few Fruit-Trees, and but little *Indian* Wheat grow about it. The Language, and Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms of the *Indians* are the ſame as thoſe we have ſpoken of.

Hence the Road proceeds to a Settlement ſtanding on a great Hill, where formerly was a Town conſiſting of great Houſes, all of them belonging to Miners, who dug Gold, the Place being very rich. The neighbouring *Caciques* have Houſes there, and the *Indians* us'd to gather them much Gold; and it is certainly believ'd, that moſt of the Wealth found at *Cemu*, in the Graves dug up there, many conſiderable ones of which Number I ſaw pillag'd, before we went upon the Diſcovery of *Vrute*, with Capt. *Alonzo de Caceres*, came from this Hill. To return to the Point, I remember; that when we diſcover'd this Town, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, a Clergy-man call'd *Francis de Frias*, who march'd with the Forces, found in a Houſe, or Hut of this Town of *Buritica*, a *Totuma*, which is like a great Pan, full of Earth, among which there appear'd very many large Grains of Gold. We alſo ſaw there, the Mines where it grew and was taken, and the *Mazanas*, or *Coas*, that is, the Wooden Inſtruments, they work'd it with. When Captain *George Robledo* founded the City of *Antiocha*, he went to ſee theſe Mines, and they waſh'd, a Trough full of Earth, from which there came a conſiderable Quantity of ſomething very ſmall; one Miner ſaid it was Gold, and another that it was not, but only that we call *Margaxita*, which is a glittering Sand like it, and we being upon our Journey, no farther enquiry was made into it. When the *Spaniards* came to this Town, the *Indians* burnt it, and wou'd never come again to inhabit it.

Plenty of Gold.

I remember that a Soldier call'd *Toribio*, going out to look for Proviſion, found a Stone in a River, as big as a Man's Head, all full of Gold Veins that ran croſs it, from one Side to the other, which he took up to bring it to our Quarters; but coming up a Hill, he met a little *Indian* Dog, which he ran at to kill him to eat, throwing down the Stone, which roll'd back to the River, and he ſecur'd the Dog, valuing him above Gold, for the Hunger he endur'd; ſo that the Stone remain'd in the River, from whence it was firſt taken, and had it been converted into any thing that was eatable, there had been enough

Gold deſpis'd for hunger.

enough that would have gone back for it, we being then in great Diſtreſs for Proviſions.

I ſaw a Black belonging to Captain *George Robledo*, at another River take two very large Grains of Gold, out of one Trough full of Earth. In ſhort, had the Natives been gentle, and of a good Diſpoſition, not ſo bloody as to eat one another, and our Commanders and Governors more compaſſionate, ſo as not to conſume them, the Land thereabouts would have yielded much Wealth. At the Town that ſtood on this Hill call'd *Buritica*, ſprings a ſmall River, and below it is a large Plain, like a Vale, where is ſeated a Mine Town, nam'd *Santa Fe*, or *S. Faith*, built by the ſame Captain *George Robledo*, which is Suffragan to the City of *Antiocha*, and therefore no more needs be ſaid of it. Rich Gold Mines have been found near this Town, upon the great River of *Santa Marta*, that runs by it. In Summer, the Blacks and *Indians* gather much Wealth on the Shores, and when there are more Blacks they will get greater Treaſure. By this Town is alſo another call'd *Xundabe*, of the ſame Nation, and Manners, as its Neighbours. There are many very populous Vales, and a Ridge of Mountains in the Midſt, which divides one Part from the other. Still farther on is another Town, call'd *Caramanta*, and the *Cacique*, or Lord of it was *Cauroma*.

Santa Fe *Town.*

CHAP. XV.

Of the Cuſtomes, and Manners of the Indians *of this Country, and of the Mountain there is in the Way to* Anzerma.

Springs that yield Salt.

THe People of this Province are comely, warlike, and differ in Language from thoſe we have paſs'd. This Vale is encompaſs'd on all Sides with very rugged Mountains, acroſs the midſt of it runs a gentle River, beſides ſeveral other Brooks, and Springs, where they make Salt, as they do in a ſmall Lake in this Vale, whereof I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

hereafter. The Lords, or *Caciques*, and their Officers had very large Houſes, and before their Doors there were thick Canes of the Growth of the Country, like ſmall Beams, on which were many Heads of their Enemies, which they cut off, when they took them in War, with ſharp Knives made of Flint, or of a ſort of Ruſhes, or the out Rinds of Canes, which they bring to a very good Edge. Others they us'd to put to miſerable Deaths, cutting off ſome of their Limbs, according to their Cuſtom, and then eat them, ſetting up their Heads on the Top of their Canes, as has been ſaid. *Indian Cruelties.*

Between theſe Canes they plac'd ſome Boards, on which they carv'd the Figure of the Devil, in a very hideous Human Shape, and other Idols, and Reſemblances of Cats, which they ador'd. When they wanted either Rain, or Fair Weather for their Land, they made Application to theſe Gods of theirs, as the Natives themſelves inform'd us. Thoſe who were appointed for that Function, convers'd with the Devil, they were very ſuperſtitious, and great Sorcerers, and obſerv'd many Signs and Tokens, performing ſeveral vain Ceremonies. When we went thither with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo* upon the firſt Diſcovery, the Interpreters told us, that the Chief Lord of them, call'd *Cauroma*, had many of thoſe Idols we ſaw in Wood, made of moſt pure Gold; and they affirm'd, there was ſuch Plenty of this Metal, that the ſaid Lord took as much as he pleas'd out of one River.

They were cruel Man Eaters, and had open ſpots of Ground before their Houſes, where they rear'd the Canes already ſpoken of, and in theſe Places they had their Graves, or Monuments, after their Country Faſhion, like thoſe before mention'd. The Soil is plentiful, yeilding much *Indian* Wheat, and ſuch Roots as they Sow. There are few, or no Fruit Trees. *Burial Places.*

On the Back of this Province Eaſtward, is that they call *Cartama*, being as far as Captain *Sebaſtian Relalcazar* diſcover'd. They us'd the ſame Language, and had the ſame Cuſtoms with the laſt, were rich in Gold, had little Houſes, and all the Men went Naked, without any Cloathing, but only little Clouts before their Privities. The Women had ſmall Cotton Cloths, which cover'd them *Cartama Province.*

from the Waſte downwards, the reſt all Bare. Juſt beyond the Province of *Cartama*, is a Mountain very thick Wooded, and above 7 Leagues over, where we ſuffer'd much by Hunger and Cold, when we went with *Vadillo*, and I may ſafely affirm, I never endur'd ſo much Famine as I did then, tho' I have been upon ſome very fatiguing Diſcoveries and Excurſions. We were ſo much concern'd, to find our ſelves in ſuch thick Woods, that we could not ſee the Sun, nor find any Way, or meet a Guide, or any Body to tell us, whether we were near any habitable Place, or far of, that we were upon the Point of returning to *Cartagena*. It was a great Help to us to find that ſort of green Wood I ſaid there is on the *Abibe*, for it ſerv'd us to make as much Fire as we would. Thus we open'd a way with meer force of Arms, and paſs'd theſe Woods, leaving ſome *Spaniards*, and ſeveral Horſes behind ſtarv'd to Death.

Beyond this Mountain lies a ſmall Vale, without any Wood, and thinly Peopled; but a little farther we ſaw a large delicious Valley very populous, the Houſes in it ſtanding cloſe together, and all New, ſome of them very ſpacious, and the Fields full of Proviſions, of their Roots, and *Indian* Wheat. Moſt of theſe Houſes were afterwards abandon'd, and the Natives forſook their Country. Many of them to ſhun the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* went away to a parcel of Rugged high Mountains, that are beyond this Valley, which is call'd of *Cima*. Two Leagues and a half from it is another ſmall one form'd by a Ridge, proceeding from the Mountain, where now ſtands the Town of *Anzerma*, at firſt call'd *Santa Ana de los Cavalleros*, or *St. Anne belonging to the Knights*, which is ſeated between two ſmall Rivers, on a little Hill, plain on both Sides, cover'd with Abundance of beautiful Fruit Trees, both of the Country Growth, and others brought from *Spain*, and full of Grain, which grows very well. The Town overlooks all the Country about it, as ſtanding on the higheſt Ridge, nor is it to be approach'd any way, without Diſcovery from it, and it is encompaſs'd on all Sides by conſiderable Dwellings of ſeveral *Caciques*, or little Lords, who were Friends a-

Anzerma *Town.*

mong themſelves; their Towns ſtood near one another; but the Houſes at ſome Diſtance.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Caciques *and* Indians *in the Territory of the Town of* Anzerma, *of its firſt Foundation, and by whom it was laid.*

THE Place on which the Town of *Anzerma* ſtands, is by the Natives call'd *Umbra*; but when the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebaſtian de Belalcazar* enter'd this Province, upon the firſt Diſcovery, having no Interpreters, he could not underſtand any of the Secrets of the Province. The *Spaniards* hearing the *Indians* when they ſaw Salt call it *Anzer*, which is the Name for it in their Language, apply'd the ſame to the Place, and thus the Town came by that of *Anzerma*. Four Leagues Weſt from it is a Town, not very large, but Populous, as having large Houſes, and a Spacious Teritory. A ſmall River runs cloſe by, and it is a League from the great one of *Santa Marta*, of which, I deſign to write a particular Chapter, giving an Account of its Source, and how it divides into two Branches. Theſe *Indians* had a Chief or Lord of a good Preſence, whoſe Name was *Ciricha*. When I was there, a very great Houſe of his ſtood juſt at the entrance into his Town, and many others in ſeveral Parts of it; and before that great one was an open Spot of Ground; all over ſet with thoſe thick Canes, I ſaid there were at *Caramanta*, with the Heads of *Indians* they had eaten on the Tops of them. He had ſeveral Wives.

Anzerma call'd.

Theſe *Indians* uſe the ſame Language, and Cuſtomes as thoſe of *Caramanta*, and are more bloody, and fond of Man's Fleſh. That the Reader may conceive the Hardſhips endur'd by thoſe who go upon Diſcoveries, I will relate what happen'd in this Town, when we came to it, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, and was, That the Natives having hid all their Proviſions, in ſome Places

we found no *Indian* Wheat, nor any other thing to eat; and as for Fleſh we had taſted none for above a Year, unleſs it were that of the Horſes that dy'd, or ſome Dogs, and ſuch was our want, that we had not ſo much as Salt. About 25, or 30 Soldiers, going abroad a Marauding, or to ſpeak plain, to ſteal what they could find; near the great River they lighted on ſome People, that had fled, for Fear of being ſeen, and taken by us. There they found a great Pot, full of boil'd Meat, and their Hunger was ſo great, that they thought of nothing but eating, believing the Fleſh was of thoſe Creatures they call *Curies*, becauſe they found ſome of them in the Pot; but when they were well ſatisfy'd, one of them pull'd out a Hand, with all its Fingers and Nails; beſides which they afterwards diſcover'd pieces of Feet, of two or three Quarters of Men there were in it. The *Spaniards* beholding that Spectacle, were ſorry they had eaten of the Meat, and their Stomachs turn'd at the ſight of the Hands, and Fingers; but it paſs'd over with them, and they return'd ſatisfy'd, having gon out hungry.

Man's Fleſh eaten by Miſtake.

Several ſmall Rivers riſe on a Mountain, that is above this Town; and from them much fine Gold has been, and is taken, by the *Indians* and Blacks. Theſe were Friends, and Confederates with thoſe of *Caramanta*, and ever Enemies to, and wag'd War with their other Neighbours. There is a ſtrong Rock in this Town, where they ſecur'd themſelves in Time of War. The Men went naked and barefoot, and the Women wore ſmall Blankets, being generally well Countenanc'd, and ſome of them Beautiful.

Beyond this Town is the Province of *Zopia*. Between theſe two Places was a River, very rich in Gold, on which the *Spaniards* have made two Settlements. Theſe *Indians* alſo went naked. The Houſes ſtood apart from one another, like the reſt, and they bury'd their dead in large Graves within them. They had no Idols, nor any Place of Worſhip; but convers'd with the Devil; Marry'd their Nieces, and ſome of them their own Siſters, and the Principal Wives Son inherited the Lordſhip, for all the *Indians* of Note had ſeveral Wives, and if they had no Sons, the Siſters Son was Heir. They border on the Province of *Cartama*, through which the great River, above mention'd, paſſes.

Zopia Province.

On

On the other Side of it is the Province of *Pozo*, where they traded moſt. On the Eaſt of the Town are other large *Indian* Dwellings, the Lords whereof were proper, well look'd Men, and have Plenty of Proviſions, and Abundance of Fruit Trees. They are all Friends at preſent, tho' formerly there was War between them; but they were not ſo greedy of Man's Fleſh, as thoſe before mention'd. The *Caciques* are very dainty, and many of them were carry'd in Hammocks, or on Biers, before the *Spaniards* came among them. They had many Wives, and thoſe beautiful, for *Indians*, wearing Cotton Blankets of ſeveral gay Colours. The Men went naked, only the Chief of them were cover'd with a long Blanket, and wore Clouts about their Waſte, like the reſt. The Women, beſides the Cloathing I have mention'd, had their Hair curiouſly comb'd, with Collars of ſeveral pieces of Gold about their Necks, and Rings in their Ears; making Holes in their Noſtrils to ſtich Gold Beads in them, ſome ſmall and others large. The Lords had many Gold Veſſels to drink out of, and Abundance of Blankets for themſelves and their Wives, adorn'd with Gold Plates, ſome round, and ſome like Stars, beſides many other Jewels of ſeveral ſorts, of this ſame Metal. They call the Devil *Xixarama*, and the *Spaniards Tamaraca*. Some of them were great Sorcerers, and Botaniſts. They Marry'd off their Daughters, after they had loſt their Maiden-heads, and did not value Virginity. In their Marriages they us'd no ſort of Ceremony. In one Part of this Province call'd *Tauya*, when their Lord dy'd, they laid the Body into a Hamack, and made a great Fire all about it, digging a Hole under the Carcas, into which the Moiſture, and Greaſe melted by the Heat dropt. When the Body was half burnt, the Kindred came about, making mighty Lamentation, which ended they drank their Wine, and repeated their Pſalms, or Bleſſings dedicated to their Gods, after their Manner, and as they were taught by their Forefathers. This done, they lay'd the Body wrapped in ſeveral Blankets into a Coffin, and kept it ſome Years unbury'd; when thoroughly dry'd up, they plac'd it in the Tombs, or Graves they made in their Houſes.

Pozo Province.

Dead Bodies parched.

They

They had little of Civility, and not much use of Reason. Their Weapons were Darts, Spears, *Mazanas*, or Wooden Swords, made of the black Palm, or of another hard White Tree, growing in those Parts. We never saw any particular Place of Worship they had: When they convers'd with the Devil, they said, it was in the Dark, without any Light, and that one appointed for that Purpose, spoke for them all, and return'd the Answers. Their Towns are seated on vast Mountains, without any Wood. Up the Country Westward, is a great Mountain they call *Cima*, and beyond it, towards the South Sea, great Numbers of *Indians*, and large Towns, about the Springs of the great River of *Darien*. Chaptain *George Robledo* Founded this Town of *Anzerma*, when *Don Francisco Pizarro* was Governour, and Captain General of all these Provinces, under the Name of *Santa Ana de los Cavalleros*, or *St. Anne belonging to the Knights*.

Chap. XVII.

Of the Towns, and Provinces lying between the City of Antiocha, *and the Town of* Arma, *and of the Customs of the Natives.*

I Will here leave the Road I have been upon, and return to the City *Antiocha*, to lay down the way from thence to the Town of *Arma*, and as far as the City *Cartago*. Departing *Antiocha* on the way to *Arma*, we come to the great River of *Santa Marta*, which is 12 Leagues distant. Having pass'd the River in a Boat, there is for that Purpose, or on Floats, which never fail, or at least Matter to make them of, there are few *Indians* along the River Side, and the Towns are small, because most of them are withdrawn from the Road. After some Days Travel, we come to a Town call'd, *Pueblo Llano*, or, Plain Town, which was once very large; but when the *Spaniards* came into the Country, the Inhabitants retir'd to some little Hills, about two Leagues from

Pueblo Llano.

that

that Place. The *Indians* are ſmall of Body, and have ſome Arrows brought from beyond the Mountains *Andes*, where they uſe them. They are great Traders, and their principal Commodity Salt, but go naked; as do the Women, having only ſmall Clouts, that cover them from the Belly to the Thighs, yet they are rich in Gold, and the Rivers roul much of this Metal. In other Particulars they are like their Neighbours.

At a Diſtance from this Town, is another, call'd *Mugia*, where there is great Plenty of Salt, and many Merchants, who carry it beyond the Mountains; for which they bring back much Gold, Cotton Cloth, and other things they want. Beyond this Town Eaſtward lies the Valley of *Aburra*, in the way to which the Paſſage over the *Andes* is eaſy, there being little Mountain, and but one Days Journey. This we diſcover'd with Captain *George Robledo*, and ſaw only ſome ſmall Towns, different from thoſe we were paſt, and not ſo rich. When we enter'd the Vale of *Aburra*, the Natives took ſuch a Diſlike to us, that they and their Wives hang'd themſelves on the Trees, in their Hair, or with the Clouts they tye about them.

Mugia *Town.*

Aburra *Vale.*

In this Vale of *Aburra* there are ſeveral flats, the Land is very fertile, and ſome Rivers croſs it. Farther on, we ſaw an ancient great Road and ſome others, along which they travel to trade with the Nations that lye Eaſt of them, which are many, and conſiderable, but I did not travel through them. Beyond *Pueblo Llano* is another call'd *Cenufara*, rich, and where it is believ'd there are Graves containing much Treaſure. The Natives are well ſhap'd, and like thoſe before mention'd in moſt Particulars. Farther on is *Pueblo Blanco*, or White Town, and to go on to the Town of *Arma*, we leave the great River on the right Hand.

Cenufara & Pueblo Blanco *Towns.*

There are many more Rivers along this Road, which I omit becauſe of their Number, and for that they have no particular Names. Near *Cenufara* is a River coming from the Mountain, and very ſtony, along which they travel almoſt a Days Journey; on the left of it is a large and populous Province, of which I will ſpeak preſently. Theſe Towns, and Territories were at firſt under the

City

City *Cartago*, and within its Diſtrict; the Limits whereof were extended as far as the great River, by the Founder Captain *George Robledo*; but the *Indians* being ſo wild, and averſe to do any Service, or go to the City *Cartago*, the *Adelantado* or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, his Majeſties Governour, order'd they ſhou'd be divided, leaving all theſe Towns out of the Territory of *Cartago*, and that a *Spaniſh* Town ſhould be built there; which was accordingly done by *Michael Munnoz*, in the Year 1542. It was at Firſt ſeated on a Hill, entering the Province of *Arma*; but the Natives Warr'd ſo fiercely upon the *Spaniards*, that this, and the want of Ground to Sow, and make their Settlements, oblig'd them to remove it, ſomewhat above two Leagues from that Place towards the great River, and it ſtands 23 Leagues from the City *Cartago*, 12 from the Town of *Anzerma*, and one from *Rio Grande*, or the great River, in a Plain ſpot there is between two ſmall Rivers, like the ſide of a Hill, encompaſs'd by great Groves of Palm-Trees, different from thoſe above mention'd, but more beneficial; for they take very well taſted *Palmitos* from the Heart of them, and the Fruit they bear is very good, which being bruiz'd with Stones yeilds a Liquor whereof they make excellent Cream, and Milk, as alſo a Subſtance that burns in Lamps, like Oil. I have ſeen, and made the Experiment of what I ſay.

The Situation of this Town is look'd upon as ſomewhat unwholſome. The Soil is ſo fruitful, that they only threſh the Straw, and burn the Reeds, and when this is done one Buſhel of *Indian* Wheat they Sow yeilds an hundred and more, and this they do twice a Year. Other things alſo thrive plentifully. No *European* Wheat has been as yet Sow'd, ſo that I know not whether it will grow, or not. The Mines here are rich, and more at *Rio Grande*, or the great River, which is a League from this Town, than in other Places; for if they ſet Blacks to work, every one cannot fail of getting his Maſter three, or four Ducats a Day. In Proceſs of Time, this will be one of the Richeſt Countries in the *Weſt Indies*. The Eſtate given me, for my Services was within the Liberties of this Town.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

Of the Province of Arma, *the Cuſtoms of the Natives, and other remarkable Things in it.*

Arma *Province.*

THis Province of *Arma*, which gave its Name to the Town, is very large, populous, and richer than any about it, containing above 20000 *Indians* able to bear Arms, at the Time when I writ this, which was when firſt we *Spaniards* enter'd it, without reck'ning Women, and Children. Their Houſes were very large and round, compos'd of great Poles, and Beams, reaching from the Top to the Bottom, and forming a ſmall round Arch above, where the Timber Work ended, the Covering of Straw. Within theſe Houſes there were ſeveral Apartments ſever'd with Mats, and they contain'd many Inhabitants. The Length of the Province is about ten Leagues, and the Breadth ſix, or ſeven; full of very uncooth bare Mountains, without any Wood. The Vales and Sides of the Hills look like Orchards, they are ſo full of all ſorts of Fruit Trees theſe Parts afford, and of one particular which is very pleaſant, of a purple Colour, and call'd *Pitahaya*. This Fruit is of ſuch a Quality, that if a Man eats but one of them, his Water will look like Blood. Another ſort of Fruit is found on the Mountains, which I reckon very ſingular, they call it *Uvillas*, that is, little Grapes, being ſmall, and of a delicious Scent.

Pitahaya *Fruit*

Several Rivers have their Springs on the Mountains, and one of them, call'd the River of *Arma*, is troubleſome to croſs in Winter, the others are not conſiderable; and according to the Nature of them, I verily believe, there will be Gold dug out of them in Proceſs of Time, as plentifully as Iron in *Biſcay*. Thoſe who read this, if they have ſeen the Country as well as I, will not think it Fabulous. The *Indians* have their Farms along theſe Rivers: They had always bloody Wars among themſelves; and in many Places their Languages differ, inſomuch, that there is a ſtrange Tongue in every Townſhip,

and upon every Hill. They were, and ſtill are vaſtly rich in Gold, and had they been as gentle as thoſe of *Peru*, I dare maintain they would have pay'd above 500000 Pieces of eight in Gold Yearly out of their Mines. They us'd many and large Ornaments of this Metal, ſo fine, that the courſeſt riſes to 19 Carats. When they went to the Wars, they wore Crowns, Plates on their Breaſts, curious Plumes of Feathers, Bracelets, and many other Ornaments. The firſt time we came thither upon Diſcovery, with Captain *George Robledo*, I remember, there were *Indians* ſeen in Gold Armour from Head to Foot, and the Place where we ſaw them to this Day retains the Name of *la Loma de los Armados*, that is, the Hill of the Men in Armour. They us'd to carry Flags of great Value on long Spears, or Pikes. Their Houſes were built on the Flat Tops of the Hills, or Extremities of the Mountains, which are very rough and craggy. They fortify'd their Towns with the thick Canes above mention'd, pull'd up Roots and all, which they planted again by twenties and twenties in Ranks, like Walks. In the midſt of this Fortreſs, when I ſaw them, they had a Scaffold rais'd high, and artificially contriv'd of the ſame Canes, to offer their Sacrifices on.

Armour of Gold.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Religious Rites, and Sacrifices of theſe Indians, *and how much they are addicted to eating of Man's Fleſh.*

THE Weapons us'd by theſe *Indians* are, Darts, Spears, Slings and Shafts, which they Caſt with Thongs, like Slings. They are very noiſy, and when they go to the Wars carry many Cornets, Drums, Pipes, and other Inſtruments. They are extraordinary crafty and deceitful, and never obſerve the Peace they make. The Devil had a ſtrange Dominion and Power over them; for he often appear'd to them viſibly. On the Scaffold we have mention'd, they had Bundles of Cords, made of *Cabuya*, which is like Withies,

Withies, and this was of use to us to make *Alpargates*, that is, a sort of Shoes and Buskins together, made all of Packthread, and us'd in *Spain* by the poorest People on the Mountains; each of those Ropes being above 40 Fathom long. They hung the *Indians* they took in War by the Armpits to the top of those Scaffolds, and there left them; pull'd out the Hearts of others, to offer to their Gods, or to the Devil, in Honour of whom those Sacrifices were perform'd, and then immediatly devour'd the Bodies of those so slain. No other Place of Worship was ever seen, only that in the Houses of prime Men, there was one particular Chamber curiously matted and adorn'd. I saw one of these Chappels at *Paucora*, as I shall observe hereafter; in the fartherst Part of them was a Closet, and in it many Earthen Censors, in which instead of Frankincense they burnt a sort of small Herbs. These I saw, on the Land of a Lord of this Province, whose Name was *Yayo*, and they were so small that they scarce appear'd above the Ground; some bore a very black Flower, and others a white one. The Scent of them was like that of Vervain, and these they burnt with some sorts of Rozins, before their Idols. After they had perform'd other Ceremonies, the Devil, they say, appear'd in the Shape of an *Indian*, with very glittering Eyes, and answer'd to what they ask'd, or desir'd to know, by Means of his Priests, or Ministers. *Worship.*

The People of this Province of *Arma* are of a middle Stature, and all of them brown, or swarthy, insomuch, that all the *Indians*, Men and Women of these Parts, tho' they are such Multudes, that they are almost innumerable, and such Distance and Variety of Countries, yet they look as if they were all born of one Father and Mother. The *Indian* Women here, are the most deform'd and filthy of any I saw in these Parts. Both Sexes went naked, bating that to cover their Privities, they put Clouts before them, but a Span broad, and a Span and a half in length, this to hide the Fore-part, and all the rest bare. Some of these Women were Shorn, and so were their Husbands. *Nakedness*

The Provisions they have are *Indian* Wheat, *Yuca*, and many other well tasted Roots, some *Guayavas*, and *Paltas*,

and *Pixibaes* Palm-trees. The Prime Men married any Women they lik'd beſt, one of which was reckon'd the Chief; and the other *Indians*, took one anothers Daughters and Siſters, without any Rule, or Order, and very few found their Wives Maids. The Great Ones had many, the reſt one, two, or more, according to their Ability. Burials and Inheritance as has been ſaid in other Places.

Barbarity. Theſe *Indians* were ſo greedy of Human Fleſh, that they have been known to make Priſoners of Women ready to be deliver'd, and tho' they belong'd to their next Neighbours, to rip up their Bellies, with their Flint, or Cane Knives, and taking out the Infant, to roaſt it at a Fire made in a Pan, and devour it immediately; and then cutting the Mother in Pieces, to eat her, in that filthy Condition, ſo haſtily, that it was amazing to behold.

Power of Caciques. All the Authority the *Caciques* have over them, is, that they build their Houſes, till their Lands, give them as many Wives as they deſire, and gather them Gold in the Rivers, wherewith they Trade in the Neighbouring Parts; and they call themſelves Commanders in War, and are in all the Battles they fight. They are an unſteady People in all Reſpects, have no manner of Shame, nor do they know what Virtue is; but are ſharp enough among one another for any Knavery. Somewhat to the Eaſtward of this Province, is the aforeſaid Mountain call'd *Andes*, very high and craggy. In all theſe Parts the Women are deliver'd without Midwives, as is done generally throghout the *Weſt-Indies*, and as ſoon as the Infant is born, they go and waſh themſelves and their Children in the River, without keeping up one Moment, or receiving any Harm by the Air, or Weather. Fifty of them, I am ſenſible, do not endure ſo much Pain in Child bearing, as one of ours. I know not whether the tender keeping of the one Sort, or the Brutiſhneſs of the other, be the Occaſion.

CHAP.

Chap. XX.

Of the Province of Paucura, *and of their Manners, and Customs.*

Paucura *Province.*

BEyond the great Province of *Arma*, is another call'd *Paucura*, which contain'd 5 or 6000 *Indians*, when firſt we enter'd with Captain *George Robledo*, and differs in Language from the laſt; but their Cuſtoms are the ſame; excepting, that theſe are better People, and more likely, and that both Men and Women wear ſmall Cloths, which cover part of their Bodies. The Soil is very fruitful for *Indian* Wheat, and other things; but yields not ſo much Gold; nor are the Houſes ſo large, nor the Country ſo rugged. One River runs through it, beſides many Brooks. Before the Chief Lord's Door, whoſe Name was *Pimana*, ſtood a Wooden Idol, as big as a Luſty Man, looking towards the Eaſt, and the Arms extended. The *Indians* told us, they Sacrific'd two Men to the Devil, every *Tueſday*, in this Province of *Paucura*, and the ſame in that of *Arma*; yet if they did ſo, I know not whether the Perſons ſo Sacrific'd were Natives, or Priſoners taken in War. They keep many of thoſe thick Canes, above ſpoken of, in the Houſes of the Lords, which when dry are extraordinary ſtrong, and with them, they make an Encloſure like a Cage, long, narrow, and not very high, ſo faſt knit and bound together, that thoſe they put in, cannot poſſibly get out. In theſe Pens they us'd to ſhut up the Priſoners taken in War, ordering them to be well fed, and when Fat took them out to thoſe open Spots of Ground before their Houſes, where, upon their Feſtivals, they cruelly ſlaughter'd and devour'd them. I ſaw ſome of theſe Pounds, or Priſons, in the Province of *Arma*, and it is to be obſer'd, that when they were to kill any of thoſe Wretches, to eat, they made them kneel down, and bowing their Heads, gave them a Blow on the Neck, which ſtunn'd them, and they neither complain'd, nor ſpoke one Word. I have ſeveral times ſeen what I write, that is, the *Indians*

dians ſlain, without uttering a Syllable, or begging for Mercy; on the contrary, ſome of them laugh when they murder them, which is very wonderful, and proceeds rather from Brutality than true Courage. The Heads of thoſe ſo eaten, they plac'd on the thick Canes, as has been ſaid. Proceeding ſtill the ſame Way, beyond this Province, we come to a high Hill, which is full of great Towns, or Villages, both Top, and Sides; ſo it was the firſt time we came to it; and the Houſes were very Large. This Place is call'd *Pozo*, uſing the ſame Language and Cuſtoms as thoſe of *Arma*.

Chap. XXI.

Of the Indians *of* Pozo, *and their Bravery, and how much they are dreaded by their Neighbours.*

Pozo *Province.*

THere were three *Caciques*, or Lords, and other great Men in this Territory of *Pozo*, when we enter'd it with Captain *George Robledo*. They and their *Indians* were, and ſtill are, the braveſt of all the adjacent Parts. On one ſide of them is *Rio Grande*, or the *Great River*; and on the other, the Provinces of *Carrapa* and *Picara*, of which I ſhall ſoon treat. Theſe People did not entertain Amity with any of the other Nations about them. As they inform'd us, they deriv'd their Original, from certain *Indians*, who in former times came out of the Province of *Arma*, and liking the Soil, where they now are, ſettled there, and from them came the preſent Inhabitants. Their Language and Manners are the ſame as thoſe of *Arma*. The Lords, or Prime Men, had very large, lofty and round Houſes, in which there were 10, or 15 Inhabitants, and ſometimes fewer, as the Houſe was. Before them were ſtrong Paliſadoes, and Fortifications made of their thick Canes, and in the midſt of theſe Fortreſſes very high and ſpacious Scaffolds erected, cover'd over Head with Mats; the Canes ſtanding ſo thick, that no *Spaniſh* Horſeman could paſs between them. They kept Sentinels on the Scaffolds to look about, and diſcover any People that came

came along the Roads. The Chief Lord of this Town was call'd *Pimaraqua*, when we came thither with *Robledo*. The Men are of a better Preſence than thoſe of *Arma*, and the Women very large, and ill Countenanc'd, tho' there be ſome handſome, but I ſaw few ſuch. Juſt within the Houſes of the Great Men, ſtood a Row of 15 or 20 Idols in Rank, and each as big as a Man; their Faces made of Wax, very deform'd, in ſuch Shapes and Figures as the Devil appear'd to them. They told us, that when he was call'd upon, he would ſometimes get into the Bodies of thoſe Wooden Idols, and give his Anſwers through them. The Heads of them were made of dead Men's Sculls. When the Lords died, they buried them in large Graves, within their own Houſes, in the ſame Manner as has been ſaid before. I remember, the ſecond time Captain *Robledo* paſs'd through the Province of *Arma*, one *Anthony Pimentel* and I, went, by his Order, to ſearch a Grave, in the Town belonging to the *Cacique Tayo*, where we found above 200 ſmall Plates of Gold, which they call *Chagualetas*, and faſten on their Blankets, or Cloths they wear about them, beſides other larger Plates, and cou'd not take out all, by reaſon of the Stench of the dead Bodies; and were that gather'd which is buried in *Peru*, and theſe Parts, the Value wou'd be immenſe, and much more than all the *Spaniards* have hitherto had thence. When I was at *Cuzco*, making Enquiry concerning the *Ingas*, among the Prime Men, I was told that *Paul Inga*, and other Great Ones ſaid, That if all the Treaſure that was about the Provinces, and *Guacas*, which are their Temples, and in their Graves were gather'd, all the *Spaniards* had carried away wou'd be no more miſs'd, than if one ſingle Drop were taken out of a whole Veſſel of Water. To make this Compariſon more plain, and demonſtrable, they fill'd a great Meaſure with *Indian* Wheat, and taking a Handful out of it, ſaid, *Thus much the* Spaniards *have had, the reſt is in Places, which we our ſelves know not.* Thus we ſee what prodigious Wealth is loſt in theſe Countries; and had not the *Spaniards* got what they have, it would all, or moſt of it have been dedicated to the Devil, and to their Temples and Graves, where they bury'd their Dead; for theſe

Immenſe hidden Treaſure.

these *Indians* made no other use of it, as not paying their Soldiers, or purchasing Lands with it, nor did they desire any more than to be adorn'd whilst living, and to carry it along with them, when they dy'd.

These *Indians* and their Wives went naked, like their Neighbours, and were much addicted to Husbandry. When sowing, or digging, they held the *Mazana*, or Instrument to break the Ground in one Hand, and the Spear in the other to fight. The Lords here were more respected than in other Parts, and their Sons, or for want of them, their Nephews Inherited. The Territories of *Picara*, which is two Leagues from this Town, that of *Paucura* being a League and a half, and that of *Carrupa* about the same Distance, had each of them three Times as many *Indians* as this, and yet they always maintain'd bloody Wars with and were dreaded by them all, and they coveted their Friendship. They went abroad in great Numbers, leaving enough at home to guard the Town, and march'd against their Enemies with Abundance of noisy Instruments, as Cornets, Drums, and Pipes, carrying strong Ropes, to bind the Prisoners, they took. When they came to the Field of Battle, both Sides gave great Shouts, and made a hideous Noise, and falling on they kill'd one another, took Prisoners, and burnt Houses. These *Indians* of *Pozo* were always the bravest in Fight, as all their Neighbours own. They are as greedy of Human Flesh, as those of *Arma*; for I one Day saw them devour above an hundred *Indian* Men and Women, they had kill'd, and taken in War.

Brave Indians.

When the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant, *Don Sebastian de Belalcazar* was reducing the Territories of *Picara*, and *Paucura*, which had revolted, these People of *Pozo* being with us, under their *Cacique Perequita*, they slew the *Indians* I have spoken of, beating the Bushes for them, as if they had been Hares; and 20, or 30 of them went together in Parties along the Banks of Rivers, where they drew those People from among the Rocks, and Bushes, not one of them escaping. One *Roderick Alonso*, two other Christians, and I, being in pursuit of certain *Indians*, in the Province of *Paucura*, one of the freshest colour'd and most beautiful *Indian* Women I ever saw in those Parts, happen'd to be coming towards us, we call'd to her, and as soon as she spy'd us, she turn'd away as

if

if ſhe had ſeen the Devil, towards the *Indians* of *Pozo*, that were with us, chuſing rather to be kill'd and eaten by them, than to fall into our Hands. One of thoſe *Indians*, who were then our Confederates and Friends, and abroad with us, before we cou'd prevent it, gave her ſuch a Blow on the Head, as ſtunn'd her; and then another came up and cut off her Head with a Knife made of Flint. The Woman, when ſhe went towards them, knelt down, and expected the Fate ſhe met with. They immediately ſuck'd up her Blood, and devour'd the Heart, and Bowels raw, carrying away the Head and Quarters, to eat at Night. *Bloody Cruelty*

I ſaw two other *Indians* kill two of thoſe of *Paucura*, who laugh'd as heartily as if they were not the Perſons to be ſlain. Thus we ſee all theſe *Indians*, and their Neighbours us'd to eat Man's Fleſh, before we came among them. Theſe of *Pozo* are very rich in Gold, and have great Mines of that Metal near their Town, on the Banks of *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which runs by it. In this Town the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, and his Lieutenant General *Francis Hernandez Giron*, took the Marſhal *Don George Robledo*, and cut off his Head, putting ſome others to Death, at the ſame time, and there being no Conveniency for carrying the Bodies to *Arma*, the *Indians* devour'd them all, notwithſtanding they were buried, and a Houſe burnt over them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Province of Picara, *and its* Caciques, *or Lords.*

TO the Eaſtward of *Pozo* is the Province of *Picara*, large and populous. The Principal *Caciques* or Lords there, when we diſcover'd it, were call'd *Picara*, *Chuſquruqua*, *Sanguitama*, *Chambiriqua*, *Ancora*, *Auripimi*, and others of Note. Their Language, and Manners like thoſe of *Paucura*. This Province ſtretches out towards a Parcel of Mountains, where there are Springs of very good *Picara Province.*

and pleasant Water. The Country is rich in Gold, being Mountainous like that we are pass'd, but more populous, for all the Tops of the Hills, their Sides, the Vales, and Fields of Reeds are so well till'd, that it's pleasant to behold such fine Corn Fields. There were abundance of Fruit-trees in all Parts; but few Houses, because they burnt them in their Wars. When first we enter'd the Country, it contain'd above 12000 *Indians*, that bore Arms, and all Naked, neither Men, nor Women wearing any thing, but small Clouts to cover their Privities; in all other Particulars they resemble those already spoken of, in Eating, Drinking, and Marriages; and accordingly Bury their Lords like the other *Indians* of these Parts before mention'd; and have their Enemies Heads set on Canes before their Doors, which are dreadful to behold, for they look like Devils, with their long Hair, and Faces hideously painted. They cut Holes in the lower Part of the Canes to suck in the Air, so that when the Wind blows they make a Hellish sort of Musick.

These *Indians* like Man's Flesh as well as those of *Pozo*, for when we were there the first time, with the Commander *George Robledo*, above 4000 of these Natives of *Picara* follow'd us, and so order'd it, that they kill'd, and eat at least 300 *Indians*. These People had always pointed Stakes of the Black Palm-tree, as sharp as Steel, stuck up in Pits, and dexterously cover'd over with Straw, or Grass. When the *Spaniards* and they were at War, they plac'd so many, that it was troublesome travelling about the Country, and many had them run into their Feet, and Legs. Some of them use Bows and Arrows, but not poison'd, nor do they know how to shoot them, so that they do little Harm. Slings they have, and cast Stones with them furiously. The Men are of a middle Stature, as are the Women, and some of these Handsome. Departing hence towards the City of *Cartago*, we come to the Province of *Carrapa*, which is not far distant, but populous, and wealthy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Province of Carrapa, *and what is worth observing in it.*

Carrapa Province.

THE Territory of *Carrapa* is 12 Leagues from the City *Cartago*, lying among uncooth naked Hills, without any Woods, only what belong to the Ridge of the *Andes* running above them. The Houſes are ſmall, and very low, made of Canes, and cover'd with the Leaves of another Sort of ſmall ſlender Reeds, whereof there is great Plenty in thoſe Parts. Some of the Dwellings of the great Men are very ſpacious, others not. When firſt we *Spaniards* enter'd this Province, there were 5 Chiefs in it. The greateſt of them they call'd *Yrrua*, who had ſome Years before intruded there by Force, and commanded over the greateſt Part of it, in an Abſolute and Tyrannick Manner. Among the Rocks there are ſome plain ſmall Vales, very Populous, and full of Rivers, Brooks and Springs, but the Water is not ſo fine and well taſted, as that of the Rivers and Springs we have paſs'd. The Men are very large, and long viſag'd; the Women like them, and luſty. They are extraordinary rich in Gold, and had Abundance of Ornaments of it very fine, and curious Cups to drink the Liquor they made of *Indian* Wheat, which is ſo ſtrong, that they loſe their Senſes, who drink much of it. They are ſo addicted to Drunkenneſs, that an *Indian* at one Sitting will drink 3 or 4 Gallons of it, and when gorg'd vomit it up; nay many of them hold the Goblet to drink in one Hand, and their Privities in the other to piſs it out. As for eating they do not exceed, but the Drinking is become a Cuſtom generally us'd by all the *Indians* that have been diſcover'd. If the *Caciques* die without Heirs Male, the principal Wife governs, and after her Death, the Lordſhip devolves to his Nephew by a Siſter, if he has any. They have a peculiar Language of their own; no particular Place of Worſhip; but converſe with the Devil, like

the reſt, and bury their Dead in their Houſes with their Wives and Treaſure as above.

When any of theſe *Indians* were ſick, they offer'd mighty Sacrifices for their Health as they were taught by their Forefathers. The Prime Men married their Neices, and ſome their own Siſters; and had many Wives; and did eat the *Indians* they kill'd, like their Neighbours. When they went to War, they all wore Valuable Ornaments of Gold, great Crowns on their Heads, and maſſive Bracelets on their Arms, and carried rich Colours before them. I ſaw one they preſented Captain *George Robledo*, the firſt time we came into their Province with him, which weigh'd 3000 and odd Pieces of eight; and at the ſame time they gave him a Gold Cup, worth 290, beſides two Mens Burthen of this ſame Metal, in ſeveral ſorts of Ornaments. The Standard was a long and narrow Piece of Cloth, ſet upon a Staff, and all cover'd with ſmall Pieces of Gold, ſome like Stars, and others round.

In this Province there are Abundance of Fruit-trees; ſome Deer, and thoſe they call *Guadaquinajes*, and other Game, as alſo ſeveral other ſorts of Proviſions of the Growth of the Earth, and ſavoury Roots. From hence we proceeded to the Teritory of *Quinbaya*, in which the City *Cartago* is ſeated, being twenty two Leagues from the Town of *Arma*. Between theſe two Teritories of *Carrapa* and *Quinbaya* lies a very ſpacious Valley, not inhabited, which belong'd to the Tyrant abovemention'd, call'd *Yrrua*, who commanded at *Carrapa*. His Predeceſſors and he had bloody Wars with the People of *Quinbaya*, who forc'd them from their Native Country, and they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Carrapa*. It was reported, there were wealthy Graves of great Men in it.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIV.

Of the Province of Quinbaya, *and the Cuſtoms of its* Caciques; *and of the Founding the City* Cartago, *and by whom.*

THE Territory of *Quinbaya* is about 15 Leagues in Length, and 10 in Breadth, from *Rio Grande*, that is, the Great River, to the Snowy Mountain of the *Andes*, all of it very populous, and not ſo uncooth and craggy as the laſt. There are ſpacious Fields of Canes in it, ſo thick, that there is no paſſing through them, without much Trouble, and all the Country is ſo full of them, that I have never ſeen or heard of the like in any Part of the *Weſt-Indies*, which Nature ſeems to have provided, that the Natives might not be at a Loſs to build their Houſes. The Snowy Mountain, that is the great Ridge of the *Andes*, is ſeven Leagues from the Towns of this Province. On the Top of it is a fiery Irruption, which in clear Weather is ſeen to caſt out Abundance of Smoke, and from it come down ſeveral Rivers, watering all the Country. The Chief of theſe are that of *Tacurumbi*, that of *Cegue*, that which runs by the City, and others too tedious to enumerate. In Winter, when they are ſwoln, they have Bridges over them made of Canes bound together with ſtrong Withes, and faſtned to the Trees on both Sides. Here is Plenty of Gold; for when I was in this City, in the Year 1547, above 15000 Pieces of Eight were gather'd, in 3 Months, and then the greateſt *Spaniard* had not above 3, or 4 Blacks, and a few *Indians*. Some Valleys are form'd, where theſe Rivers run, though, as has been ſaid, they are full of Canes, and among them Abundance of the Country Fruit-trees, and whole Woods of the Palm-trees they call *Pixivaes*.

Quinbaya Province.

Burning Mountain.

Among theſe Rivers there are Springs of Salt Water, and it is wonderful to ſee how they riſe amidſt them, I ſhall hereafter make a particular Chapter of them, as being very remarkable. The Men proper, and well countenanc'd, as are the Women, and theſe very loving. Their

Salt Springs.

Their Houſes ſmall, cover'd with the Leaves of Canes, and the Soil produces Abundance of *European* and *Indian* Plants, ſet by the *Spaniards*. The *Caciques* were dainty, kept many Wives, and all of them in this Province Freinds and Confederates. They us'd not to eat Man's Fleſh, unleſs upon great Entertainments, and only the Lords were rich in Gold, having the Repreſentations of all things they had ever ſeen made in that Metal, and very large Veſſels of it to drink their Wine. I ſaw one the *Cacique Tacunimbi* gave Captain *George Robledo*, which held 3 Quarts. The ſame *Cacique* gave a larger and richer to *Michael Munnoz*. Their Arms are Lances, Darts, and a Sort of Slings, which they ſwing about, and with them caſt Arrows, being ſcurvy Weapons. They are generally Underſtanding, and Diſcreet, and many of them great Sorcerers. At their merry Meetings they make Sports, and after ſmart Drinking, the Women draw up in Bodies, one on the one Side, and another on the Oppoſite, the Men do the like, and the Boys are not idle, for they follow their Example, and all run at one another, crying with a Tone, *Batatabati*, *Batatabati*, that is, Let us play, Let us play, and thus they begin the Game caſting Sticks, and Darts, and it ends in many Wounds, and the Death of ſome. They make great Targets of their Hair, and carry them to the Wars.

Bloody Sports.

Dancing.

Theſe were an obſtinate People, and hard to be ſubdu'd, till the old *Caciques* were executed, tho' I know not with how much Juſtice ſome of them ſuffer'd, ſince all the Quarrel was about taking away their Gold, and other things, we ſhall ſpeak of in their Place. When they went abroad to their Solemnities and Feſtivals, they all met, and two of them play'd upon Drums; then another led up the Dance, and all the reſt follow'd, every one carrying a Veſſel of Liquor in his Hand; for they Drink, Sing, and Dance at the ſame time. In their Songs they recount their preſent Sufferings, and the Actions of their Forefathers. For Religion they have none, but converſe with the Devil, like the reſt.

When ſick, they us'd frequent bathing, and ſaid they then ſaw frightful Viſions and ſince I am upon this Subject, I will here relate what happen'd in this Province of *Quinbaya*,

Quinbaya, in the Year 1546. At the time when the Viceroy *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* had his Hands full, with the Troubles occaſion'd by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Gang, a general Peſtilence rag'd throughout all *Peru*, beginning beyond *Cuzco* and running through the whole Kingdom, with the Deſtruction of infinite Numbers of People. The Nature of the Diſtemper was a Pain in the Head, and violent Fit of a Fever, then the Head-ach ſettled in the Ear, and grew to ſuch a Height, that the Patient could not hold out above two, or three Days. The Plague came to this Province, where there is a River call'd *Conſota*, almoſt half a League from the City of *Cartago*, and hard by it a Lake, of whoſe Water they make Salt. Many *Indian* Women being here together making Salt for their Maſters Houſes, they ſaw a Tall Man, with his Belly ripp'd open, and all the Bowels taken out, and two Children in his Arms, he coming up to the Women ſaid, *I do aſſure you I will kill all the Women belonging to the Chriſtians, and moſt of you*; and then went his Way. The *Indian* Men and Women, it being Day, were not frighted at all, but laugh'd, when they told this Story, at their Return home. In another Town belonging to one *Giraldo Gileſtopinnan*, they ſaw the ſame Figure on Horſeback, and ſcowring over the Hills and Mountains like Lightning, where, a few Days after, the Peſtilence, and Pain in the Ear began to rage ſo furiouſly, that it deſtroy'd moſt of the People in the Province, and the greater Part of the Women belonging to the *Spaniards* dy'd; with ſuch a general Terror, that the *Spaniards* themſelves ſeem'd to be aſtoniſh'd, and in a Fright. Many *Indian* Women and Boys affirm'd, they had ſeen ſeveral of their Country People that were dead. They have Senſe enough to conceive there is ſomething more in Man beſides the Mortal Body, yet they have no right Notion of the Soul, but imagine ſome Sort of Tranſmutation, and believe the Bodies are all to riſe again; but the Devil perſwades them, it ſhall be in a Place, where they ſhall live at Eaſe, and in much Pleaſure. For this Reaſon they bury with them much Liquor, *Indian* Wheat, Fiſh, and other things, as alſo their Arms, as if thoſe wou'd avail to deliver them from Hell. The ſame Cuſtom is here as in other Places, for the Sons to inherit

Strange Plague.

rit, and for want of them the Nephews by a Sister. These *Indians* of *Quinbaya* were not originally of this Country; but came into it long since, destroying all the Natives, who it is likely were numerous, as appears by the Quantity of till'd Land; for all those which are now Fields of Canes do seem to have been formerly till'd, and inhabited, and so do those Parts that are Wooded, where some Trees are as thick as two Oxen, and others more, which makes me conclude it is very long since these *Indians* came to inhabit here. The Air of the Country is very healthy, and the *Spaniards* live long, and free from Diseases, nor is there much Heat, or Cold.

Chap. XXV.

Continues the same Subject as the last, concerning the City Cartago, *and its Foundation; and of the Creature call'd* Chucha.

Bees and Honey.

These Fields of Canes, I have spoken of, are so thick, that unless a Man be very well acquainted with the Country, he will be lost in them, and never find his Way out; and among them there are many of those Trees they call *Ceybas*, very thick and spreading, besides several other Sorts of Trees I cannot mention, as not knowing their Names. There are vast Cavities in some of them, where Bees breed, and when they have made their Combs, there is as good Honey taken from them, as any in *Spain*. There is one Sort of Bees, that are little bigger than Gnats, close to the opening of the Comb, after it is well put together, there sticks out a little hollow Pipe, or Fistula, like Wax, and about the Length of half a Finger, thro which these Bees pass to work, loaded with what they have gather'd from the Flowers. The Honey of these Bees is very thin and a little tart, and each Hive yields somewhat under a Pint of it. There is another Sort of them, a Degree larger, and black, the others being white. The Way these have to get into the Tree is made of Wax, with some

ſome other Mixture, which renders it harder than Stone. The Honey is much better than the other laſt ſpoken of, and ſome of the Hives yield about 5 Quarts of it. There are ſtill other Bees larger than ours in *Spain*, yet none of them Sting; but they all fall upon him they ſee cuts the Tree to take out the Hive, and cling about his Hair and Beard. Some Hives of theſe great Bees contain above 7 or 8 Quarts of Honey, and it is better than both thoſe before ſpoken of. I took ſome of them my ſelf, but ſaw more taken by one *Peter de Velaſco*, an Inhabitant of *Cartago*.

Beſides the Sorts of Fruit already mention'd, there is another in this Province, call'd *Caymito*, as big as a Peach, black, and has very ſmall Stones within, and a Milky Subſtance, which clings ſo faſt to the Lips and Hands, that it is hard to be got off. There is another Sort the *Spaniards* call Plums, excellently reliſh'd, as alſo *Aguacates*, *Guavas* and *Guayavas*, and others as ſower as *Lemmons*, of a good Scent and Taſt. The Canes growing ſo thick in the Fields, there are many wild Beaſts among them, and great Lions, and a Creature like a ſmall Fox, the Tail long, and the Legs ſhort, of a dark Colour, and the Head like a Fox. I once ſaw one of theſe, that had ſeven Young ſtanding by her, and hearing a Noiſe open'd a Purſe, or Bag, Nature had provided at its Belly, into which ſhe receiv'd them, and fled ſo ſwiftly, that I was amaz'd to ſee ſo ſmall a Creature run ſo faſt, with ſuch a Burden. This Animal is call'd *Chucha*. There are very venomous ſmall Snakes, Abundance of Deer, ſome Rabits, and many *Guadaquinajes*, which are a little bigger than Hares, and their Fleſh good to eat. Many other things I omit, as thinking them inconſiderable.

Caymito *Fruit.*

Chucha *Beaſt.*

The City *Cartago* is ſeated on the flat Top of a Hill, between two Brooks, 7 Leagues from the great River of *Santa Marta*, and near a ſmall one, of whoſe Water the *Spaniards* drink. Over it is always a Bridge of the large Canes, made as has been deſcrib'd above. The Ways, and Avenues to the City on all Sides are bad and difficult, being extraordinary Dirty in Winter. It Rains the greateſt Part of the Year, and there is dreadful Lightning, ſome of which does Harm. This City is ſo well ſecur'd,

Carta-go *City.*

that the Inhabitants need not fear it ſhould be taken from them; and the Reaſon is, becauſe no Man can ſee it, till he comes up to the very Houſes. The Founder was the ſame Captain *George Robledo*, who built the reſt already mention'd, in the Year 1542. The Name of *Cartago*, or *Carthage*, was given it, becauſe moſt of the Conquerors and Diſcoverers that were with Captain *Robledo* at that Time, came from *Cartagena*.

Now I am come to this City of *Cartago*, I will proceed, to give an Account of the great and ſpacious Vale, in which the City *Cali* is ſeated, and that of *Popayan*, the way to which is through Fields of Canes, till we come out to a Plain, that is croſs'd by a great River, call'd *de la Vieja*, that is, of the Old Woman, being four Leagues from the City, and troubleſome enough to paſs in Winter. Next we came to *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, a League from it, and having croſs'd it on Floats, or in Canoos, the two Roads join in one, that is, thoſe from *Cartagena*, and from *Anzerma*. From the laſt of them to the City *Cali* is 50 Leagues; and from the firſt little above 45.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Diſtricts, or Territories in this large and delightful Vale, till we come to the City Cali.

Vale of Cali.

THis Valę begins to ſpread it ſelf from the City of *Popayan*, among the Ridges of Mountains I have mention'd, being 12 Leagues over, in ſome Places more, and in others leſs, contracting ſo much at Times, and ſo confining the River which runs through it, that there is no Poſſibility of going on it in Boats, Floats, or any other way, for the Stream is ſo Furiouſly Rapid, and there are ſo many Rocks and Whirlpools, that they ſink all that is on it, and many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, with Goods of much Value have been caſt away, without being able to reach the Shore. All this Valę from the City

ty *Cali* to these Narrow Passes, was formerly full of Large and Handsome Towns, consisting of Spacious Houses, standing close together. These Towns and *Indians* are all consum'd by War, and Length of Time; for when the Commander *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, who was their first Discoverer and Conqueror, came among them, they always receiv'd him in Arms, fighting several Battles with the *Spaniards*, in Defence of their Country and Liberties, so that many of them perish'd by the Sword. There is another Reason, why they were so soon destroy'd, *viz.* That Capt. *Belalcazar* founded the City *Cali* in these Plains, and amidst the *Indian* Dwellings, whence it was afterwards remov'd to the Place, where it now stands. The Natives were so obstinate in refusing to be Friends with the *Spaniards*, whose Dominion they look'd upon as insupportable, that they wou'd not sow, or till their Lands, which occasion'd such Scarcity, that most of them died. When the *Spaniards* were gone from that Place, Abundance of the Mountain *Indians*, who liv'd above the Valley came down, and fell upon such of the miserable Natives as remain'd, who were Sick and Starv'd, most of whom, in a short time they kill'd and devour'd; and these are the Reasons, why scarce any of those People are left,

Neyva Vale.

On the other Side of the River Eastward are the Mountains *Andes*, beyond which is another more spacious and beautiful Valley, call'd of *Neyva*, through which the other Branch of the great River of *Santa Marta* passes. On both the Sides of the Mountains there were many *Indian* Towns, of several Nations and Customs, all of them very barbarous, for the most part Man-eaters, and fond of human Flesh. On the Top of the Mountain there are some small Vales, which make the Province of *Buga*, the Natives whereof are brave Soldiers. They boldly met the *Spaniards* that went thither, when *Christopher de Ayala* was kill'd, without the least Fear; and after he was slain, his Goods were publickly sold at prodigious Rates, for they gave 1600 Pieces of Eight for a Sow and one Pig; small Pigs yielded 500 Pieces of Eight each, and a Sheep of *Peru*, 280 Pieces of Eight, which I saw paid by one *Andrew Gomez*, now an Inhabitant of *Cartago*, to *Peter Romero* of *Anzerma*. The 1600 Pieces of Eight for the Sow and Pig, the *Adelantado*

Buga Province.

Monstrous Prices. *Don Sebastian de Belalcazar*, recover'd out of the Goods of the Marshal *Don George Robledo*, who was the Buyer; and I saw that same Sow eaten one Day, at an Entertainment made, presently after we came to the City *Cali*, with *Vadillo*. *John Pacheco*, one of the Conquerors, who is now in *Spain*, gave 225 Pieces of Eight for a Pig, and Knives were sold for 15 Pieces of Eight each. I heard *Jerome Lewis Texelo* say, that when he went with Captain *Michael Munnoz*, upon the Expedition they call *de la Vieja*, he gave thirty Pieces of Eight for a Packing Needle, to make a Pair of Packthread Buskins, and I my self have given Eight Pieces of Eight in Gold for a Pair of those Buskins; and a single Sheet of Paper was sold at *Cali* for thirty Pieces of Eight.

Much more might be said here to the Honour of our *Spaniards*, for they value Money no more than Dirt, when they want any thing. They gave an hundred Pieces of Eight and more for Pigs in the Sows Belly, before they were farrow'd. I will not go about to argue, whether they were to be commended, who bought at these Rates, that there might be an Increase; but the Reader may observe how much was discover'd, and inhabited from the Year 1527 to 1547. This will make all Men sensible of the Honour that is due to the Discoverers and Conquerors, who have labour'd so much in these Parts; and how reasonable it is that his Majesty should reward those who have undergone such Fatigues, and serv'd him Loyally, without treating the *Indians* barbarously; for those who have been guilty of it, in my Opinion, rather deserv'd to be punish'd than preferr'd. At the time when this Province was discovering, they bought Horses at 3 and 4000 Pieces of Eight, and there are some to this Day, that have not been able to discharge those old Debts, and tho' their Bodies are full of Scars, and worn out with long Service, their Creditors throw them into Goal upon that Score.

Beyond the Mountains lies the great Vale abovemention'd, where the Town of *Neyva* stood, and to the Westward of it, there are Greater and more Populous Towns on the Hills, for I have already shewn how those in the Plains came to fail. The Mountain Towns reach to the Coast of the South Sea, and run on Southward. Their

Houses

Houſes are like thoſe I mention'd at *Tatabe*, built upon large Trees, rais'd like upper Stories, in which many Inhabitants live. The Soil is very fertile, and abounds in Swine, *Dantas*, and other wild Beaſts, and Birds, as Peacocks, Parrots, Guacamayas, and Pheaſants; and there is Plenty of Fiſh. The Rivers we may ſafely affirm are extraordinary rich in Gold. Not far off runs the great River *Darien*, much ſpoken of, on account of the City that ſtood upon it. Moſt of theſe Nations eat Man's Fleſh. Some of them have Bows and Arrows, and others the Clubs or *Mazanas* abovementioned, as alſo long Spears and Darts. *Houſes on Trees.*

Another Province lies above this Vale to the Northward, bordering on that of *Anzerma*, the Natives whereof are call'd *Chancos* a People ſo large, that they look like Giants, broad back'd, ſtrong, very long viſag'd, and broad headed; for in this Province, in that of *Quinbaya*, and other Parts of *India*, as I ſhall obſerve hereafter, they ſhape the Child's Head, when firſt it is born, as they pleaſe, ſo that ſome have no Nape of the Neck, others the Forehead ſunk, and others very long; which they do with little Boards when they are juſt born, and afterwards with Ligatures. Their Women are as luſty as themſelves, and both of them go naked and barefoot; wearing nothing but *Maures* or Aprons to cover their Privities, and thoſe not of Cotton, but taken from the Barks of Trees, and made very thin and ſoft, a Yard long, and two Spans broad. In Fight they uſe large Spears and Darts; ſometimes going out of their Country, to invade their Neighbours of *Anzerma*. When the Marſhal *Robledo* came to *Cartago*, the laſt time, to be receiv'd as Lieutenant to the Judge *Michael Diaz Armedariz*, he ſent a Party of *Spaniards* to ſecure the Road that leads from *Anzerma* to the City of *Cali*, who there found ſome of thoſe *Indians*, that were coming down to kill a Chriſtian, as he was driving Goats to *Cali*. They ſlew one or two of thoſe *Indians*, and were amaz'd to ſee their Bulk. Along the Hills coming down from the Mountain, which lies to the Weſtward, and in the Vales they form, there are great Towns, and abundance of *Indians*, reaching near to the City of *Cali*, and bordering on thoſe of the *Barbacoas*. Their Villages lie ſcatter'd along the Hills, the Houſes *Chancos People.*

ſes ſtanding together, ten or fifteen in a Place, ſometimes more and ſometimes fewer. Theſe *Indians* were call'd *Gorrones*, becauſe when the *Spaniards* ſettled in the Vale, belonging to the City of *Cali*, they us'd to come loaded with Fiſh, crying *Gorron*, *Gorron*, for ſo they call Fiſh, and our People not knowing any peculiar Name they had, call'd them *Gorrones*, from the ſaid Fiſh, as they gave the Name *Anzerma*, above mention'd, from the Salt, which the *Indians* call *Anzer*. The Houſes of theſe Natives, are large, round, and cover'd with Straw.

They have very few Fruit-trees, and much low Gold, not above 4 or 5 Carats fine, but very little higher. Thro' their Villages run ſome Rivers of good Water. Within their Doors they kept abundance of the Hands and Feet of *Indians* they had ſlain, by way of Grandeur, and that nothing might be loſt, they ſtuffed the Guts with Fleſh or Aſhes, ſome like Black Puddings, and others like Sauſages, whereof they had great Store; and ſo they kept the Heads ſet up, and ſeveral Quarters. When we came to theſe Dwellings, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, a Black belonging to *John de Ceſpedes*, ſeeing theſe Guts, and ſuppoſing them to be Sauſages, ran to take ſome of them to eat, and had done it, but that they were ſo very dry with the Smoak and Length of Time. Without the Houſes there is an incredible Quantity of Heads, Legs, Arms, and other Parts of the Body ſet up in Order. Had I not ſeen this, and known there were many in *Spain* that cou'd juſtify it, as well as my ſelf, I ſhou'd not venture to write that theſe People were guilty of murdering ſo many Men to eat; but we know theſe *Gorrones* are mighty *Canibals*. They had no Idols nor any particular Place of Worſhip; but ſuch as were appointed for it, convers'd with the Devil. Our Prieſts and Clergy-men durſt not go to preach and teach among them, for fear of being eaten, till they were ſubdu'd.

Puddings of Men's Guts.

Theſe *Indians* are two, three, and four Leagues from the great Valley and River, and others more; and at times they come down to fiſh in the Lakes and *Rio Grande*, whence they return loaded with what they take. They are ſmall of Body, and unfit for Labour, and wear no other Garment, but only the *Maures* or Aprons, I have ſaid above

Habit.

are

are us'd by other *Indians*; yet the Women are all wrapp'd up in great Cotton Blankets. The Dead of Note, are roll'd up in ſeveral of thoſe Blankets, which are 3 Yards long, and 2 in Breadth. When they are thus wrapp'd up, they bind them about with a Cord, made of 3 Strands, above 200 Fathom long; having plac'd ſome Gold Ornaments among the Blankets. Others are buried in deep Graves. This Province is within the Diſtrict, and under the Government of the City of *Cali*.

Near them, and in the Bottom made by the River, ſtands a Town, not very great at preſent, becauſe the Inhabitants, who were once numerous, have been conſum'd by the Wars. There is a great Lake by this Town, which ſwells when the River is flouded, and has its Drains, when it falls. In this Lake they take an infinite Quantity of Fiſh, which they give to Travellers, and trade with it to the Cities of *Cartago* and *Cali*, and other Places. Beſides what they eat and give away, they have great Stores of it to ſell on the Mountains, and large Pans of Oil they draw from the Fiſh. When we were upon Diſcovery with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, we came to this Town in great Want, and found ſome Fiſh; and afterwards, when we went with Capt. *Robledo* to build the Town of *Anzerma*, there was as much as wou'd have loaded two Ships. This Province of the *Gorrones* abounds in *Indian* Wheat and other Neceſſaries, and has great Numbers of Deer, *Guadaquinajes*, and other wild Beaſts and Birds. Tho' the great Vale of *Cali* is very fruitful, there are large Fields left in common, and only ſerve for the Deer and other Creatures to graze, becauſe there are not People enough to poſſeſs ſuch ſpacious Plains.

Fiſh plentiful.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVII.

Of the Situation of the City of Cali, *and of the* Indians *in its Districts, and who was the Founder of it.*

Rio Frio, *Cold River.* TO come to the City *Cali*, we muſt croſs a ſmall River, v call'd *Frio* or Cold, hid among Woods and Foreſts. The Way to it is down a Hill, above 5 Leagues in Deſcent. The River runs ſwift and cold, as coming from the Mountains, whence it glides acroſs part of this Vale, and loſes its Name in *Rio Grande*. Beyond this River the Road is along vaſt Plains, where there are abundance of ſmall Deer, but very fleet. In theſe Plains the *Spaniards* have their Settlements or Farms, where their Servants reſide to look to their Eſtates. The *Indians* come to ſow and reap the *Indian* Corn, belonging to the Towns, which grows on the Hills. Near theſe Plantations are many curious Trenches or Cuts that ſerve to water the Corn Fields, beſides which there are ſome ſmall Rivers of very good Water. Along the ſaid Rivers and Trenches are planted abundance of Orange, Lime, Lemmon, Pomgranate, and Plantan Trees, and mighty Fields of Sugar-Canes; beſides all which there are Pine Apples, *Guayavas*, *Guavas*, *Guanavanas*, *Paltas*, and a ſort of little Grapes that have a hard Rind over them and are well taſted; alſo *Caymitos*, Plumbs, great Store of other Sorts of excellent Fruit in their Seaſon, *Spaniſh* Melons, Plenty of *European* and *Indian* Herbs and Grain. Our Wheat does not grow as yet, but they ſay it will thrive in the Vale of *Lile*, which is 5 Leagues from the City. Vines have not been planted, but the Country is like to produce them as well as *Spain*.

Cali *City*. The City is ſeated a League from *Rio Grande*, or the Great River aforeſaid, upon a ſmall one of excellent Water, coming down from the Mountains above it. The Banks are all delightful Orchards, always full of the Greens and Fruit already mention'd. The Town ſtands on a flat Spot, and were it not for the exceſſive Heat, it

it is one of the best Situations I have seen in great Part of the *West-Indies*, as wanting nothing that can recommend it. The *Indians* and *Caciques* belonging to *Spanish* Proprietors, live on the Mountains. I will speak of some of their Customs, and of the Sea-Port Town, by which Commodities and Cattel are convey'd to them. That Year I left this City, there were in it 23 Inhabitants, that had Estates and *Indians* under them. They are never without travelling *Spaniards*, who go from Place to Place a trading. This City of *Cali* was founded by Captain *Michael Munnoz*, in the Year 1537.

Chap. XXVIII.

Of the Indian *Towns, and Lords within the Jurisdiction of this City.*

ON the West Side of this City, towards the Mountain, there are several Villages of *Indians*, subject to its Inhabitants, who always were and are very tractable, and well meaning simple People. Among these Dwellings is a small Vale, form'd by the Hills, encompass'd on the one Side by Woods, and on the other by very Populous Open Mountains. The Vale is plain and always sow'd full of *Indian* Wheat and *Yuca*, besides Groves of Fruit-Trees, and Abundance of Palm-Trees call'd *Pixibaes*. The Houses in it are numerous, large, round, lofty, and made of upright Timbers. When I enter'd this Vale, there were six *Caciques* or Lords in it, not much regarded by their *Indians*, tho' they and their Wives were look'd upon as good Servants, and many of the latter live always in the Houses of the *Spaniards*. Across the middle of this Vale, which is call'd *Lile* runs a River, besides others that come down from the Mountains and are lost in it. The Banks of them are cover'd with such Fruit-Trees as the Country affords, and among them a very pleasant and sweet scented Sort, call'd *Granadillos*, or little Pomgranates. *Lile Vale*

Near to this Vale was a Town, belonging to a *Cacique* call'd *Petecuy*, who was the powerfullest of all his Neighbours, and most respected. In the midst of this Town was a great, lofty round wooden House with a Door in the middle, and had four Windows above to give Light, and the Covering of Straw. Just within it, on high was a long Board, reaching from the one side to the other; and on it lay in Order many Bodies of dead Men, of those they had conquer'd and taken in War, all of them ripp'd open, which they did with Knives made of Flint, and flead them, and after eating the Flesh fill'd the Skins with Ashes, and made Wax Faces to their own Sculs, and laid them on the Board in such manner, that they look'd like Men alive. Some of them had Darts, others Spears, and other *Mazanas*, or Wooden Swords in their Hands. Besides these Bodies, there were Abundance of Hands and Feet hung up about this great Cottage or House, and in another hard by it there lay such a great Number of dead Carcases, Heads, and Bones, that it was hideous to behold, considering they had been all slain by their Neighbours, and eaten, as if they had been wild Beasts, which they glory'd in, and look'd upon it as a great Piece of Bravery, saying, they learnt it from their Parents and Forefathers. Thus not satisfy'd with Natural Food, they made their Bellies insatiable Graves to one another; but now they eat no more of this Food, being become Christians.

Mens Skins Stuffed.

I ask'd an *Indian*, of a Town call'd *Wache* in this Province, what was the Reason they kept such a Multitude of dead Bodies there? Who answer'd me, it was for the Grandeur of the Lord of that Valley, who wou'd not only have the *Indians* he had kill'd preserv'd in his Presence, but order'd their very Weapons to be hung upon the Beams of the Houses, as a Memorial; and that very often, when the People within were all asleep at Night, the Devil enter'd into those Bodies which were full of Ashes, and frighted the Natives with such dreadful Apparitions, that some of them died for Fear.

Trophys

Most of those dead *Indians* the Lord of this Valley kept as Trophys aforesaid, were of the great and spacious Valley of the City *Cali*; for as I said before, it was divided into large Districts, full of thousands of *Indians*, and they were

were continually at War with those on the Mountains, that being their chief Employment the greatest Part of the Year. They us'd the same Weapons as their Neighbours, and went naked, but now wear little Shirts or Tunicks, and Cotton Blankets, and their Women are cloath'd after the same manner. Both of them had their Nostrils bor'd, and in them *Caricures*, which are like Nails twisted, made of Gold, as thick as a Man's Finger, some bigger, and some smaller. They also wore rich Necklaces, curiously made of fine and low Gold, and twisted Ear-Rings, besides other Ornaments. Their ancienter Dress was a small Piece of Cloth before, like an Apron, and another hanging on their Back, and the Women had Cotton Cloths wrapp'd about them from the Waste downwards. They wear besides what has been said, many Strings of small Bone Beads, white and red, which they call *Chaquiras*. The great Men were bury'd in their Houses, as above, and had no Religion, or Place of Worship. *Habit.*

When any of these *Indians* were sick, they bath'd themselves, and made use of certain Herbs they knew, whose Virtue cur'd some of them. That they convers'd with the Devil, who were appointed for it, is well known here and in other Parts. I never heard that these, or any of those beforemention'd were given to Sodomy; but on the contrary, if any one was prevail'd upon by the Devil to commit it, the others despis'd and call'd him Woman. They marry'd their Neices, and some of the *Caciques* their Sisters, like those above, and the Sons of the Principal Wife were Heirs. Some of them were superstitious, and all very filthy. *Cures.*

Beyond this Town, whereof *Pecequi* was Lord there are many others, the Inhabitants whereof are all Friends and Confederates. Their Villages are at some Distance from one another, the Houses large, round, and cover'd with Straw, and their Manners like those already describ'd. They at first maintain'd Bloody Wars with the *Spaniards*, for which severe Examples were made, and had so good Effect, that they never rebell'd since, but are become Christians, go clad, and serve their Masters very faithfully.

Timbas Province. Beyond these Provinces, towards the South Sea is one they call *los Timbas*, where there are three or four Lords, and it lies among great and uncouth Mountains and Woods, forming several Vales, where they have their Villages and Houses scatter'd abroad, and the Fields well till'd, and full of Provisions, and Fruit-Trees, as Palms *&c.* Their Weapons are Spears and Darts. They were troublesome to subdue, because of the difficult Access to them, and their own Bravery, so that they kill'd many *Spaniards*, and did much Harm. Their Manners are the same as before, and their Language differs very little. Farther on there are other Towns and Territories reaching down to the Sea, all using the same Language and Customs.

Chap. XXIX.

Concludes what more is relating to the City of Cali; *and of other* Indians *on the Mountain near the Port call'd* La Buena Ventura.

Mountain Indians. Besides those already mention'd, there are many more *Indians* subject to the City of *Cali*, who live in wild Woods, on the most uncouth Mountains in the World; some on the Ridges, and others in the Vales they form; and tho' so difficult of Access, and thick of Trees, the Country is very fertil, and abounds in Provisions and all sorts of Fruit more than the Plains. There are every where very fierce Beasts, particularly large Tigers, who have kill'd many *Spaniards* and *Indians* going down to the Sea, or coming thence to the City. The Houses are somewhat small, cover'd with Palm-Tree Leaves, whereof there is great Store, and enclos'd with thick and long Stakes, like a Wall, which is a Fence in the Night, against the Tigers. Their Weapons, Habit, Manners, and Language, shew them to be the same with the People of the Vale of *Lile*, and they are brawny strong Men. They have ever continued peaceable since they submitted to his Majesty, and strictly ally'd to the *Spaniards*, never offering to hurt

any

any of those many that continually travel through their Towns, but give them Meat, as soon as they come.

Buena Ventura Port.

The Port of *Buena Ventura*, is three Days Journey from these *Indian* Towns, all Mountain Way, full of Briars and Palm-Trees, and very Boggy; and it is 30 Leagues from the City *Cali*, without the Support of whose Inhabitants, it cannot subsist. I make no particular Chapter of this Port, because there is nothing to be said of it, but that the Town was founded by *John Ladrillo*, who discover'd the River, under the Direction of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pasqual de Andagoya*, and was like afterwards to be abandon'd upon the Absence of the said *Andagoya*, who was taken and sent Prisoner into *Spain*, on account of the Differences and Turmoils there were between them, concerning the Bounds of their Governments. Then the Council, and Governor of *Cali* order'd, six or seven Inhabitants shou'd always reside at the Port, that when the Ships arrive there from *Tierra firme*, *New Spain*, and *Nicaragua*, they may land their Goods in Safety, and have Houses to put them into, which has been accordingly continu'd, and those who reside there, are paid by the Merchants, and among them is a Commander, who has no Power to judge, but to hear Causes, and refer the Decision to the Justices of the City *Cali*. And thus much I think may suffice, concerning this Port of *Buena Ventura*. There is no Way of carrying the Goods landed at this Port, to the City of *Cali*, which supplies all the Government, but on the Backs of the Mountain *Indians*, who take it as their usual Labour, and there is no doing it otherwise, for I do not think it possible to make Roads for Gangs of Horses or Mules, by reason of the uncouthness of the Mountains, and tho' there is another Way by the River *Dagua*, along which they bring Cattel and Horses, they go in great Danger, and many of them die, the rest that come safe being a long time before they are fit for Service. When any Ship arrives, the *Caciques* presently send as many *Indians* as each Town can spare, and they climb with Burthens of three Quarters of an hundred and more, sometimes upon all four, and sometimes holding by Ropes made of Withes, in great Danger of tumbling down headlong; and some of them carry a Man or a Woman, tho' of great Weight

Indians *carrying Burthens.*

Weight, in a little Chair, made of the Barks of Trees. Thus they travel with their Burthens, without seeming to be tir'd or over fatigu'd, and were they allow'd any Pay, they wou'd go merrily home, but the Proprietors take all they earn; however they that do this pay very little Acknowledgment any other Way; and tho' they say, they are very willing to go and come, their Toil is excessive. When they enter the Plains drawing near the City *Cali*, they are spent and go in great Pain. I have heard the *Indians* of *New Spain* much commended for carrying great Burthens, but have been amaz'd at these, nor wou'd I have believ'd or asserted it, had I not seen it, and gone over the Mountains where their Towns are.

St. John's *River.*

Beyond these *Indians*, there are other Nations, among whom runs the wonderful rich River of St. *John*, whose Banks are very Populous, and the Houses were built upon Trees; besides other Rivers encompass'd by *Indians* rich in Gold, who could not at first be conquer'd, by reason of the said Rivers and Mountains, but have been all since subdu'd. Their Houses or Huts were very large, each of them containing 20 or 30 Inhabitants. Among these Rivers was founded a *Spanish* Town, of which I shall say no more, because it did not stand long, and the Natives kill'd one *Payo Romero*, who resided there as Lieutenant to the *Adelantado Andagoya*, who had a Grant of all those Rivers from the King, and call'd himself Governor of the River of St. *John*. The *Indians* fraudulently drew out *Payo Romero* and other *Spaniards* in Canoos to a River, pretending they wou'd give them much Gold, and there so many Natives came upon them, that they slew all the said *Spaniards*, and carry'd away *Romero* alive, as was afterwards reported, putting him to exquisite Torments, and tearing his Body Limb-meal. Besides they took two or three Women alive, whom they much abus'd; but some Christians by by good Fortune, and their Valour escap'd. No Town was afterwards built there, nor is it likely there will, by reason of the Badness of the Country. To proceed, for I will not be tedious, nor write any more than makes for my Purpose. I will now give an Account of what is between the City of *Cali* and that of *Popayan*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Way from the City Cali, *to that of* Popayan, *and the* Indian *Towns there are along it.*

FRom the City of *Cali*, laſt mention'd, to that of *Popayan*, there are 22 Leagues, all good open way, without any Woods, tho' there are ſome Hills, and Aſcents, but not ſo difficult, or craggy, as thoſe we have paſt. Leaving the City *Cali* the way is along open Fields and Plains, with ſome Rivers in them, till we come to one not very large, call'd *Xamundi*, over which there is always a Bridge of the great Canes, as above deſcrib'd, and whoſoever has a Horſe puts him over the Ford, and goes ſafe. About the Source of this River there are *Indians*, that ſtretch out three, or four Leagues to a Place call'd *Xamundi*, like the River, which Name they both had from a *Cacique* ſo call'd. Theſe *Indians* Traded with thoſe of the Province of the *Timbas*, and had much Gold, a great Quantity whereof they have given to their Proprietors. Beyond this River, ſtill on the way to *Popayan*, and 5 Leagues from it, is the great River of *Santa Marta*, to paſs which in Safety there are always Canoes, and Floats, in which the Neighbouring *Indians* ferry over ſuch as travel to and fro between the two Cities. Xamundi River.

This River up towards the City of *Cali* had formerly great populous Towns, the People whereof have been conſum'd by Time, and by the War made on them by the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, who was the firſt that diſcover'd, and Conquer'd them; tho' the chief Reaſon of their being ſo ſoon loſt, is their own curſed Cuſtom of devouring one another. Some few of them ſtill remain, on both Sides of the River, and are call'd *Aguales*, being ſubject to the City *Cali*; but there are Abundance of *Indians* along both the Ridges of Mountains; who could not be at firſt ſubdu'd by reaſon of the Difficulty of Acceſs, and the Troubles in *Peru*; yet the indefatigable *Spaniards* afterwards found and often defeated them. They all went naked, and had the ſame Cuſtoms as their Neighbours. Aguales Indians.

bours. Beyond *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which is 14 Leagues from the City *Popayan*, there is a Boy to paſs, being a quarter of a League over, and after that the Road is very good, till we come to a River, call'd *de las Ovejas*, or of the Sheep, or Ewes, dangerous to croſs in Winter, as being very deep, and the Ford of it near to its Conflux with the Great River, where many *Spaniards* and *Indians* have been drown'd. Then the Road is along a Ridge of Hills, which holds ſix Leagues very plain, and good travelling, and at the End of it, a River call'd *Piandamo* is to be croſs'd. The Banks of this River and all that Ridge, was once very Populous; thoſe who have eſcap'd the Havock of the Wars, withdrew from the Road, where they thought themſelves ſafe.

River de las Ovejas

Piandamo River.

Guambia Province.

To the Eaſtward lyes the Province of *Guambia*, beſides many other Towns and *Caciques*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Beyond this River of *Piandamo*, is another River call'd *Plaza*, all along peopl'd on both Sides, from its Source; and farther on Travellers ford *Rio Grande*, or the great River, above mention'd, for it is not above half a Fadom deep. On the other Side of the River, all the Country between it and *Popayan* is full of many curious Plantations, or Farms, where the *Spaniards* keep Sheep, and the Fields are ſow'd with *Indian* and *European* Wheat, which laſt thrives well, the Soil being proper for it. In other Parts of the Kingdom the *Indian* Wheat is ripe in four, or five Months, ſo that they ſow twice a Year, tho' in this Place but once; where the *Indian* Corn is reap'd in *May* and *June*, and the *European* Wheat in *July* and *Auguſt*, as in *Spain*. All theſe Plains and Vales were once very populous, and ſubdu'd by the Lord call'd *Popayan*, who was one of the greateſt Men in thoſe Parts. At preſent there are but few *Indians*, becauſe during their Wars with the *Spaniards*, they devour'd one another, forbearing to ſow, that the *Spaniards* might leave their Country, for want of Proviſions. There is great Store of Fruit Trees, and particularly of *Aguacates*, or Pears, which are very pleaſant to eat. The Rivers riſing on the Mountains *Andes* come down and croſs theſe Plains, and Vales, their Water is very ſweet, and Gold has been found in ſome of them.

The

The City ſtands on a high flat, being one of the beſt Situations in all the Government of *Popayan*, or even in moſt of *Peru*; for the Air is more like that of *Spain*, than of *India*. There are in it very large Houſes made of Reeds. This City of *Popayan*, is the Metropolis of all thoſe I have mention'd, except that of *Uraba*, which as has been ſaid, belongs to the Government of *Cartagena*; all the reſt are ſubject to this, which has a Cathedral, and as being chief, and ſtanding in the midſt, gave the Name of *Popayan* to the Government. On the Eaſt of it is the long Ridge of the Mountains *Andes*; on the Weſt the other Mountains that look over the South Sea, and on the other Sides are the Plains and Vales already ſpoken of. This City was founded by Captain *Belalcazar*, in the Year 1536, by Order of *Pizarro* then Governour of *Peru*. Popayan City.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the River of Santa Marta, *and what is remarkable along its Banks.*

BEing now come to the City of *Popayan*, and having given an Account of its Situation, Foundation and Territory; I think fit to ſpeak of a River that runs by it, being one of the Branches of that great one of *Santa Marta*. Before I come to deſcribe it, I muſt obſerve that among Authors there is mention made of four principal Rivers, which are, firſt the *Ganges*, running through the *Eaſt Indies*, ſecondly the *Nile*, watering *Egypt*, and then of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates* paſſing along *Meſopotamia* and *Cappadocia*. I alſo find three others taken Notice of, being the *Indus*, which gave Name to *India* the *Danube*, the greateſt in *Europe*, and the *Tanais* dividing *Europe* from *Aſia*. The *Ganges* is the greateſt of all theſe, of which *Ptolome*, in his Geography ſays, that its leaſt Breadth is 8000 Paces, and the wideſt Place of 20000,

Mighty Rivers in America.

that is about 7 Leagues and this was the greateſt River known before the Diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*, where ſome have been found of ſuch Prodigious Magnitude, that they look more like large Bays form'd by the *Sea*, than Rivers running down from the Land. This appears by what ſeveral *Spaniards*, who went with the *Adelantado Orillana* affirm, telling us, that the River, on which he went down out of *Peru* into the North Sea, commonly call'd of the *Amazons*, is above 1000 Leagues in length, and above 25 over, in ſome Places. The River of Plate is ſo wide that thoſe who have ſail'd on it ſay, the Shores on both Sides cannot be ſeen from the middle, towards the Mouth, and 8 Leagues is a very common Breadth in many Parts of it. The River of *Darien* is very large, and that of *Uraba* no leſs, beſides which there are many other extraordinary Rivers, and among them this of *Santa Marta*.

Santa Marta *River.*

It is form'd of two Branches, the one of them has its Riſe among certain *Indians* they call *Coconucos*, not far from another Town nam'd *Cotara*, lying in the Vales form'd by the Mountains *Andes*, 5, or 6 Leagues above the City *Popayan*, which in former Times were very Populous, and are ſo ſtill, tho' not ſo much as then. The two Branches have their Springs above 40 Leagues aſunder, and when they join, the River is above a League over, and above 7 where it falls into the North Sea, near the City of *Santa Marta*, its Rapidity being proportionable to the Greatneſs, and no leſs the Noiſe it makes in meeting with the Ocean where it's run is ſo violent as not to mix with the Salt Water in four Leagues, ſo that Ships take it up freſh at a great Diſtance from the Land, from which it departs through ſeveral Mouths. From the Mountains of the *Coconucos*, where I ſaid this Branch has its Source, it comes down like a ſmall Stream, and ſpreads along the ſpacious Vale of *Cali*, receiving all the Waters deſcending from the Hills on both Sides, and when it comes to the City *Cali*, I believe rouls as much Water as the *Guadalquivir* does at *Seville*. Several other Rivers, and Brooks, being again loſt in it lower, the Stream is much greater at *Buritica*, which is near the City *Antiocha*. There are ſo many *Indian* Provinces, and Towns between

tween the Source of this River, and its Mouth, and ſuch immenſe Wealth of Gold Mines, and of what the *Indians* had and ſtill have, as alſo ſo great a Trade for it, that it ſeems incredible; which is ſtill the leſs becauſe the Natives of thoſe Parts are for the moſt Part a ſenſeleſs People. Their Languages are ſo different, that it wou'd require ſeveral Interpreters to travel among them, through the Province of *Santa Marta*, the principal Part of *Cartagena*, the New Kingdom of *Granada*, and this Government of *Popayan*. All the Wealth of theſe Countries lies near this River, and there is Abundance of Gold between the two Branches of it. The *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Heredia* paſſed over the Bridge of *Brenuco*, made there by the *Indians*, nowithſtanding the Wedth of the River, with ſtrong Ropes of Withes faſtned to mighty Trees, as has been deſcrib'd above. He travell'd ſome Days Journey in that Country, and return'd becauſe he had but few Men and Horſes. [All that Part is ſince entirely diſcover'd and ſubdu'd.] To return to the River of *Santa Marta*, when the two Branches join, they form ſeveral Iſlands, ſome of them inhabited. Near the Sea there are many fierce Alligators, and other large Fiſhes, and *Manaties* as big as Calfs and much of the ſame Shape, which are bred along the Shores, and in the Iſlands, and go out to Graze when there is no Danger near, whence they return into the Water. About 120 Leagues below the City of *Antiocha* is the City of *Mopox*, belonging to the Government of *Cartagena* where they call this River *Cauca*. From its Springs to the Sea its length is above 400 Leagues.

Chap. XXXII.

Of the reſt of the Towns, and Caciques *Subject to the City of* Popayan, *and what elſe occurs within its Juriſdiction.*

UNder this City of *Popayan* are ſeveral ſpacious Territories, with many large Towns in them; for to the Eaſtward, as has been ſaid, is the populous Province of *Guambia*, then the Townſhips of *Maluaſa*, *Polindara*, *Tembio* and *Colaza*, and many others near about, all of them well peopl'd. The *Indians* here have much low Gold, about 7 Carats fine, ſome more and ſome leſs. They had alſo ſome fine Gold they made Ornaments of, but it was a ſmall Quantity to the low. They were Warlike, and as great Man eaters as thoſe of *Arma*, *Pozo*, *Antiocha*, &c. Theſe People being void of all Religion, had no regard to their Way of Living; tho' they wanted not cunning enough for their own Advantage, and ſought to deſtroy one another by their Wars, which they alſo maintain'd obſtinately with the *Spaniards*, and would not enjoy Peace after they were Conquer'd, but ſtarv'd themſelves to Death, in Hopes that the *Spaniards* would be oblig'd to abandon the Country for want, which they manfully endur'd, whilſt many thouſands of the Natives periſh'd, after having devour'd one another.

Provinces of Guambia Maluaſa, &c.

Towards the Snowy Mountains, or *Andes* there are ſeveral Valleys full of the *Indians* already mention'd, call'd *Coconucos*, where the great River riſes, Theſe have all the ſame Manners as thoſe before ſpoken of, and Eat Mans Fleſh. Along the Ridge of the Mountain, there are many Fiery Eruptions, and from one of them guſhes hot Water, wherof they make Salt, and the manner of doing it is worth knowing, of which and other ſtrange Springs there are in theſe Parts, I will treat, after delivering all that relates to the Town of *Paſto*. Near theſe *Indians* is another Townſhip call'd *Cotara*, and farther on Southward the Province of *Guanaca*; and again to the Eaſtward

Coconucos Indians.

Cotara Guanaca *and* Paez *Townſhips.*

Eaſtward the Obſtinate Nation of the *Paez*, who have done the *Spaniards* much Harm, being about 6, or 7000 Men, able to bear Arms. They are brave, extraordinary ſtrong, skilful at their Weapons, well Limb'd, and very Cleanly; being Subject to their Chiefs and Commanders. Their Dwellings are in the Vales form'd by high and craggy Mountains, with many Rivers and Brooks running through them, where it is ſuppos'd there is Gold. In Fight they uſe large Spears made of the black Palm Tree Wood, 25 Spans in length, or upwards, as alſo Darts and Stones. They have deſtroy'd ſo many brave *Spaniards*, both Commanders and Soldiers, that it is amazing to think that ſo few *Indians* could do ſo much Harm. But they that were kill'd might thank themſelves, ſince it was occaſion'd by their own Preſumption, believing that thoſe People were not able to hurt them, and therefore the *Indians* came off Victorious, till the Adelantado *Don Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, having made great Havock of their Perſons, and waſted their Lands, oblig'd them to ſubmit.

Guachicone, Cochesquio, Barrancas *&c.*

To the Eaſtward is the Populous Country of *Guachicone*, and beyond that ſeveral other Townſhips, and Provinces. To the Southward lies the Townſhip of *Cochesquio*, and the little Lake and Town they call *de las Barrancas*, where there is a ſmall River of the ſame Name. Proceeding onward we come to another *Indian* Town, and a River call'd *las Juntas*, and beyond it, another they call *de los Capitanes*, or of the Captains, the great Province of the *Maſteles*, and the Townſhip of *Pata*, ſtretching along a curious Vale, which is croſs'd by a River, form'd of the other Brooks and Rivulets, riſing in moſt of theſe Towns, and carrying their Water to the South Sea. All theſe Plains were once very Populous, but what Natives remain'd, after the Wars, retir'd to the Mountains and Highlands. To the Weſtward lies the Province of *Bamba*, and other Townſhips, that trade with one another; beſides which there are other populous *Indian* Towns, and a *Spaniſh* one has been built, and they call that Country *Chapachira*. All theſe Nations live upon a fertil Soil, and have Plenty of low Gold, ſome Idols have been ſeen among them, but we never found any particular Place of Worſhip they had

They

They converſed with the Devil, and did many things as directed by him. As to the Immortality they had no perfect Knowledge of it; but believ'd their Anceſtors came to Life again; and ſome held, as I was Inform'd by them, that the Souls of thoſe that dye, enter'd into the Bodies of thoſe that are born. Their Burials were, as has been deſcrib'd before, in deep Graves, with ſome of their Wives and Wealth. In ſome Places they burnt their great Men to Aſhes, in others only roaſted their Bodies, till they were quite dry. Theſe Provinces produce the ſame Sorts of Fruit, and Proviſions, as the others above mention'd, except only that Sort of Palm Trees call'd *Pixibaes*, but they have great Stores of *Papas*, which are like large Pig-Nuts. The Men went barefoot and Naked, bating only ſmall Pieces of Cloth wrapp'd about them, and Ornaments of Gold. The Women are cover'd with Cotton Blankets, and about their Necks wear curious and ſightly Collers of fine and low Gold, made like little Flies. I omit their Marriages and other matters of leſs moment, as Trivial. Some of the People are very Superſtitious, and great Sorcerers. They did all of them eat Man's Fleſh. There are many good and noxious Plants in thoſe Parts. The Country about this City, was the moſt Populous near *Peru*, and had it been ſubdu'd by the *Ingas* all Men believe it would have been the beſt and Wealtheſt.

Habit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Country between Popayan, *and the City of* Paſto; *who was the Founder of it, and what is worth Obſerving of the Neighbouring* Indians.

FRom the City of *Popayan* to that of *Paſto* is 40 Leagues, Part through theſe Nations already mention'd; after leaving the which behind, on the ſame Road, we come to an *Indian* Town, formerly large, and very populous, as it was when firſt diſcover'd by the *Spaniards*, and ſtill continues. The Vale of *Patia*, through which the River

Patia Vale.

River above ſpoken of runs, grows more narrow at this Town, and the *Indians* have all their Dwellings on the Weſt Side, upon great and lofty Crags. This Place the *Spaniards* call *el Pueblo de la Sal*, or the Town of Salt; the Inhabitants whereof are very rich, and have paid great Duties in Gold to their Lords Proprietors. They differ'd not from thoſe already ſpoken of in Manners, Habit, or Weapons, ſaving that they did not eat Man's Fleſh, and were more rational. They have plenty of delicious Pine Apples, and trade with the Province of *Chaponchita*, and others adjoining. Pueblo de la Sal.

Beyond this Town is the Province of the *Maſteles*, containing about 4000 *Indians* able to bear Arms. Adjoining to it, is that call'd *de los Abades*, and the Townſhips of *Yſancal*, *Pangan*, *Zaquonpus*, *Chorros del Agua*, *Pichilumbuy*, *Tuyles*, *Angayan*, *Pagual*, *Chuchaldo*, and others. Up the Country Weſtward, there are very populous Nations, that have rich Mines and extend to the South Sea. Other Territories Neighbouring upon theſe are *Aſqual*, *Mullama*, *Tuturres*, *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guadmatal*, *Emes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, and *Cumba*. All theſe Nations were call'd *Paſtos*, and from them the Town of *Paſto* took Name, becauſe ſeated among them. Towards the Eaſt of theſe are other *Indians* call'd *Quillacingas*, very Numerous, the Names of the chiefeſt of their Towns are *Mocondino*, *Bexendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajanzangua*, *Motoxonduque*, *Guaquanquer*, and *Macaxamata*; and ſtill more Eaſtward is another large and very fertil Province nam'd *Cibundoy*, as alſo another call'd *Paſtoco*, and another near a Lake, ſtanding on the very Top of the Ridge of all that Chain of Mountains, the Water whereof is exceſſive cold, and tho' above 8 Leagues long, and 4 in Breadth, no Fiſh nor Foul breed, or live in it, nor does the Land there produce any *Indian* Wheat, or Trees. Not far from this Lake there is another of the ſame Nature, and beyond them there appear long and mighty Mountains. Maſteles: &c. Country of Paſtos.

There are other Towns, and Lordſhips, within the Territory of this Town of *Paſto*, which I think ſuperfluous to mention, having Nam'd the chiefeſt, and to conclude, it has more Native *Indians* ſubject to it, than any other Town, or City in the whole Government of *Popayan*, and

and even more than *Quito*, or other Towns of *Peru*. No doubt but it was formerly much more populous, for it is wonderful to behold, that tho' it is of a great Extent, containing many Plains, Rivers, and high Mountains, ſtill there is no part, be it never ſo uncooth and craggy, but what appears to have been till'd and inhabited, and even when the *Spaniards* Diſcover'd and Conquer'd it, the People were very Numerous. The *Quillacingas* and *Paſtos* differ'd in Manners, for the *Paſtos* did not eat Man's Fleſh, when they had War with the *Spaniards*, or with the other Natives. The Weapons they us'd were Stones thrown with their Hands, Staves like Shepherds Hooks, and ſome few of them had miſhappen Spears. They are Men of little Courage. The beſt Sort among them take ſome Care of themſelves, the reſt are ill look'd, both they and their Wives, all of them naſty, but ſimple, and free from Malice. Theſe and all the others we have paſs'd by, are ſo far from being nice, or ſqueamiſh, that when they louſe themſelves, they eat the Vermin, and a very little waſhing ſerves the Pots they dreſs their Meat in, and the Diſhes on which they eat it. They had nothing of Religion, nor have any Idols been ſeen among them, only they believ'd, that after they were dead they ſhould come to life again, in other pleaſant and delightful Regions. Some Secrets there are ſo Religiouſly kept among theſe *Indian* Nations, that they are only known to God and themſelves. As to their Habit, the Women wore a narrow Cloth, like a Bag, which cover'd them from their Breaſts to the Knees, and another ſmall one upwards, which fell over that long one, and moſt of them were made of Graſs, or of the Films of Trees, and ſome few of Cotton. The Men alſo cover'd themſelves with a long Blanket of three or four Yards, which they wrapp'd once about the Waſt, then about the Neck, and the End that remain'd they put over their Heads and over their Privities they wore ſmall *Maures*, or Aprons. The *Quillacingas* us'd Aprons before, to hide their Privities, like the *Paſtos*, and then they put on a broad Cotton Cloth, ſow'd together, and open on the Sides. The Women wore little Blankets to cover their Bodies, and other ſmall ones hanging over their Backs and Breaſts, ſtitch'd together at the

Manners of the Quillacingas.

Habit.

the neck. They convers'd with the Devil, and had neither Place of Worship, nor Religion. The dead were bury'd as in other Places above mention'd, with only this Addition here, when they were *Caciques*, as I have been inform'd, that the Neighbouring great Men, sent every one two or three Women, who being conducted to the Place of Burial, were made drunk with their Liquor of *Indian* Wheat, and then put into the Grave, to bear the Deceas'd Company; so that none of these Barbarians dy'd, but he carry'd along with him 20 Persons, or more; besides which they bury'd with them great Pitchers of their Liquor, and other Provisions. When I travell'd through the Country of these *Indians*, I enquir'd very particularly concerning what I write, asking them, why they practis'd so inhuman a Custom, as to get Women from their Neighbours, to bury with the Dead, besides their own; and was told, That the Devil appear'd to them in a dreadful Form, and said they should come to Life again in a mighty Kingdom he had provided for them; and therefore they put those Men and Women into the Graves, that they might go in more State.

Throughout all the Lands of these *Pastos* very little *Indian* Wheat grows, but there are great Breeds of Cattle, and especially Swine. There is Plenty of Barley *Papas* and *Xiquimas*, very pleasant *Granadillas*, and other Sorts of Fruit already mention'd. Among the *Quillacingas* there is much *Indian* Wheat, and they have the same Sorts of Fruit as the others; excepting only about the Lake where there are no Trees, nor any *Indian* Wheat, by Reason the Country is so cold as has been said. These *Quillacingas* are Robust, Warlike, and somewhat Turbulent. There are among them many Rivers of good Water, and yeilding much Gold. One of these runs between *Popayan* and *Pasto*, call'd *Rio Caliente*, or the hot River, which is very dangerous, and troublesome to cross in Winter, there being great Ropes, or Cables laid over to pass it. The Water of it is the best I ever met with in the *West-Indies*, or in *Spain*. Beyond this River, on the way to *Pasto*, is a Mountain, the Ascent whereof is three large Leagues.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Containing what more there is remarkable in this Country, as far as the Territory of the Town of Pasto *reaches.*

Angasmayo *River.*

IN this Region of the *Pastos* there is another pretty large River, call'd *Angasmayo*, which is the utmost Boundery of the Conquests made by King *Guaynacapa*, Son to the Great *Topa Ynga Yupangue*, King of *Cuzco*. Beyond *Rio Caliente*, or the hot River, and the great Mountain above mention'd, the way is along Ridges and Sides of Hills, and a small Desert, where I endur'd much Cold, when I pass'd through it. Farther on is a high Mountain, on the Top whereof is a fiery Eruption, whence much Smoke rises at some Times, and formerly, the Natives say it broke out and vomited Abundance of Stones. It lies on the right Hand, as we go from *Popayan* towards *Pasto*. The Town is seated in a delightful Vale, through which runs a River of excellent Water, besides many other Brooks, and Springs that fall into it. The Vale is call'd of *Atris*, formerly very populous, but the Natives withdrew to the Mountains, which encompass it on both Sides, and are some of them wooded, and others bare. The *Spaniards* have their Settlements, and Farms all about this Valley, and all the Plains are sow'd with choice *European* and *Indian* Wheat and Barley, and there is a Mill to grind Corn, for having such Plenty of the *European*, they eat no *Indian* Wheat. Those low Grounds abound in Dear, Rabits, Partridges, Pidgeons, Turtles, Pheasants and Pea-Hens, of all which the *Indians* kill great Numbers. This Country of the *Pastos* is excessive cold, and more in our Summer Season than in Winter; the same in the *Spanish* Town; so that a Man has no Occasion to be weary of his Wives Company, or to complain of many Cloaths. The Summer and Winter vary as in *Spain*. The delightful Town of *Pasto* was founded by Captain *Laurence de Aldana*, when the *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro*, was Governor, and Captain General of

Burning Mountain.

Atris vale.

Pasto Town.

of all these Provinces, and Kingdoms of *Peru*, in the Year 1539, the said *Laurence de Aldana* being his Lieutenant in *Quito*, *Pasto*, *Popayan*, *Timana*, *Cali*, *Anzerma* and *Cartago*, where he took special Care that the Natives should be well us'd.

Chap. XXXV.

Of the remarkable Springs and Rivers there are in these Parts, and the notable Way of making excellent Salt.

Before I enter upon the Borders of *Peru*, or leave the Government of *Popayan*, I think it will be convenient to give an Account of the remarkable Springs there are in this Country, and of those Rivers, of whose Water they make Salt, to send to all those Nations, tho' they have no Salt Pits, as being remote from the Sea. When the Lieutenant *John de Vadillo* went from *Cartagena*, we that were with him cross'd the Mountains of *Abibe*, which are very craggy, and difficult to surmount, so that we endur'd great Fatigue in passing them, many of our Horses dy'd, and most of our Bagage was left behind. Being come into the Plain, we found great *Indian* Towns wooded with Fruit Trees, and considerable Rivers running by them. The Salt we brought from *Cartagena* being spent, and we feeding on Herbs, and Kidney Beans, because there was no Flesh, but that of our Horses and some Dogs we kill'd, we began to be much distress'd, and many for want of Salt lost their Colour, and grew pale, and lank; and then we fell in with some Dwellings of the *Indians*, and took what we found, being only black Salt, mixt with the *Axi* they eat, and so little that he was a happy Man who met with it. Want, which teaches Men many notable things, show'd us, on the Top of a Hill, a little Lake, the Water whereof was black, and brackish, a small Quantity of which we put into our Pots, and it gave the Meat some sort of Relish to make it eatable.

Want of Salt.

Way of making it. The Natives of all that Country us'd to take as much Water as they thought fit, out of this Spring, or Lake, and ſome others of the ſame Nature, which they boil'd in large Pots, till the greateſt Part was conſum'd, and the reſt ſettled and conſolidated into black Salt, of no very good Taſte; yet ſuch as it is, with it they dreſs their Meat, and ſupply the Want they muſt endure, had they not theſe Springs.

There is a River, ſomewhat rapid, in a Village call'd *Cori*, which is in the Liberty of the Town of *Anzerma*.

Salt Springs. Near this River are ſome Springs of the Salt Water I have mention'd, which the Natives boil in great Pots, as has been ſaid, till three Gallons, or more is reduc'd to a Pint, or ſomewhat better, which they know how to condenſe, and it turns into moſt excellent pure Salt, and as good as that they take out of the Salt Pits in *Spain*. There are Abundance of theſe Springs all about the City *Antiocha*, and they make ſo much Salt, that it is carry'd up the Inland, for which they bring home Gold, Cotton Cloth to wear, and other things they ſtand in need of.

Beyond *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which runs near the City *Cali*, and near that of *Popayan*, below the Town of *Arma*, to the Northward, being with Captain *George Robledo*, we found a Town call'd *Mungia*, whence we proceeded to croſs the Mountains *Andes*, and diſcover'd the Vale of *Aburra*, and its Plains. In this Townſhip of *Mungia*, and in another call'd *Ceaufara*, we found other Springs riſing on Hills, near the Rivers, of the Water whereof they made ſo much Salt, that we ſaw Houſes almoſt full of it, in Abundance of Moulds, like Sugar Loaves; which they carry'd through the Vale of *Aburra*, to the Eaſtward, and this Salt made thoſe *Indians* very rich.

Spring in a River. In the Province of *Caramanta*, which is not far from *Anzerma*, a Spring guſhes out, within a freſh River and the Water of it exhales a Steam, like Smoke, ſhewing in all likelihood it proceeds from ſome Metal there is in thoſe Parts. Of this Water the *Indians* make good white Salt, and they ſay, there is a Lake, near a large Rock, at the Foot whereof there is ſome of the ſaid Water, whereof they

they make Salt for the *Caciques*, and prime Men, and affirm it is whiter, and better than any other. In moſt of the Townſhips of the Province of *Anzerma* there are ſuch Springs. In thoſe of *Arma*, *Carrapa*, and *Picara* there is ſome Scarcity, becauſe the People are numerous, and there are few Springs to make it, ſo that what is carry'd thither ſells well. All the Inhabitants of the City *Cartago* have Neceſſaries for making of Salt, which they do a League off, at an *Indian* Town, call'd *Conſota*, near which a ſmall River runs, and by it is a little Hillock, from which guſhes a Spring of very black and thick Water, ſome whereof they take from the Bottom, and when boil'd in Kettles, and the greateſt Part conſum'd, they harden it, and it is a white Corn Salt, as good as ours in *Spain*, and the Inhabitants of that City uſe no other.

Farther on is another Townſhip, call'd *Coynza*, through which ſome Rivers of excellent Water paſs, where I obſerv'd one thing I much admir'd, and was, that within the ſaid Rivers, and along the very Channel of them, there were Springs of this Salt Water, into which the *Indians* ingeniouſly thruſt a Sort of large Canes there are in thoſe Parts, made like Ship Pumps, and through them they drew what Water they had Occaſion for, clear from that of the River, and of it made Salt. There are none of theſe Springs about the City *Cali*, and the *Indians* us'd to barter for Salt, in a Province call'd *los Timbas*, near the Sea. Thoſe who had nothing to barter boil'd the freſh Water with certain Herbs, till it thickned, and became an ill taſted Salt. The *Spaniards* that live in this City, have no Want of Salt, becauſe the Port of *Buenaventura* is near, and great Maſſes of it are brought thither from *Perú*. Indian Pumps.

At *Popayan* there are ſome Salt Springs, eſpecially among the *Coconucos*, but not ſo much, nor ſo good as at *Cartago*, *Anzerma*, and the Places above mention'd. Moſt of the Salt they have at the Town of *Paſto*, comes by Way of Barter, and is better than that at *Popayan*. I have ſeen many more Springs than I here ſpeak of, ſo much being enough to ſhew the Nature of them, and how the Salt is made of their Water, tho' the freſh

runs

runs over it. I will now proceed to the Deſcription o the mighty Kingdom of *Peru*.

Chap. XXXVI.

Containing the general Deſcription of the Kingdom of Peru, *extending from the City of* Quito, *to the Town of* la Plata, *above* 700 *Leagues in Length.*

HAving run through what relates to the Government of *Popayan*, I think it is now Time to give an Account of the extraordinary things that are to be ſaid of *Peru*, commencing at the City of *Quito*. But before I ſpeak of that City, it will be convenient to lay down the Form of the Kingdom which is about 700 Leagues in Length, and 100 in Breadth, in ſome Places more, and in others leſs.

I do not here intend to treat of all that was ſubject to the *Inga* Kings, being above 1200 Leagues; but only of *Peru* properly ſo call'd, which reaches from *Quito* to the Town of *la Plata*, thoſe being its Boundaries. For the better underſtanding hereof, it is to be obſerv'd, that this Country of *Peru*, conſiſts of three deſert Chains of Mountains, where no Man can poſſibly live. One of
Andes. theſe is the Mountains call'd *Andes*, all thick Wooded and ſo unhealthy, that there neither are, nor ever were any People on it, but below on both Sides. The other is the bare Mountain, running along with that Ridge or Chain of the *Andes* which is exceſſive cold, and the Tops
Snowy Mountains of it full of Hills of Snow, always falling; nor is it poſſible for Men to live there any more than on the other, by Reaſon of the Violent Cold, and vaſt Quantity of Snow, as alſo becauſe the Land produces nothing, being render'd barren by the ſaid Snow, and the continual Winds blowing. The other Chain conſiſts of the Sands there are all the way from *Tumbez* till beyond *Tarapaca*,
Sand Hills. where there is nothing to be ſeen but Hills of Sand, and the hot Sun ſhining on them without Water, Graſs, Trees,

Trees, or any Creature, but only Birds, who by the Help of their Wings can croſs it where they pleaſe. That Kingdom being of ſuch a Length, there are vaſt Deſerts in it for the Reaſons aforeſaid; and the inhabited Country lies thus. In many Places of the Mountains *Andes* there are Breaches, and Openings, which from deep Valleys, and conſiderable Plains. Tho' never ſo much Snow falls, it all remains on the high Parts, and never deſcends to the Vales, which being ſhelter'd are alſo free from Winds, and the Land ſo fruitful, that whatſoever is ſow'd thrives, and there are Groves of Trees, and Abundance of Birds, and Beaſts. The Soil being ſo good is all well Inhabited by the Natives. They build their Towns regular, of Stone, and cover'd with Straw, and the People are very healthy and active. The *Andes*, and ſnowy Mountains forming ſuch Breaks and Plains, there are very great Towns, which were, and continue populous; for from theſe Vales run Rivers of good Water, emptying themſelves in the South Sea. Theſe Rivers forcing their Way among the Sands before mention'd, ſpread themſelves, and the Moiſture produces great Woods, and makes delightful Vales, ſome of them two or three Leagues over, where there are Abundance of Carob Trees, which grow, tho' very remote from Water. As far as ever the Trees extend, the Soil is free from Sands, and very fertil. Theſe Vales were formerly extraordinary populous, but the Natives are much diminiſh'd at preſent. In Regard that it never rain'd in theſe Plains and Sands of *Peru*, they did not cover their Houſes, like the People among the Mountains, but made beautiful flat Roofs, or large Houſes of Plaiſter with Ornaments of Marble, and over the Top they had Mats to defend them againſt the Sun. The ſame is us'd at this Time, and the *Spaniards* have no other covering, but only thoſe Mats daub'd with Clay. They draw Trenches from the Rivers running through theſe Valleys, ſo artificially, that all the Land is water'd and ſow'd without loſing the leaſt Spot; and being always moiſtned, the Sides of thoſe Trenches are ever green, and delightful, and cover'd with *Indian* and *Spaniſh* Fruit Trees, and Abundance of *European*, and *Indian* Wheat, and whatever elſe they ſow is continually growing there.

Vales.

Houſes.

Thus

Thus tho' I have represented *Peru*, as consisting of three desert Ridges, or Chains of Hills, the Rivers and Plains I have spoken of proceed from them, without which it were impossible for Men to live, and this is the Reason why the Natives were so easily Conquer'd, and that they continue in Subjection, without rebelling, because should they offer so to do, they must all starve with Hunger, and Cold; for, as I have said, all except that Part they inhabit is desert, full of snowy Hills, and dreadful high Mountains. The Kingdom, as has been observ'd is 700 Leagues in Length, North and South, but if we reckon all that was subject to the *Inga* Kings, it will amount to 1200 Leagues, North and South upon a Meridian. The widest Part from East to West is about 100 Leagues, in some Places but 40, in others 60, and so more or less. This Length and Breadth is to be understood of the Mountains extending throughout all this Land of *Peru*, as has been said; and this mighty Chain of Mountains, in *Peru*, call'd *Andes*, in some Places is 40 Leagues from the South Sea, in others 60, in some more, and in others less; and being so very high, and the Top of it so near the South Sea, the Rivers are small, because their Run is short.

Length & Breadth of Peru.

The other Ridge running in the same manner, the Length of this Country terminates also in the Plains, and not far from the Sea, in some Parts at three Leagues Distance, in others 8, or 10, and so more, or less. The Climate in the Plains is rather hot than cold, and that at some Seasons more than others, being so low that it is almost upon a Level with the Sea; and the Hottest Time is when the Sun is gon beyond it, and is come to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, being on the 11th of *December*, when it returns to the Equinoctial. In the Mountain Part, notwithstanding there are some very temperate Provinces, the contrary may be said as of the Plains, for it is rather cold than hot. Thus much in general of these Provinces of which I shall hereafter give an Account in Particular.

Climate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Townſhips, and Provinces there are between the Town of Paſto *and the City of* Quito.

SInce I have given an Account of the pleaſant Town of *Paſto*, it will be convenient to return thither, and hold on that Road, informing the Reader of what is worth taking Notice of till we come to the City of *Quito*. I ſaid the Town of *Paſto* was ſeated in the Vale of *Atris*, in the Territory of the *Quillacingas*, a ſhameleſs People, and both they and the *Paſtos* very ſilthy, and not look'd upon by their Neighbours. From the Town of *Paſto*, the Road runs to one of the ſame Nation call'd *Funes*, and 3 Leagues farther to another nam'd *Iles*. Three Leagues again beyond that is the Storehouſe, and Apartments built by the *Ingas* and call'd *Gualmatan*, 3 Leagues ſtill onward from which is the *Indian* Town of *Ipales*. All theſe Townſhips produce little or no *Indian* Wheat, becauſe the Country is very cold, and that Grain extraordinary tender, but there is Plenty of *Papas*, *Quinio*, and other Roots the Natives Plant. From *Ipiales*, the way goes on to the little Province of *Guaca*, and before we come to it, begins the Road made by the *Ingas*, as famous in theſe Parts, as that *Hannibal* cut through the *Alps*, when he enter'd *Italy*, and this is much more to be admir'd, both in regard of the great Store Houſes, and Lodgings erected along it, and for its being carry'd with immenſe Labour over ſuch uncooth craggy Mountains, that it is amazing to behold. *Towns on the Road.*

On the ſame Road is alſo a River, near which is to be ſeen the Spot where formerly the *Inga* Kings had a Fort, being their Place of Arms to make Excurſions, and ſubdue the *Paſtos*. Over the ſaid River is a Bridge made by Nature, and looks as if it were the Work of Art, conſiſting of a ſolid, lofty, and very thick Rock, with an Arch, or Cavity in the middle for the Current of the Water, and over it Travellers *Natural Bridge.*

paſs in ſafety. This in the *Inga* Language is call'd *Lumichaca*, ſignifying, Stone Bridge. Near it is a Spring ſo hot, that there is no enduring a Hand in it for any Time, beſides other Sources, but the Water of the River, and the Nature of the Country is ſo cold, that it is very uneaſy to bear. Hard by this Bridge, the *Ingas* deſign'd to build another Fort, and had truſty Guards there, who took Care that their own Men ſhould not ſlip back to *Cuzco*, or *Quito*, becauſe they look'd upon the Conqueſt of the *Paſtos*, then in Hand, as fruitleſs.

Fruit that makes drunk.

In moſt of the Townſhips above mention'd there grows a Sort of Fruit call'd *Mortunnos*, black and ſmaller than a Damſen, and among theſe another Sort of ſmall Plums very like them, whereof whoſoever eats any Quantity is perfectly drunk, troubled with Vomiting, and continues a whole Day in much Pain, and almoſt ſenſeleſs. This I know, becauſe when we March'd to Fight *Gonzalo Pizarro*, one *Roderick de las Pennas* my Friend, and one *Tarazona*, Enſign to Captain *Peter de Cabrera* and I, coming to this Town of *Guaca* with other Soldiers, the aforeſaid *Roderick de las Pennas* hapned to eat ſome of thoſe ſmall Plums above mention'd, and was in ſuch a Condition, that we all concluded he muſt dye. From the ſmall Territory of *Guaca* the Road goes on to *Tuza*, the laſt Townſhip of the *Paſtos*, on the Right Hand whereof are the Mountains that look over the Freſh Sea, and on the left the Hills towards the South Sea. Beyond that again is a ſmall Hill, and on it a Fort, with a Ditch, formerly belonging to the *Ingas*, of conſiderable Strength among the *Indians*. From *Tuza*, and this Fort the way proceeds to the River *Mira*, which is very hot, and along it, there is Abundance of Fruit, excellent Melons, good Rabits, Turtle Doves, and Partridges, and the Soil produces plenty of Barley, and *Indian* and *European* Wheat. From this River *Mira* Travellers go down to the large and magnificent Palace of *Carangue*, ſhort of which is the Lake they call *Yaguarcocha*, which ſignifies Sea of Blood. Here before the Coming of the *Spaniards*, King *Guaynacapa* being provok'd by the Natives of *Carangue*, and other Neighbouring Townſhips, caus'd 20000 Men to be ſlain, and caſt into the Lake, as the *Indians* inform

Mira hot River.

Yaguarcocha Lake.

inform us, and the Number of the dead being so great the whole Lake look'd as if it had been Blood, and therefore they gave it the aforesaid Name.

Beyond it is the Palace of *Carangue*, where some would have it that *Atabalipa*, the Son of *Guaynacapa* was born, because his Mother was of this Town; but this is not true, for I enquir'd into it very diligently, and it is certain that *Atabalipa* was born at *Cuzco*. This House of *Carangue* stands on a small Plain, and within it is a Pond, or large Bason made of curious Stone, and the Apartment for the *Ingas* is also built with beautiful Stones, artificially laid, without any Mortar, which is very well worth observing. There was formerly a Temple of the Sun, and above 200 beautiful Virgins consecrated to its Service, who were oblig'd to preserve their Chastity, and if they fail'd, were severely punish'd. The Men that corrupted them, which they reckned a heinous Sacriledge, being either hang'd, or bury'd alive. These Virgins were highly regarded, and there were Priests

Carangue *Temple of the Sun.*

with them, to offer Sacrifices in their Way. This Tem, ple of the Sun was in great Veneration, under the *Ingas* who kept it in curious Order full of Veſſels of Gold and Silver, and other Wealth not eaſy to be expreſs'd, for the very Walls, were cover'd with Plates of Gold and Silver, and tho' all be much ruin'd, ſtill there is enough to ſhow its former Magnificence. Here the *Ingas* kept conſtant Garriſons both in Peace and War, to ſuppreſs any Rebellion. Since we have mention'd theſe *Ingas*, ſomething ſhall be ſaid of them before we proceed farther, for the better underſtanding what they were.

Note, *That the whole Structure here repreſented was call'd the Temple of the Sun, as being the Sovereign Deity, but of the ſix ſeveral Piles appearing in the Cut, that at the upper End was peculiarly Dedicated to him, the next on the right of it to the Moon, that on the left to the Stars, the other again on the right, to the Rainbow, and the other on the left, to Thunder and Lightning. The great Hall in the Middle was for the Prieſts to meet in, the whole enclos'd as in the Figure. The greateſt of theſe Temples was at the City* Cuzco, *as will be mention'd hereafter, and this Repreſentation of it may ſerve for both Places.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Giving an Account of the Inga *Kings, and their Power in* Peru.

HAving often Occaſion to ſpeak of the *Inga* Kings and to mention their many Palaces, and other things of Note, I have thought fit to give ſome Account of them in this Place, that the Reader may be acquainted with their Grandeur, and Worth. By the Information we have receiv'd from the *Indians* of *Cuzco*, it appears, that there was formerly much Confuſion in all the Provinces of this Kingdom, we now call *Peru*, and that the Natives were ſo very ſtupid, and irrational, as is ſcarce credible,

credible. They tell us, they were very brutal, that many of them us'd to eat Man's Flesh, and others took their own Mothers and Daughters for their Wives, besides many other heinous, and abominable Sins they were guilty of, obeying the Devil whom they all honour'd, and respected. They had also Forts, and Garisons on Eminences and high Hills, whence upon every trivial Occasion they sally'd out to make War, killing, and taking one another Prisoners. Notwithstanding their being plung'd in these Enormities, and the Practise of such horrid Crimes, they say that some of them were religiously given, which was the Reason of building stately Temples in several Parts of this Kingdom, where they pray'd to, saw, and Worshipp'd the Devil, offering Sacrifices, and performing many superstitious Ceremonies before the Idols. The People of the Country living after this manner, some mighty Tyrants started up in the Provinces of *Collao*, the Vales of the *Yungas* and other Parts, who maintain'd bloody Wars one against another, with great Slaughter, and Desolation, in so much, that the People suffer'd extremely, and many Forts and Castles were destroy'd, without any End of the Contention.

Brutality of Ancien Peruvians

This was the Posture of Affairs throughout all *Peru*, when two Brothers, one of them call'd *Mangocapa* rais'd themselves, of whom the *Indians* tell Wonders and very pleasant Fables. This *Mangocapa* founded the City of *Cuzco*, and Enacted Laws as he thought fit; and he and his Posterity took the Name of *Ingas*, signifying Kings, or great Lords. They prevail'd so as to Conquer all the Country from *Pasto* to *Chile*, extending Southward as far as the River *Maule*, and Northward to the River *Angasmayo*, which were the Boundaries of the Empire, so large that it reach'd above 1300 Leagues in Length They built great Forts, and strong Palaces, and Plac'd Commanders, and Governors in all their Provinces. Their Actions were so great, and their Government so good, that few in the World exceeded them. They were very sprightly witted, and kept their Records, without the help of Letters, of which no Knowledge was found through the West *Indies*. They civiliz'd all their Subjects, and order'd them to be Cloath'd, and instead of Shoes to were *Oxotas*, which

Mangocapa *first* Inga.

which are like the *Abarcas* us'd by the Mountain People in some Parts of *Spain*, being raw Hides bound about the Feet, but many of these us'd by the *Indians* were either of Straw, or of the Rushes they call *Totora*. They took great Care to make known the Immorality of the Soul, and to discover the Secrets of Nature; believ'd there was a Sovereign Creator of all things, and look'd upon the Sun as the Chief God, erecting magnificent Temples to him, and being deluded by the Devil worshipp'd Stocks, and Stones, like the other Gentils. In their Prime Temples they kept great Numbers of beautiful Virgins, like the *Vestals* of *Rome*, who observ'd almost

almoſt the ſame Rules as thoſe did. Their Armies were commanded by brave faithful Officers. They us'd ſingular Art to make Friends of their Enemies, without ſubduing them by Force of Arms; and puniſh'd thoſe who Rebell'd with the utmoſt ſeverity, and no ſmall Cruelty. Having writ a particular Book of theſe *Ingas*, thus much may here ſuffice to inform the Reader, what they were, and the mighty Power they had, and therefore I will return to my Travels.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the other Townſhips, and Structures there are between Carangue *and the City of* Quito; *and how ingeniouſly the People of* Otabalo *robb'd thoſe of* Carangue.

FRom the Royal Place of *Carangue*, the famous Road made by the *Ingas* leads to that of *Otabalo*, which was and is ſtill very conſiderable, and great, and on both Sides of it there are Abundance of *Indian* Dwellings. On the Weſt of it are *Poritaco*, *Collaguazo*, *los Guancas*, and *Cayambes*; and near the great River of the *Amazons* are the *Quixos*, in ſcatter'd Villages, among great Mountains. This way *Gonzalo Pizarro* broke into the Province they call *Canela*, with a great Number of brave *Spaniards*, and Abundance of Proviſions, and yet he endur'd much Fatigue and Hunger. To the Eaſtward are the Settlements, or till'd Lands of *Cotocoyambe*, the Mountains of *Tumbo*, and many other Townſhips. *Otabalo Palace.*

The Natives of *Otabalo* and *Carangue* are call'd the *Guamaraconas*, on Account of the Slaughter I ſaid above *Guaynacapa* made at the Lake, where, he kill'd moſt of the Men, and leaving none but Children in theſe Towns, ſaid to them *Guamaracona*, which ſignifies, Now you are all Boys. The Inhabitants of *Carangue* are great Enemies to theſe of *Otabalo*, the Occaſion whereof they tell after this *Comical Robbery.*

this Manner. The News of the Coming of the *Spaniard*, and their seizing of *Atabaliba* being spread abroad, throughout all the Country of *Quito*, in whose Liberties these *Indians* are, the People were much amaz'd, and astonish'd, looking upon what they heard of the Horses, and their Swiftness, as incredible, and believing that they and the Riders were but one Creature. Mighty Reports were spread abroad among these People, upon the coming in of the *Spaniards*, and they hourly expected them in their Country, believing that since they had been able to defeat the *Inga*, their Sovereign, they would also subdue them. At this Time, they say, the Steward, or Lord of *Carangue* had a great Treasure, belonging to himself, and to his Sovereign the *Inga*, in his Stores. *Otabalo*, who it is likely was a subtle Person, ingeniously considering, that in Times of Confusion Treasures may be easily plunder'd, because according to the Proverb, *It is best Fishing in troubled Waters*; he call'd together most of his *Indians*, and the Chiefs of them, among whom he pick'd out those he thought the likeliest, and most active, whom he order'd to put on their Jerkins, and long Mantles, or Blankets, and taking long slender Staves in their Hands to mount on their Country Sheep, and stand on the Hills, and Eminences, that they might be seen by the People of *Carangue*, whilst he, with as many *Indian* Men, as he could and some Women, went to *Carangue*, pretending to be much frighted, and saying They fled from the Fury of the *Spaniards*, who had fallen into their Habitations, on their Horses, and they had abandon'd their Houses, and Treasure, to avoid their Cruelty. This News struck a mighty Terror into them, as not being at all question'd, because the *Indians* appear'd along the Hills mounted on their Sheep and being at such a Distance, they believ'd, that what *Otabalo* told them was certainly true, so that they fled, without any farther Consideration. *Otabalo* pretending to follow their Example, lagg'd behind with his People, and return'd to the Store-Houses of these *Indians* at *Carangue*, where he plunder'd all the Treasure he found, which was very considerable, then returning to his own Town, the Fraud was in a few Days after publickly known. The People of *Carangue* being

being inform'd of the Robbery were highly concern'd, and there was much Debate between them, but Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, coming into the Province of *Quito*, with his *Spaniards*, ſoon after this happen'd, they laid aſide their priviate Animoſities, to attend the common Defence of their Country. Thus *Otabalo* and his Men kept what they had ſtolen, as many *Indians* of thoſe Parts inform us, and the Enmity has never been extinguiſh'd.

From the Palace of *Otabalo* the Road leads to that of *Cocheſqui*, and there is a Paſs on the Mountains cover'd with Snow to go through, and a League ſhort of it, the Country is ſo cold, that it is uneaſy living in it. From *Cocheſqui* we go to *Gualabamba*, 4 Leagues from *Quito*, where the Country being low and almoſt under the Equinoctial, it is hot, yet not ſo much but that it is inhabited and produces all things neceſſary for the Support of Man. We that have travell'd theſe Parts, have found out what lies under the Equinoctial, notwithſtanding that ſome ancient Authors reckoned it not habitable; for what is here ſow'd grows plentifully, eſpecially Wheat, and Barley. Along theſe Roads there are ſome Rivers, which have all Bridges over them, and run very ſwiftly, and there are great Structures, and other remarkable things, which I omit for Brevity Sake. Cocheſ-qui *Houſe.*

From *Gualabamba* to the City of *Quito* there are 4 Leagues, and by the Way ſeveral *Spaniſh* Settlements, or Farms for breeding of Cattle, as far as *Annaquito*. In the Year 1546, and the Month of *January*, the Viceroy *Blaſco Nunez Vela* came to this Place with ſome Numbers of *Spaniards* that follow'd him, to oppoſe the Rebels then in Arms, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who had under ſpecious Pretences Uſurp'd the Government of the Kingdom, and Title of Governour, ſetting out of *Quito*, with the Prime Men of *Peru*, fought the unfortunate Viceroy, who was there kill'd, with many other brave Men, that fell for their Loyalty to their King. Juſt beyond this Plain of *Annaquito* is the City of *Quito*, founded, and ſeated as follows.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Situation of the City of Quito, *its first Foundation, and who was the Founder.*

Quito *City.*

THE City of *St. Francis del Quito*, is in the most Northerly Province of the Kingdom of *Peru*. The Territory of this Province reaches in Longitude, that is, from East to West, almost 70 Leagues, and in Latitude 25, or 30. It is seated in the same Place, where the *Ingas* had formerly, in the Time of their Authority, erected a Palace, and other Structures, which *Guaynacapa* enlarg'd, as did his Father, the Great *Topa Inga*. This Stately Structure the Natives call'd *Quito*, whence the City had its Name. The Situation is wholesome, rather cold than Hot. The City has little or no Prospect of Fields, because seated in a flat Hole, form'd by the Neighbouring high Mountains, lying North West from it. The plain Spot is so small, that it is thought they will find much Difficulty to build, if there should be Occasion hereafter to enlarge the City, which may be made very strong, if requisite. To the Westward of it are the Cities of *Puerto Viejo* and *Guayaquil*, at 60, or 80 Leagues Distance, and to the Southward are those of *Loxa* and *St. Michael*, the one 130, and the other 80 Leagues off. On the East Side are the Mountains, and the Source of the River, which at the Ocean is call'd *Mar Dulce*, that is the Sweet Sea, being the neareſt to that of the *Amazons*. Towards the North is the Government of *Popayan* already mention'd, and the Town of *Pasto*.

The City of *Quito* is almost under the Equinoctial, which passes by, but 7 Leagues from it. All its Territory seems to be barren, and yet is very fruitful, for it breeds Abundance of Cattle, and Foul, and produces Plenty of all Provisions, as Grain, and Fruit. The Land is very pleasant, and resembling *Spain* for Grass, and Seasons; the Summer begins about *March* and *April*, and lasts till *November*; and tho' Cold, it parches up exactly as in *Spain*. There are great Crops of Wheat and Barley,

Fertility &c. of Quito.

in

in the Plains, and all sorts of Provisions, and most *Spanish* Fruit Trees thrive well. The Natives of this Territory, are generally more tractable, better inclin'd, and more free from Vice, than any of those we have pass'd, or the greatest Part of *Peru*. This is what I found, and could learn among them, others may differ in Opinion from me; but all, who have so nicely observ'd, and examin'd it as I have done, will agree with me. They are of a middle Stature, and extraordinary Husband Men, having liv'd according to the Laws of the *Ingas*, tho' not so Politick as they, because conquer'd and instructed how to live by them; before which Time, they went like their Neighbours ill Clad, and understood nothing of building.

Here are many warm Vales, in which Abundance of Fruit Trees, and much Grain grows all the Year; and the Vines thrive well. The Orange, and sweet Lime Trees are very large, and most Sorts of *Spanish* Grain necessary for the Support of Man, proves extraordinary good. There is also a Sort of Spice, which we call *Canela*, that is, Cinnamon, brought from the Mountains to the Eastward. It is a Fruit, or Flower, growing on very large Trees, not resembling any thing we have in *Spain*, unless it be the Ornamental Part, or upper Shell there is on the Acorns; saving that it is of a Murrey Colour, inclining to black, being also large, and of a greater Cavity. It is as pleasant to the Taste as Cinnamon; but can only be eaten in Powder; for if it be us'd like Cinnamon in dressing of any thing, it looses all the Strength, and Flavor. Experience shows it is hot and cordial, for the Natives barter for, and use it in their Diseases, being particularly good for Pains in the Side, and Stomack, and griping of the Guts, for which Purposes they drink it in their Liquors. *Cinnamon.*

They have great Store of Cotton, whereof they make Cloth for their own wearing, and to pay their Tribute. In the Territory of this City of *Quito* there were great Numbers of that Sort of Cattle, which we call Sheep, but are more like small Camels. I shall hereafter speak of these Creatures, and their Shape, and how many different Sorts there are of them. Here are also Numbers of

Dear, and Abundance of Rabits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, Pidgeons, and other Game. Besides the *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, there are other two Sorts of Food natural to the Country. The one they call *Papas*, which is like large Pig-nuts, and when boil'd are as tender as boil'd Chestnuts, and has neither Shell nor Core, and grows under Ground, like the Pignut aforesaid. This Root bears a Flower, exactly like the Poppy. Another Sort of very good Sustenance is call'd *Quinua*, having a Leafe in all Points resembling the *African* Blite, the Plant grows up almost as high as a Man, bearing a very small Seed, some of it White, and some Red, whereof they make Liquor, and eat it dress'd as we do Rice.

There are many more Kinds of Roots, and Grain, besides what we have mention'd; but the Natives of the Country of *Quito* having learnt how much better Wheat and Barley are, sow, and eat both, and make Drink of the Latter. All these *Indians*, as I have observ'd before, are extraordinary Husband Men, tho' in some Provinces they differ from the rest, as I shall show, when I come to them; for the Women till the Land, and gather in the Harvest, whilst the Men spin and weave, and follow the Cloth Manufacture, with other Womanish Employments, which it is likely they were taught by the *Ingas*: I have taken Notice, in the Towns Neighbouring about *Cuzco*, of the Race of the *Ingas*, that whilst the Women were plowing, they were spinning, and dressing their Weapons, and Cloaths, doing many other things more proper for Women than Men. In the Days of the *Ingas* there was a Royal high Way, made by Hand, and the Labour of Men, which began at this City, and reach'd to that of *Cuzco*; whence another as great and Magnificent was carry'd on as far as the Province of *Chile*, which is above 1200 Leagues from the City of *Quito*. On which Roads at every three or four Leagues there were stately Palaces of great Men, richly furnish'd. This Road may be compar'd to the Way made by the *Romans*, which in *Spain* we call, *Camino de la Plata*, or the Silver Road.

Men Spin and Women Plow.

I have been more particular in what relates to the City of *Quito*, than in any of the Cities before spoken of, in Regard, that, as I have before observ'd, it is the first Town of

of *Peru*, on that Side, always in great Repute, and ſtill one of the beſt in that Kingdom. To conclude with it, the Founder was Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, afterwards *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant, and Governour of the Province of *Popayan*, in the Year 1534.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Townſhips there are from Quito *to the Royal Palace of* Thomebamba, *and of ſome Cuſtoms of the Natives.*

THere are 53 Leagues from the City of *St. Francis del Quito* to the Palace of *Thomebamba*. The firſt Place coming out of that City is call'd *Panzaleo*, the Natives whereof differ a little from their Neigbours, and particularly in the Ligature about their Heads; for by that the Families of the *Indians* are known, and what Provinces they were born in. Theſe and all others within the Kingdom, for above 1200 Leagues in Length, ſpoke the general Language of the *Ingas*, which is that us'd at *Cuſco*; and it was become univerſal by Order of the *Ingas*, who caus'd ſuch Parents to be puniſh'd, as did not teach it to their Children. Howſoever they all ſtill retain'd their own peculiar Languages, that had been us'd by their Anceſtors. So theſe of *Panzaleo* had a different Language from thoſe of *Carangue* and *Otabalo*. As to Shape, and Body, they are like thoſe mention'd in the laſt Chapter, and wear Jerkins without Sleevs, or Collers, open at the Sides to put out their Arms, and at the Top, for the Head to go through; over which they have long Mantles, or Blankets ſome of Woollen, and others of Cotton. Inſtead of Shoes, they have *Oxotas*, made of a Root, or Plant call'd *Cabuya*, that ſhoots out large Stalks, and from them ſprout white Fibers like Hemp, very ſtrong and uſeful, whereof they make their *Oxotas*, which ſerve inſtead of Shoes, and about their Heads they bind Breads.

Diſtinctive Mark.

Language.

Habit.

Some

Some of the Women are habited after the manner of *Cuzco*, very fine, with a long Garment reaching from the Neck to the Feet, with only the Arms out, and girt about them with a String they call *Chumbe*, like a curious gay Garter, but somewhat broader. Over this they throw a thin Mantle, call'd *Liquida*, hanging on their Shoulders, and covering their Feet. To fasten these Mantles they use large Gold, or Silver Pins, broad at the End, call'd *Topos*. About their Heads they bind a very gay Ribbon which they name *Vincha*, and wear *Oxotas* on their Feet. In short, the Dress of the Ladies at *Cuzco* was the finest, and richest of any that was ever seen in the West *Indies*. They are very nice in Combing their Hair, and wear it very long. I shall speak more at large of this Habit of the *Pallas*, or Ladies of *Cuzco*, in another Place.

Between this Town of *Panzaleo*, and the City of *Quito*, there are several Habitations among the Mountains, on both Sides. To the Westward is the Vale of *Uchilo*, and *Langazi*, where the Climate being temperate, most of the things spoken of in the Chapter of *Quito*, thrive well, and the Natives were their Friends, and Confederates. In these Parts they did not devour one another, nor were they so Wicked as some of the Natives of the Provinces already spoken of. They had formerly great Places of Worship Dedicated to several Gods, as they themselves give out. After they were subdu'd by the *Inga* Kings, they Offer'd Sacrifices to the Sun, and ador'd him as their God.

Yumba *Mountains*

Hence a Road strikes off to the Mountains of *Yumba*, where there are some Dwellings, the Natives whereof are not so serviceable as those about *Quito*, nor so submissive; but rather vicious, and haughty; caus'd by their living in an uncooth Country, which being hot, and fruitful affords them all Sorts of Dainties. These also Worshipp'd the Sun, and were in other Respects like their Neighbours, having been, as well as they, subdu'd by the great *Topaynga Yupangue*, and his Son *Guaynacapa*. Another way to the Eastward leads to the *Indians* call'd *Quixos*, in all Respects like the last.

Mulaha- lo *Town.*

Three Leagues beyond *Panzaleo*, is the Palace and Town of *Mulahalo*, which tho' small at present, because the Natives are consum'd, had formerly Lodgings for the *Ingas*, or their Commanders,

Commanders, when they travell'd that way, and great Store Houſes to furniſh the Army. On the right Hand of this Town of *Mulahalo* is a burning Mountain, which the *Indians* ſay formerly caſt out ſo many Stones, and ſuch Abundance of Aſhes, as deſtroy'd a conſiderable Part of the Habitations that Eruption reach'd to. Some will have it, that before it broke out, dreadful Noiſes were heard, and helliſh Apparitions ſeen. What theſe *Indians* report of this burning Mountain ſeems to be true, for at the Time, when the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, Governour of the Province of *Guatimala*, came into *Peru* with his Fleet, and landed in this Country of *Quito*, the *Spaniards* who came with him affirm they thought it had rain'd Aſhes for ſeveral Days; which 'tis likely was ſome ſuch Eruption, whereof there are many about thoſe Mountains, proceeding in all Probability from great Veins of Sulphur.

Fiery Eruption.

A little beyond *Mulahalo* is the Town of *Tacunga*, with the great Palace, which was not inferior to that of *Quito*, and the Remains, tho' ruinous ſtill teſtify its Grandeur; for it plainly appears on the Walls of ſome of the Rooms, where the Gold Sheep, and other coſtly Ornaments were fix'd on them. Theſe rich Embelliſhments were chiefly in the Apartment appointed for the *Inga* Kings, and in the Temple of the Sun, where they offer'd Sacrifices, and perform'd their Superſtitious Worſhip; to which alſo belong'd ſeveral Virgins, Dedicated to the Service of the Temple, whom, as has been ſaid, they call'd *Mamaconas*. Tho' I have ſaid there were Lodgings, and Store Houſes in thoſe Towns we are paſs'd, yet in the Days of the *Ingas* there was no Royal Palace in them, nor any Principal Temple, as there was in this Place we ſpeak of, nor in the other Towns we ſhall mention'd farther on, till we come to *Tomebamba*, as will appear hereafter.

Tacunga *Town and Palace.*

In this Town the *Ingas* had a high Steward, whoſe Buſineſs it was to gather in the Tribute of the Neighbouring Country, and lay it up, and here was a great Number of *Mitimaes*. The *Ingas* conſidering that the City of *Cuzco* was the Metropolis of their Empire, where all Laws were Enacted, and whence the Commanders were ſent to the Wars, and that the ſaid City was above 600 Leagues from *Quito*, and farther ſtill from *Chile*; and knowing that all this

Mitimaes *what they were.*

this vaſt Tract of Land was inhabited by barbarous Nations, ſome of them very Warlike; for the Peace and Tranquility of their Empire, they ever ſince the Days of the *Inga Yupangue*, Father to the great *Topaynga*, and Grandfather to *Guaynacapa* ſettled this Method; which was, that as ſoon as they had Conquer'd one of theſe great Provinces, they order'd 6, 10, or 12000 Families, or as many as they thought fit, to remove from thence into another Province like that they came from, in Climate and Nature; thoſe of a cold Country into a Cold, and thoſe of a Hot into the like, and theſe People were call'd *Mitimaes*, ſignifying *Indians* come from one Country to another. Theſe had Lands aſſign'd them to till, and Places to build their Houſes on, and they had Orders from the *Ingas* punctually to obey the Commands of their Governours, and Officers; ſo that if the Natives rebell'd, the *Mitimaes* ſtanding by the Governours, the others were immediately puniſh'd, and brought under Subjection to the *Ingas*. So on the other Side, if the *Mitimaes* happen'd to mutiny, they were cruſh'd by the Natives; and thus thoſe great Men were ſecur'd againſt Rebellions, and kept Store of Proviſions in all Countries, moſt of the People being, as has been ſaid, remov'd from one Place to another. They had another Politick Contrivance to gain the Affections of the Natives, which was that they never abrogated the Dominion of the *Caciques*, who had it by inheritance, and were Natives; but if any one of them committed a Crime, or was guilty of ſuch Offence as deſerv'd he ſhould be depos'd, they beſtow'd the *Caciqueſhip* on his Son, or Brother, enjoyning all Perſons to obey him.

Having given this Account of the *Mitimaes*, I muſt return to the main Subject, and obſerve, that at this great Palace of *Tacunga* there were many of them, whoſe Buſineſs it was to perform whatſoever was Enjoin'd them by the *Inga*'s Steward. About this Palace on all Sides, are the Dwellings and Lands of the *Caciques* and Prime Men, well furniſh'd with Proviſions.

At the Time when the laſt Battel was fought in *Peru*, in the Vale of *Xaquixaguana*, where *Gonzalo Pizarro* was kill'd

kill'd, about 200 *Spaniards* of us set out from the Province of *Popayan*, with the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebastian de Belalcazar*, to join his Majesty's Forces against the Rebels, and some of us, for we did not all March together, coming to this Town, they furnish'd us with Provisions, and all other Necessaries, so orderly, and plentifully, that I know not where it could have been done better; for they had in one Place great Store of Rabits, in another of Swine, in another of Poultry, and so of Sheep, Lambs, and other things, and thus they supply'd all that came that Way. *Orderly Stores.*

They are all Cloath'd in their Tunicks, and Mantles, some rich and gay, and others courser, according to their Ability. The Women are also clad as I describ'd those at *Mulahalo*, and their Language is almost the same. Their Houses are all of Stone, and cover'd with Straw; some large, and some small, according to the Owner, or his Substance. The Lords and Commanders had several Wives; but one of them was to be chief, and her Issue to Inherit. They ador'd the Sun, and when the great Men dy'd they dug them Graves on the Hills, or in Fields, where they laid their Bodies with their Treasure, Weapons, Garments, beautiful Wives alive, and a considerable Quantity of Provision. This Custom of burying the Dead was Practis'd in most of these Parts of the *West Indies*, by the Advice of the Devil, who perswaded them, they should go in that manner to the Kingdom he had provided for them. They made great Lamentation for their dead, and the Wives that were not bury'd with the Servants, cut off their Hair, and wept continually for a Year. They us'd drinking like those above mention'd, never fail'd to eat in the morning, and din'd on the Ground, without regarding Table Cloths, or Napkins. After eating their *Indian* Wheat, and Fish, or Flesh, they spent the whole Day in drinking *Chicha*, a Liquor, made of their Corn, being seldom without the Cups in their Hands. They were very punctual at their *Areytos*, that is, their Dances, Men and Women holding orderly Hand in Hand, and moving round, to the Sound of a Drum, singing the Actions of their Ancestors, and drinking till they very drunk. When thus beside themselves, *Habit.* *Dancing.*

ſelves, ſome took the Women they lik'd, whom they carry'd into any Houſe, and lay with them, not thinking it any Diſgrace, as being void of Shame, regardleſs of Honour, and Deſpiſers of the World; for they thought of nothing but devouring what they got by their Labour. As far as we could judge they believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, and knew there was a Creator of all things, by obſerving the Greatneſs of the Heavens, the motions of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other wounderful Works of Nature; yet being deluded by the Devil, they thought he had Power over all things. However many of them being ſenſible of his wicked Practiſes, and that he never deals ſincerely, hated, and rather obey'd him out of Fear, than for any Divinity they conceiv'd there was in him. They paid great Reſpect to the Sun, and Worſhipp'd him as a God. The Prieſts were extraordinary ſanctify'd, and much honour'd in all Places. I could ſay more of the Cuſtoms of theſe *Indians*, which being almoſt general to them all, I ſhall deliver in paſſing through other Provinces, and will conclude this Chapter, adding, that theſe People of *Tacunga* in Fight us'd, Pikes made of Palm-Tree Wood, Darts, and Slings. They are ſwarthy, as thoſe above; the Women loving, and ſome of them Beautiful. There are ſtill many of the *Mitimaes*, as when the *Ingas* were Sovereigns.

Chap. XLII.

Of the Country from Tacunga *to* Riobamba, *and what happened there between the* Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, *and the Marſhal* Don Diego de Almagro.

Muliambato *apartments.*

DEparting *Tacunga*, along the great Road that leads to the City of *Cuzco*, we come to the Store Houſes of *Muliambato*; of which no more needs be ſaid, but that the *Indians* inhabiting there are of the ſame Nation, and Behaviour, as thoſe of *Tacunga*. Here were Apartments, and

and Store houſes, as uſual, of ſuch things as the Officers of the *Ingas* directed, and they were ſubordinate to the High Steward reſiding at *Tacunga*, that being the Head; as *Quito*, *Tomebamba*, *Caxamalca*, *Xauxa*, *Bilcas*, *Paria*, and others were, being the Chief Seats of Kingdoms, or Dioceſes, as every one will pleaſe to call them, where was the Reſidence of Commanders, and Governors; who had Power to adminiſter Juſtice, and to raiſe Armies, if any War, or Rebellion broke out; tho' they did not do any thing of great Moment, without acquainting the *Ingas*. To this Purpoſe, matters were ſo well order'd, that any News was carry'd from *Quito* to *Cuzco* in 8 Days, by the Poſt; for there was a little Houſe at every half League, in which two *Indians* always liv'd with their Wives. As ſoon as ever the News, that was to be carry'd on, came thither, one of the two ran that half League, without ſtopping, and before he came to the little Houſe cry'd out, delivering his Meſſage, which he who was in that Houſe having hear'd he ran the other half League ſo ſwiftly, that the Country being uneven, and craggy, no Horſes, or Mules could make ſo much Speed.

From *Muliambato* the Road goes on to the River *Ambato*, where there are alſo Store houſes, like the laſt. Three Leagues from thence are the ſumptuous Apartments, and Store houſes of *Mocha*, ſo great, that I was amaz'd to behold them, but ſince the *Ingas* loſt their Dominion, all the Palaces, Store houſes, and other mighty Works of theirs are gone to Ruin, ſo that ſcarce any thing remains but the Plans, and ſome Walls, which being of Stone, and curiouſly wrought, will laſt many Ages, without being quite conſum'd. About *Mocha* there are ſome *Indian* Towns, in all Reſpects like the laſt ſpoken of.

Ambate *River.*

Mocha *Store houſe*

To the Weſtward are the *Indians* call'd *Sichos*, and to the Eaſtward the *Pillaros*, all of them Abounding in Proviſions; becauſe the Soil is Fertil, and there are great Flocks of Deer, ſome of thoſe we call Sheep of *Peru*, and Plenty of Rabits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, and other Game. Beſides the *Spaniards* in theſe Fields have Numerous Herds of Cows, which increaſe conſiderably, becauſe there is excellent Paſture; Multitudes of Goats, the Land being proper for them, ſo that they want for nothing; and as

Sichos *and* Pillaros Indians.

for Swine, there are more, and those better than in most Parts of the *West Indies*, whereof as good Hams, and Flitchies are made, as in any Part of *Spain*.

Riobamba Structure.

From *Mocha* the way goes on to the great Apartments of *Riobamba*, which are nothing inferior to those of *Mocha*; and stand in the Province of the *Puruaes*, amidst pleasant, and delightful Plains, much resembling those of *Spain* in Temperature, Herbs, Flowers, and other Particulars, as is well known to such as have travell'd through them. At *Riobamba* the City of *Quito* was settled for some Time, till remov'd thence, to the Place where it now stands; besides which there is another Reason, why these Apartments of *Riobamba* are memorable. For the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, Governour of the Province of *Guatimala*, which borders on the mighty Kingdom of *New Spain*, sailing thence with a Fleet, in which were Abundance of Gentlemen of good Note, and Landing, with his *Spaniards*, on the then much talk'd of Coast of *Quito*, he struck into certain rough and craggy Mountains, where his Men endur'd Hunger, and other Hardships. I cannot proceed without saying something of the Toils and Difficulties these and other *Spaniards* went through, in the Discovery of the *West Indies*, for I am positively convinc'd, no Nation, or People in the World ever endur'd the like. It is very wonderful that so long a Voyage, and such an immense Tract of Land, fill'd with so many several Nations, should be discover'd in less than 60 Years, making Way through uncooth, and craggy Mountains, and Deserts, where there was not the least Track; and that all these should be conquer'd, and subdu'd, and above 200 Cities newly founded in them. No Doubt but those who have perform'd so much deserve greater Commendation, and Honour, than my Pen can express, or my Mind conceive. One thing I can deliver as a certainty, which is, that they suffer'd so much Hunger, and Fatigue, that many threw away Burdens of Gold, and precious Emeraulds, for want of Strength to carry them. But to proceed, the coming of *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, being known at *Cuzco*, by the authentick Information of *Gabriel de Rojas*; the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*, tho' then busy in setling Christian Inhabitants in that City, departed thence to take Possession of the South Sea Coast,

Alvarado *in* Quito.

and

and of the Plains, and order'd his Partner, the Marſhal *Don Diego de Almagro* to repair, with all poſſible Speed to the Province of *Quito*, and take upon him the Command of the Forces then under his Lieutenant *Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, and ſo to ſecure all things the beſt he could. The active Marſhal travell'd without allowing himſelf Reſt to the Province of *Quito*, and took upon him the Command of the Troops he found there, treating Captain *Belalcazar* roughly, for having departed from *Tangaraca*, without the Governours Orders. After ſeveral other Paſſages, which I mention in their Place, the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado* with many Gentlemen of good Note drew near to the Place where *Don Diego de Almagro* then was; between whom ſome things paſs'd, that made many believe they would come to Battle; yet by the Interpoſition of the Licentiate *Caldera*, and other diſcreet Perſons, they agreed, That the *Adelantado* ſhould leave the Fleet, which brought him, in *Peru*, with all the Stores belonging to it, and all the Arms, and Men; and that 100000 Pieces of Eight ſhould be given him for the Charges he had been at. This being concluded upon, the Marſhal took upon him the Command of the Forces, and *Alvarado* went away to the City of *Lima*; where the Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro*, knowing how Matters had been concerted, expected, and paid him the Honour and Reſpect that was due to ſo great a Commander; who having receiv'd his 100000 Pieces of Eight, return'd to his own Government of *Guatimala*. All this happen'd and was concluded in the Plain, and Apartments of *Riobamba*, I am now treating of. In this ſame Place Captain *Belalcazar*, afterwards Governour of the Province of *Popayan*, had a ſharp Engagement with the *Indians*, many of whom being kill'd, the *Spaniards* remain'd Victorious.

Agrees with Almagro.

CHAP. XLIII.

Containing what is worth observing among the other Indians, *till we come to the Palace of* Tomebamba.

Puruaes Indians.

THese Apartments of *Riobamba*, I said before were in the Lands of the *Puruaes*, being the best peopled Part of the Territory of *Quito*, the Inhabitants of a good Disposition, and all clad, both Men and Women, using the same Customs as their Neighbours, and a binding about their Heads, to be distinguish'd by; their Hair for the most part long, which some put into very small Breaths. They worshipp'd the Sun, and follow'd the other Superstitions introduc'd by the *Ingas*; burying their Dead as has been said of others with their Treasure, Weapons and Wives; which some *Indians* of credit have told me they did, because the Devil made them fancy they sometimes saw those who had been long dead, walking about the Fields, adorn'd with those things and attended by their Wives that had been bury'd alive, and therefore they thought the Souls had need of such Provision.

Tinguragua *Mountain.*

To the Eastward of *Riobamba* there are many Villages on the Mountain next the Source of the River of the *Amazons*, and the Mountain call'd *Tinguragua*, on which there are also Abundance of Dwellings. The Inhabitants of which Places are like the rest before mention'd in all Respects, go cloath'd, have Houses of Stone, were subdu'd by the *Ingas*, speak the Language of *Cuzco*, and have others of their own. To the Westward is another snowy Mountain, call'd *Urcolazo*, thinly Inhabited. Near this Mountain is a Road that goes to the City of *Santiago* call'd *Guayaquil*.

Cayambi, *and* Teocaxas.

From *Riobamba* we go to another *Inga* Structure call'd *Cayambi*, all the Country about being plain, and very cold. Next we come to the *Tambos*, or Apartments of *Teocaxas*, seated in a spacious plain, without any Inhabitants, and very cold, where the Battle call'd of *Teocaxas* was fought, between

between the Native *Indians*, and Captain *Sebaſtian de Belalcazar*, which laſted all Day, and was very Bloody, and yet neither Side came off Victorious.

Three Leagues from hence are the great Apartments of *Tiguizambi*, on the right Hand whereof is *Guayaquil*, and its Mountains, and on the left *Pomallata*, *Quizna*, *Mocas*, and others till we come to the Territories of *Rio Grande*. Beyond this Place, in the Bottom ſtands the Apartment of *Chanchan*, which the Natives call *Yungas*, ſignifying hot Country, becauſe it is ſo, and here by Reaſon there is no Snow, or exceſſive cold; ſuch Trees or other things grow as will not thrive in the other colder Parts, and therefore all thoſe who live in hot, or temperate Vales, or Plains, are call'd *Yungas* to this Day, which Name it is likely they will always retain. The Diſtance from this Place to the Royal Palace of *Tomebamba* is almoſt 20 Leagues; all which Way there are ſuch Store houſes, and Lodgings of the *Ingas*, at every 2, 3, or 4 Leagues. Among them there are two of greateſt Note, the one call'd of *Cannaribamba*, and the other of *Hatuncanari*, whence the Natives had their Name, and their Province that of *Canares*, which it ſtill holds. On both Sides of this great Road there are many Provinces and Diſtricts, which I do not mention particularly, becauſe being ſubdu'd by the *Ingas*, they were in all Reſpects like the reſt of thoſe People, and have been ſince converted to the Chriſtian Faith. All along this Road there are ſeveral ſmall Rivers, ſome greater, but few conſiderable, the Water of them all very good, and Bridges over them. Before the *Spaniards* conquer'd this Kingdom there were great Numbers of *Peru* Sheep, and thoſe Creatures they call *Guanacos* and *Vicunnas*, on all the Mountains, and Plains; but ſo many have been deſtroy'd, that they are much thinner. No Wolves, or other noxious Beaſts, or Animals are found in theſe Parts, except the Tigres, on the Mountains of *Buenaventura*, and ſome ſmall Lions, and Bears. In the Braks, and woody Parts, there are alſo ſome Snakes, and every where Foxes, *Chuchas*, and other wild Creatures that Country affords, beſides great Plenty of Partridges, Pidgeons, Turtle Doves, and Deer; in the Territory of *Quito* Abundance of Rabits, and ſome *Dantas* on the Mountains.

Yungas Indians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of the ſumptuous Palace at Tomebamba, *in the Province of* Cannares.

I Have already, in ſome Parts of this Book, given Hints of the mighty Power of the *Ingas*, of their great Valour, and how throughout their Dominons, extending above 1200 Leagues along the Coaſt, they had their Deputies, and Governours, and great Apartments, and Store houſes furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries for their Armies. In ſome of them they kept Spears, in ſeveral Darts, in others *Oxotas*, which as has been ſaid were inſtead of Shoes, and other Sorts of Weapons us'd by them in others. So ſome contain'd coſtly Garments, others courſer, and others Proviſions of all Sorts. Thus when the Sovereign was in his Apartment, and the Men Quarter'd, there wanted nothing that was proper for them, from the pooreſt to the moſt Valuable thing. Being thus ſupply'd, if the Men happen'd to commit any Diſorders, or Robberies in the Neighbouring Country, they were immediatly puniſh'd, with the utmoſt Severity; the *Ingas* being ſo rigorous in this particular, that they did not ſpare their own Sons. And notwithſtanding there were ſuch Numbers of thoſe Store houſes, that the Kingdom ſeem'd to be full of them, yet at every ten or twenty Leagues, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs, they had in moſt Provinces ſtately Palaces for the Kings, with a Temple of the Sun, ſerv'd by Prieſts, and the Virgin *Mamaconas* already mention'd, and greater Magazines than the Common Sort, where the *Inga*'s Governour, and Commander in Chief reſided, with the *Mitimaes*, and other Attendants. In Time of Peace, when the King did not travel that way, it was his Care to receive the Tribute, throughout his Diſtrict, to furniſh the Store houſes, and attend other Matters of Moment. The Palaces were very great, for tho' a King dy'd, his Succeſſor never deſtroy'd or ſuffer'd any of them to go to Ruin, but rather enlarg'd, and beautify'd them, each building a new one, and ordering his Predeceſſors to be richly adorn'd.

This

This famous Palace of *Tomebamba*, ſtanding as has been ſaid, in the Province of *Canares*, was one of the moſt ſumptuous, and richeſt in *Peru*, and the moſt regular Structure; in ſo much that the very Ruins are an undeniable Teſtimony, that all the *Indians* ſay of it is true. Weſt of it lies the Province of *Guancabilcas*, being the Territory of the City *Guayaquil*, and *Puerto Viejo*; and to the Eaſtward is the great River of the *Amazons*, with its Mountains. The Palace is ſeated upon the Conflux of two ſmall Rivers, in a Plain about 12 Leagues in Compaſs. The Country cold, and abounding in Deer, Rabits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, and other Foul. The Temple of the Sun was all of Stone curiouſly Wrought, ſome of a vaſt Bigneſs, ſome quite Black, and others like Jaſper. Several *Indians* ſaid that moſt of the Stones, whereof the Palace, and Temple conſiſted were brought from the City *Cuzco*, by Order of King *Guaynacapa*, and the great *Topaynga*, his Father, being drawn with great Ropes, which, if true, is very wonderful, conſidering the Number and Bulk of the Stones, and the Length of the Way. The Portals of ſeveral Apartments were curiouſly adorn'd, and painted, and ſome Emeraulds, and other precious Stones ſet in them, and within the Walls of the Temple, and of the *Ingas* Palace, plated with pure Gold, with many Figures Carv'd in the ſame Metal. The Covering was of Straw, ſo artificially laid on, that unleſs conſum'd by Fire, it will laſt many Ages. In the Rooms there were Bundles of Straw made of Gold, with many Sheep, Lambs, Foul, and other things grav'd on the Walls. Beſides all this, they tell us there was an immenſe Treaſure in Pots, Pitchers, and other Veſſels; and great Numbers of Cotton Cloaths ſet with Gold Plates, and *Chaquira*. In fine, all I can ſay will fall ſhort of the vaſt Wealth the *Ingas* had in their Palaces, which were kept very orderly, and Abundance of Goldſmiths employ'd to Work ſuch things as I have ſpoken of. The Woolen Cloth there was in the Stores, had it not been laviſh'd would have been of mighty Value. The Virgins Dedicated to the Service of the Temple were above 200, very beautiful, of the Province of *Canares*, and the Territory ſubject to the *Ingas* Steward, reſiding there. They and the Prieſts were plentifully ſup-

Tomebamba Palace.

ply'd by thoſe, who had it in Charge to furniſh the Temple; at whoſe Gates they had Porters, ſome of them reported to be Eunuchs, and entruſted to look to the *Mamaconas*, ſo they call'd thoſe Virgins. Near the Temple, and the Apartment of the *Ingas*, were Abundance of Lodgings to Quarter the Soldiers, and greater Storehouſes than the Ordinary, always well furniſh'd, tho' never ſo much were us'd; the Controlers keeping exact Accounts, after their Manner, of all that was Receiv'd, and Deliver'd out, according to the Sovereigns Orders.

Cannares their Habit

The Natives of this Province *de los Cannares* are well ſhap'd and countenanc'd. They wear their Hair very long, and wound once about their Heads, which with a wooden Crown they have, as thin as the Rim of a Sieve, ſhows them to be *Cannares*, this being their diſtinctive Mark. The Women do the ſame, and are by it as well known as their Husbands. The Men are clad in Woollen and Cotton, with *Oxotas*, above deſcrib'd, on their Feet. Some of the Women are Beautiful, very Luſtful, and fond of *Spaniards*; and at the ſame time laborious, for they dig, ſow, and reap; whilſt many of their Husbands are at home Spinning, Weaving, Dreſſing their Arms, or Cloaths, adorning their Faces, and attending other Womaniſh Employments. When any *Spaniſh* Forces us'd formerly to March through their Country, they being then oblig'd to furniſh People to carry the Baggage, many of them ſent their Wives and Daughters, and ſtay'd at home themſelves. This I ſaw practic'd, when we march'd to join the Licenciate *Gaſca*, his Majeſty's Preſident; at which time they gave us many Women to carry our Baggage.

Some *Indians* ſaid they did ſo, becauſe of the great Scarcity of Men, and vaſt Numbers there are of Women, occaſion'd by the Cruelty *Atabalipa* exercis'd on the Na-

Cruelty of Atabalipa.

tives, when he enter'd this Province after he had at *Ambato* overthrown, and kill'd *Atoco*, General to his Brother *Guaſcar Inga*. They affirm, that notwithſtanding the Men, and Children went out with green Boughs, and and Palm-Tree Leaves, to ſue for Mercy, he with a ſtern Countenance order'd his Soldiers to Butcher them all, and thus a great

great Number of Men, and Boys was deſtroy'd. So that of thoſe who ſurviv'd there were 15 Women to one Man, and therefore they did whatſoever was enjoin'd them by their Husbands, or Parents. Their Houſes are ſmall, built with Timber, and cover'd with Straw. The Soil is fruitful, and has Plenty of Proviſions, and Game. Their Cuſtoms, and Worſhip were the ſame as mention'd of others and they are now all Chriſtians.

Many Armies rendevous'd under the *Ingas*, about this Palace of *Tomebamba*. When an *Inga* dy'd his Succeſſor, as ſoon as enthron'd, ſent Governours to *Quito* and this Place, ordering them to build noble Palaces, as his Predeceſſors had done. The *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, who are the moſt knowing Men in the Kingdom, inform us, that the *Inga Tupangue*, and his Son the Great *Topaynga*, who built the Temple, did both of them delight in reſiding here, more than in any other Part; and they add, that when *Guaynacapa* was there, he heard of the firſt coming of the *Spaniards*, at the Time when *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and his 13 Companions, who were the firſt Diſcoverers, appear'd upon his Coaſt, and that he ſaid, a ſtrange People, like thoſe in the Ship ſhould rule the Kingdom, after his Days. This ſtately Palace is now ruin'd, but ſtill ſhows what it was.

This Province of *Cannares* is very large, and full of Rivers, in which there is much Wealth. In the Year 1544. ſuch Rich Mines were diſcover'd on them, that the Inhabitants of *Quito* took out above the Value of 800000 Pieces of Eight in Gold, and ſo prodigious was the Plenty of this Metal, that many drew out in their Veſſels more Gold than Earth. This I affirm as certain Truth, and I ſpoke with one, who drew out above the Value of 700 Pieces of Eight at one Draught; beſides that we know not what the *Indians* got. Wheat, Barley, Vines and all other Product of *Spain* thrives well in every Part of this Province, which yields alſo very pleaſant Fruit of the Country. There are excellent Situations for building of Cities, and the Viceroy *Blaſco Nunnez Vela*, when he fled from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Adherents, declar'd, if he were ever reſtor'd to the Government, he would build a City in thoſe Plains, and divide the *Indians* among the

Vaſt Plenty of Gold.

Inhabitants, but as it happened he was kill'd. Yet *Gonzalo Pizaro* order'd Captain *Alonso de Mercadillo* to found a City there, which was not perform'd, because this was look'd upon as the Territory of *Quito*, and therefore he did it in the Province of *Choparra*, as I shall soon shew. The Distance from *St. Francisco de Quito* to this Palace is 55 Leagues. Here I will leave the High Way I am now upon, to give an Account of the Towns, and Provinces there are in the Liberties of the Cities of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*, and having spoken of them will return to the Road, where I left off.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Road from the Province of Quito, *to the Coast of the South Sea, and Liberties of the City of* Puerto Viejo.

BEing come to *Tomebamba*, I would willingly have pass'd by without speaking of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*, because I was not much in those Parts, and besides the Natives are so ignorant that very little can be learnt of them, but the Desire of Satisfying the curious, oblig'd me to give the best Account I was able of what I found my self, and receiv'd by credible Information, which having done I will return to the great Road.

There is no direct way from *Tomebamba* to the Coast, except that which goes to the Territory of *St. Miguel*, or *St. Michael*, the first Town built by the *Spaniards* in *Peru*; but from *Quito* the Road turns off to *Quaque*, the first *Indian* Dwelling on that Side. Again not far from *Tomebamba*, and in the Territory of *Quito*, there is a Province call'd *Chumbo*, before we come to which there are several other Habitations of *Indians*, all of them clad, and the Women handsome, among whom there are also such Store houses and Apartments as we have already mention'd, and they were subject to the *Ingas*, for

Chumbo, Province.

which

which Reason they us'd the same Language, and had the same Worship, and Manners as those before spoken of, being like them since converted to Christianity. At certain Times they have Meetings of the Prime Men, who there confer together about the publick good, and their own private Affairs. All the Natives of these and other Parts of *Peru* wear a certain Sign, by which they are known wherefoever they go. When I was at *Cuzco*, People resorted thither from several Parts, and by those Signs we knew they were some of them *Chanches*, or others *Cannas*, others *Collas*, others *Guancas*, others *Canares*, others *Chachapoyas*, and so of the rest, which was an ingenious Invention to know one another in Peace, and prevent Mistakes in Time of War, when they were assembled by their Sovereign from several Nations, tho' they were all beardless, countenanc'd alike, spoke the same Language, and differ'd not in Habit. There are now Christian Churches every where, and great Care is taken in instructing the People. *Distinctive Marks.*

From this Province of *Chumbo*, the Way for 14 Leagues is all rugged, and in some Places very Troublesome, till we come to a River, on which there are always Natives with Floats, to carry Passengers along it to the Pass they call of *Guaynacapa*, said to be 12 Leagues from the Island of *Puna*, on the one Side, and on the other there were Native *Indians*, not so well civiliz'd as those we have pass'd because they had not been entirely subdu'd by the *Ingas*.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of some Particulars relating to the Province of Puerto Viejo *and the Equinoctial.*

THE first Sea-Port in the Kingdom of *Peru* is that of *Passao*, at which, and the River of *Santiago* the Government of *Don Francisco Pizarro* commenc'd; for all beyond it Northward, belongs to the Province of *Rio de San* Passao *Port the first in* Peru.

San Juan, or *St. John*'s River; so that *Passao* may be said to lye within the District of the City of *Santiago de Puerto Viejo*, which Country being so close to the Equinoctial, the Natives are not look'd upon as very healthy.

Ancient Cosmographers were much mistaken, when they affirm'd, that the Lands under the Equinoctial were not habitable, by Reason of the excessive Heat. This Equinoctial is well known to be an imaginary Line running round the Globe, from East to West, at equal Distance from both the Poles, and is so call'd, because, when the Sun comes one it, twice a Year, the Days and Nights are of an equal Length. *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and other great Men concluded that the Sun's Rays darted down under it so directly that no Man could possible live there. Others thought some Part of it might be inhabited, following the Opinion of *Ptolomy*, who says, *We are not to believe that the Torrid Zone is altogether inhabitable.* Others again maintain'd it was not only free from excessive Heat, but extraordinary Temperate. This *St. Isidorus* asserts, in the first Book of his Etymologies, where he says, the Terrestial Paradise lies to the Eastward, under the Equinoctial, being a most temperate, and delightful Place. Experience has now taught us, that not only the Part under the Equinoctial, but the whole Torrid-Zone, extending from the Northern to the Southern Tropick is habitable, wealthy and fruitful; because the Days, and Nights are all the Year about of an Equal Length, so that the Coolness of the Night, moderates the Heat of the Day, and the Land is thus continually in a Temper to produce its Fruits. This is what naturally belongs to it, tho' in some Places it differs accidentally. The Tropick of *Cancer*, is 470 Leagues, allowing 26 to a Degree, from the Line, in 23½ of North Latitude, whither the Sun comes on the 11th of *June*, and never passes it; but returns thence towards the Equinoctial, on which it is on the 13th of *September*, proceeding thence to the Tropick of *Capricorn* 470 Leagues to the Southward, that is to 23 Degrees and and half, so that the two Tropicks are 940 Leagues distance from one another, and this Space is what the Ancients call'd the Torrid Zone, that is, a Country scorch'd,

Torrid Zone Temperate.

and

and burning; because the Sun moves over it all the Year.

Puerto Viejo.

To return to the Province of *Puerto Viejo*, the Natives of it are not long liv'd; but whether the *Spaniards* will be so, or no, I know not, by Reason that in my Time the Wars consum'd more than Diseases. The People are of a middle Stature: and their Land extraordinary fruitful, as yielding Abundance of *Indian* Wheat, *Yuca*, *Agi*, Patatoes, and many other Roots of good Sustenance. Besides there is Plenty of Excellent *Guayavas*, of two, or three several Sorts, *Guavas*, *Aguacates*, two Kinds of *Tunas*, the one white, and of a delicious Taste; *Caymitos*, another Fruit they call *Cerezillas*, or little Cherries, *Spanish* and *Indian* Melons; Beans, and Grain; as also Orange, and Lime Trees, Plantans, and in some Parts curious Pine-Apples. The Country swarms with those Swine I said at *Uraba* had their Navels on their Backs, which is only an Excrescency; but no Navel appearing underneath, the *Spaniards* said it was above, and their Flesh is very delicious. Nor is there any want of *Spanish* Swine; the best reliss'd Venison in *Peru*; great Covies of Partridges, and Flights of Pidgeons, Turtle Doves, Pea-Hens, Pheasants, and many other Birds. Among them is one they call *Yuta*, as big as a large Goose, which the *Indians* breed in their Houses, and they are Tame, and good Meat. Another call'd *Maca*, something smaller than a Cock, of most delicate Colours, the Beak thicker than a Man's Finger, equally divided into two sprightly Colours, Red and Yellow. On the Mountains there are some Foxes, Bears, little Lions, Tigers, and Snakes; but they all rather shun Man, than assault him. There are also other Birds of Night, and Prey, both on the Coast, and Inland, and some *Condores*, and those they call *Gallinazas*, and by another Name *Anras*, being stinking Birds. On the Mountains, and in the Brakes there are large Woods, and Groves, of several Sorts of Trees, fit for building, and other Uses. In the Hollow of some of them the Bees breed, and make Excellent Honey. These *Indians* have several Fisheries, where they take much Fish, and among the rest, a Sort call'd *Bonitos*, which are not good, for they occasion Fevers, and other Distempers. The

Product and Animals.

Men

Men along the greatest Part of this Coast are subject to great red Carbuncles, as big as Walnuts, which break out on their Foreheads, Noses, and other Parts, and besides the Uncleanness they cause, are a great Deformity, thought to proceed from eating some Sort of Fish. Whatsoever the Occasion, they belong to that Coast, and some *Spaniards* have had them, as well as the Natives.

Natives. There are two Sorts of People along this Coast, and on the Lands belonging to the Cities of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*; for from Cape *Passaos*, and the River of *Santiago*, as far as the Town of *Zalango*, the Men's Faces are wrought, from the Top of the Ear down to the Chin, as broad as every one pleases, some more, and others less, like the *Moors*. The Women have the same Sort of Work on their Faces, and both they and their Husbands wear Jerkins, and Mantles, or Blankets of Cotton, and some of Woollen. They use some Ornaments of Gold, and Strings of very small red Beads, call'd *Chaquira*, which was once an excellent Commodity to barter; for I have seen a considerable Quantity of Gold given for it. In the Province of *Quimbaya*, where the City *Cartago* stands, certain *Caciques*, or great Men gave the Marshal *Robledo* above the Value of 1500 Pieces of Eight, for less than a Pound of it; but at that Time they would give the Value of 2, or 300 Pieces of Eight for 3, or 4 Bits of Glass made in Imitation of Diamonds. We shall never have Cause to complain of our Bargains with the *Indians*; and I have my self sold an *Indian* a little Axe made of Copper, for its Weight in pure Gold, and the Scales were not very exact. But the Case is alter'd, and they know how to sell what they have, and to buy what they want. The Principal Dwellings of those who carv'd their Faces in this Province are *Passaos*, *Xaramixo*, *Pimpaguace*, *Peclanseneque*, the Vale of *Xauxa*, *Pechonse*, *Monte Christo*, *Apachigue*, *Silos*, *Canilloba*, *Manta*, *Zapil*, *Manavi*, *Xaraguaza*, &c. Their Houses are of Timber, cover'd with Straw, some small, and others bigger, according to the Owners Ability.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

Whether these Indians *were conquer'd by the* Ingas, *and how they slew some of* Topaynga Yupangue's *Commanders.*

MAny affirm, that the *Ingas* did not subdue these *Indians* of *Puerto Viejo*, I now speak of, yet others maintain the Contrary, declaring they had sovereign Power over them. To this purpose they generally tell us, that *Guaynacapa* came in Person to conquer them; and because they refus'd to obey him in some particulars, he made a Law, that they and their Successors shou'd be oblig'd to draw three of their upper, and three of their lower Teeth; which Custom was long practis'd in the Province of the *Guancabilcas*. But I do not wonder the Multitude, who is all confuse Notions, without ever hitting the Truth, should invent such Chimeras, which wise Men will reckon no better than Fables; and I take Notice of here, once for all, that none may give Credit to such idle Reports, concerning the Affairs of *Peru*. For my Part I only deliver those things I did not see my self, as I receiv'd them from Men of Judgment and Sobriety that were Eye Witnesses, which differ much from what the Giddiheaded Multitude give out.

To come to the Point, I have been inform'd by old *Indian* Commanders, who serv'd under *Guaynacapa*, that in the Days of his Father *Topaynga Yupangue*, some of his Commanders, march'd into this Country with the Forces they had drawn out of the standing Garrisons there were in several Provinces of the Kingdom, who by Art and Policy drew these People over to submit to *Topaynga Yupangue*, and many of their Chiefs carrying Presents, went to pay him Homage, in the Province of the *Paltas*, whom he receiv'd with singular Tokens of Affection, and Favour, giving some of them that came curious Pieces of Woollen Cloth, made at *Cuzco*. Being oblig'd to return to the upper Provinces, where he was so well be-

lov'd, that they call'd him Father, and other honourable Titles, for his Goodneſs, which gain'd him perpetual Renown; he ſet out upon affairs of the Government, without being able to viſit the Provinces of theſe *Indians* where he left Governours, and ſome Natives of *Cuzco*, to inſtruct them how they were to live, for the better civilizing of them, and to other good Purpoſes. They were ſo far from imbracing the good Will of thoſe left among them by *Topaynga*, to put them into a Politer Way of living, than they were acquainted with, and ſhew them how to till their Lands; that tho' thoſe Perſons did not oppreſs, or offer them any Wrong whatſoever, they murder'd them all, without ſparing any one throughout all the Province. They tell us that *Topaynga* was inform'd of this Cruel Act, but having his Hands full of greater Matters at that Time, was fain to connive, not being then able to chaſtiſe thoſe, who had ſo baſely murder'd his Commanders, and other Subjects.

Chap. XLVIII.

Of the Manners of theſe Indians, *and other things relating to them.*

SOme time after, the great *Guaynacapa* reigning at *Cuzco*, came down in Perſon to viſit the Provinces of *Quito*, when he fully conquer'd all theſe People; tho' it is reported, they firſt ſlew more of his Men, and Commanders, than they had done of his Father's, and that more deceitfully, as I ſhall ſhew in the next Chapter. It is to be obſerv'd, that all I write, concerning theſe former Actions of the *Indians*, before the coming of the *Spaniards*, I receiv'd from themſelves; who having no uſe of Letters, found out another ingenious Invention to preſerve the Memory of their Actions, which I ſhall ſpeak of in my ſecond Part. Tho' theſe Provinces made *Guaynacapa* Preſents of rich Emerauds, Gold, and ſuch other things as they valu'd moſt, yet there were no Store houſes, or Lodgings

gings built in them, as in others; the Reason whereof was, because the Country was unhealthy, and its Towns small, and therefore the *Orejones* would not reside there, as making small Account of it, since they had Room enough to spread in that they already possess'd. No People in *Peru* were so Superstitious, or offer'd so many Sacrifices as these. Their Priests had Charge of the Temples, and the Service of their Idols, representing their false Gods, before whom at set Hours they sung Hymns, and perform'd such Ceremonies as they had learnt of their Ancestors. The Devil appear'd in dreadful Shapes, to such as were appointed for that Function, whom all the *Indians* highly respected. One of these return'd Answers to their Questions, and frequently to save his Reputation made many extravagant Motions, to perswade the People that the Devil told him strange things, and what was to happen afterwards, which seldom prov'd true, tho' the Devil himself spoke. Yet there has been no Battle, or other Action of Note, among us *Spaniards* in all our distracted Wars, but what the *Indians* every where foretold; yet could never particularize how, or where the thing would fall out; for it is certain that the Devil only guesses at Futurity, and therefore always gives ambiguous Answers, to impose upon the ignorant. They offer'd Gifts, and kill'd Beasts by Way of Sacrifices, in their *Guacas*, which were their Temples, or Places of Worship; and some affirm, they shed the Blood of many *Indians*, as a more acceptable Sacrifice. When they took any of their Neighbours in War, being all assembled together, and made drunk with their Liquor, their Chief Priest kill'd them, with a Knife made of Flint, or Copper, and cutting off their Heads, offer'd them up with the Bodies to the Devil. When any of them were sick, they bath'd often, and offer'd Sacrifices to beg Health. In their Funerals they observ'd the same as has been said of burying living Women, and had such Opinions concerning the Immortality of the Soul, as have been mention'd before.

Superstition.

Chap. XLIX.

How little these Indians *regarded Virginity in the Women they were to Marry, and of their being addicted to Sodomy.*

Barbarous Practices.

ALL the Provinces subject to the *Ingas* worshipping the Sun, it is needless to repeat it in speaking of them particularly, no more than that they own'd a sovereign Creator of all things. The three upper and three lower Teeth we hinted at before to be drawn by them, was done by the Parents, when their Children were very young, and this they were so far from believing to be a Crime, that they rather look'd upon it as a Meritorious Act, and pleasing to their Gods. They contracted Matrimony like their Neighbours, and I have heard it affirm'd, that for the most Part they deflower'd the Maid that was to be Marry'd beforehand, making use of her in common. To this Purpose I remember, that in some Part of the Province of *Cartagena*, when they Marry'd off their Daughters, and were to deliver them to the Bridegrooms, the Mothers would in the Presence of some of their Kindred deprive them of their Maidenheads, with their Fingers. Thus we see it was reputed more honourable to deliver them to their Husbands even thus corrupted, than with their Virginity. I know not whether Custom is the better, they are both so shameful, but in some Parts the Friends, and Relations us'd to take the Pains of easing the Bride of her Virginity and so deliver'd her to the Husband. The Sons of *Caciques* inherit their Command, and for want of them the next Brothers, who also failing the Succession devolves to the Nephews by Sisters. Some of the Women here are handsome. These *Indians* I speak of make the best Bread of *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, that is to be found in the greatest Part of the *West Indies*; so very well wrought, and relish'd, that it exceeds some of *European* Wheat, which is look'd upon as good. In some of these *Indian* Towns they kept Abundance of Men's Skins

Skins ſtuff'd with Aſhes, as hideous to behold, as thoſe above ſpoken of at *Cali*.

Theſe People being Vicious, and of perverſe Inclinations, tho' they had Plenty of Women, and ſome of them Beautiful, yet I have been very well aſſur'd, that they practis'd the horrid Sin of Sodemy publickly without any Shame, and even to glory in, and boaſt of it. Some Years before this, Captain *Pacheco* and Captain *Olmos*, who is now in *Spain*, after informing them how odious, and wicked an Action that was, inflicted ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that were found guilty of it. [*They have been all ſince converted, ſo that at this Time, that Race being worn out, they know nothing of their former ill Cuſtoms, or Superſtitions*] *Sodomy.*

CHAP. L.

How the Indians *of* Manta *formerly Worſhipp'd an Emeraud as their God, and other things relating to them.*

I Have often read that ſome Nations ador'd the likeneſs of a Bull, others that of a Cock, others a Lion, and ſo ſeveral Creatures, which were it not known to be undoubtedly true, would rather ſeem ridiculous than credible. The *Greeks* were for ſome Ages the moſt renowned People in the World, and Learning Flouriſh'd among them to a great Degree, and yet they were guilty of this Folly; the *Egyptions*, *Bactrians*, and *Babylonians* were no leſs famous, or more free from the ſame Deluſion; the *Romans* excell'd them all, and even they had ſhameful and prepoſterous Deities. Now ſince theſe ſo polite, and civiliz'd Nations could Err ſo groſly; what Wonder that theſe *Indians* we ſpeak of, tho' they ador'd the Sun and Moon, ſhould alſo worſhip Trees, the Sea, the Earth, and whatſoever elſe they took a Fancy to. It is true I have been certainly inform'd, that in all theſe Parts they convers'd with the Devil, who deluded them, appearing viſibly *Prepoſterous Worſhips.*

visibly to their Priests. In the great Temple of *Pachacama* they worshipp'd a Fox, and other things in other Places, as I shall have occasion to relate. In this Country the Lord of *Manta* had a very large, and rich Emeraud, left him by his Ancestors as a thing deserving much Honour, and Esteem, and this they some Days expos'd to publick View, where it was worshipp'd, and ador'd, as if it had contain'd some Deity. When any of the *Indians* were sick, after offering their Sacrifices, they went to pray to the Stone; to which they presented other Stones, the Priest, who convers'd with the Devil, perswading them, that they should recover their Health, by means of those offerings, which afterwards the *Cacique*, and that Impostor apply'd to their own Use, very many resorting to *Manta*, from all the Country about, to offer Sacrifices, and Gifts of Value. Some of the first *Spanish* Discoverers of this Kingdom assur'd me, that much Treasure had been found in this Town of *Manta*, and that it still yielded more Profit to the Proprietors, than any other Place about it. They add, that the Natives would never declare where that large, and precious Stone was hid, tho' they had often threatned the Prime Men upon that Account, so great was the Veneration they had for it.

Manta. *Manta* is upon the Coast, as are the other Towns I have spoken of. The Inland up higher is more Populous, and there are greater Towns; the Natives have a different Language from that on the Coast; but their Provisions, and Fruits are the same; their Houses of Timber, small, and cover'd with Straw, or Palm-Tree Leaves; both they and their Wives were clad. They had some of those we call *Peru* Sheep; but not so numerous as at *Quito*, and about *Cuzco*; nor were they so Superstitious as those on the Coast, or so guilty of Sodomy. There has been great Expectation of finding Gold Mines on these Mountains, and no Question is made, that there is a very rich one of Emeraulds, which our Commanders could never prevail with the Natives to discover. It is true, some will have it, that Captain *Olmos* had Information of this Mine, which if he had, I believe he would have reveal'd it to his Brothers, or some other Persons. A very great Number of Emeraulds has been found in the Territory of

of *Puerto Viejo*, and they are the fineſt in the *Weſt Indies*; for tho' there be more in the New Kingdom of *Granada*, yet the beſt of them are inferior to the ordinary ones of this Country.

The *Caraques*, and their Neighbours are another Race of People, did not cut Works on their Faces, and were more Ignorant than the others, as being free. They made War among themſelves, for very trivial Occaſions. As ſoon as an Infant was born, they moulded its Head, and then bound it up between two Boards, ſo that at 4, or 5 Years of Age, it was broad, or long and had no Pole. This was practis'd by many, who not ſatisfy'd with the Natural Shape, form'd the Heads to their own Humour; which they ſaid they did to render them more healthy, and fit for Labour. Some of them, particularly thoſe that are below the Town of *Colima*, to the Northward, went naked, and traded with the *Indians* on the Coaſt that runs towards *St. John*'s River. They tell us, that *Guaynacapa*, after his Commanders had been kill'd, as was ſaid above, came as far as *Colima*, where he order'd a Fort to be built, and ſeeing the *Indians* go naked went no farther; but turn'd back Commanding ſome of his Generals to ſubdue as far as they could, and they then proceeded to the River of *Santiago*. Several *Spaniards* who are ſtill living, of thoſe that came in with the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, report, and I heard it particularly from the Marſhal *Alonſo de Alvarado*, the Captains *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, and *John de Saavedra*, and another Gentleman, whoſe Name is *Suer de Cangas*, that when the *Adelantado Don Pedro* landed on the Coaſt, and came to this Town, they found much Gold, and Silver made up into Veſſels, and other things of Value, and ſo great a Quantity of Emerauds, as would have yielded a vaſt Sum of Money, had they known and kept them; but moſt Men affirming they were Glaſs, tho' ſome believ'd them to be Stones, they carry'd them to try, to an Anvil, where they broke them in Pieces with a Hammer; alledging, that, if they were Glaſs they would ſoon break, and if Stone recover a greater Luſter. Thus for want of Skill, they deſtroy'd many Emerauds; nor did they make any Advanatge of the Gold and Silver; for being

Caraques.

being much distress'd with Hunger, and Cold, they left Burdens of it about the Mountains.

Chap. II.

Concluding the Account of the Indians *about* Puerto Viejo, *and the Foundation of that City.*

As soon as the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and the Marshal *Don Diego de Almagro* had agreed, in the Plains of *Riobamba*, *Alvarado* repairing to receive the 100000 Pieces of Eight he was to have for his Fleet, *Almagro* gave Orders to Captain *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, for setling the Affairs of *Quito*, and apply'd himself to regulate the maritime Towns along the Coast, which he did at *St. Miguel*, and *Chimo*, and then look'd out a convenient Place for founding of the City *Truxillo*, which was afterwards perform'd by the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro*. During this Expedition *Don Diego de Almagro* behav'd himself like a Discreet Commander, and being inform'd at the City of *St. Michael*, that the *Spanish* Ships coming from *Tierra Firme*, *Nicaragua*, and *Guatimala* for the Coast of *Peru*, landed Men, who did much Harm to the *Indians* of *Manta*, and others along the Coast of *Puerto Viejo*, he resolv'd to send an Officer to build a City, in a Proper Place, to prevent these Ravages, and protect the Natives, knowing they were numerous. Accordingly he dispatch'd Captain *Francis Pacheco*, with a necessary Number of Men. He, pursuant to his Orders imbark'd at a Place call'd *Piquaza*, and where he thought most convenient founded the City of *Puerto Viejo*, then call'd a Town, on the 12th of *March*, 1535. Whilst he was busy about his Building and Conquest, *Peter de Puelles* came with some *Spaniards*, from *Quito*, where Captain *Belalcazar* was Lieutenant General under *Pizarro*, to people, and inhabit that same Coast of the South Sea; and there was some bickering between them, till the News being carry'd to *Pizarro*, he sent such Orders as he

he thought moſt proper for his Majeſty's Service, and the Preſervation, and good Government of the *Indians*. Thus Captain *Pacheco* having ſpent almoſt two Years in ſubduing, and traverſing thoſe Provinces, when Captain *Peter de Puelles* was return'd to *Quito*, founded his City, call'd *Puerto Viejo*, and ſeated in the moſt convenient Part of all that Diſtinct, not far from the South Sea.

In moſt Parts of this Territory of *Puerto Viejo*, when they were to bury their dead, they dug very deep Pits, more like Wells than Graves, which being cleans'd from the Earth, when they were to inter the Corps, Abundance of People met, who all Danc'd, Sung, and Wept, at the ſame time, not forgetting to drink, beating their Drums, and playing upon other Sorts of Muſick, that were rather dreadful than pleaſant; all which Ceremonies, and others they learnt of their Fore-Fathers, being perform'd, they laid the Body into thoſe deep Graves, and with it, if he was a *Cacique*, or prime Man, two or three of his beſt belov'd Wives, his Treaſure, Meat, and Liquor, as has been ſaid of others. This done they plac'd one of thoſe large Canes I have mention'd there are in thoſe Parts, over his Grave, which being hollow, they took care from Time to Time, to pour into it ſome of their Liquor they call *Azua*, made of *Indian* Wheat, or other Roots; the Devil having perſwaded them, that the Dead Perſons drank the Liquor they thus put into the Cane. The Cuſtom of burying Arms, Treaſure, and Proviſions with the Dead, as has been ſpoken of, was us'd throughout moſt of theſe Parts that have been diſcover'd; and many Provinces added Women, and Boys alive.

Graves.

Azua Liquor.

Chap. LII.

Of the Wells there are at the Cape of Santa Elena; *what thoſe People tell us of the coming thither of the Giants, and of the Source of Natural Bitumen there.*

HAving ſpoken of all the Ports from *Panama*, to the moſt Southern Part of *Chile*, at the Beginning of this Work, it will be needleſs to repeat them in this Place. I have alſo mention'd the Principal Towns in this Province, and will therefore now give the beſt Account I could get of the Giants much ſpoken of in *Peru*, and ſaid to have landed at Cape *Santa Elena*, in the Territory of *Puerto Viejo*. The Natives inform us, they receiv'd a Tradition from their Parents, which had been of very ancient ſtanding, that there came thither by Sea, on Floats made of Ruſhes, like great Boats, a Parcel of ſuch Monſtrous great Men, that one of a good common Stature did not reach above their Knees. That all their Limbs being proportionable to the Bulk of their Bodies, it was amazing to ſee what vaſt Heads they had, with their Hair hanging down on their Backs. Their Eyes they compare to Saucers, and ſay they had no Beards, but were ſome of them cloath'd in Skins of Beaſts, others in ſuch Garments as Nature provided them, and that they brought no Women. Theſe Men having ſettled on this Point of Land, building a ſort of Town, whereof there are ſtill ſome Remains to be ſeen, and finding no Water, to ſupply this Want, dug Wells of a prodigious Depth, in the ſolid Rock, till they came to the Water, and afterwards from it upwards lin'd them with Stone, ſo that they will laſt many Ages. The Water in them is very good and well taſted, and ſo cool that it is a Pleaſure to drink it. When they had thus ſettled their Habitations, and dug their Wells, they devour'd, and deſtroy'd all the Proviſions they could find in the Country round about; for they ſay, that one of them would eat more than

Giants.

than was requiſite to maintain 50 of the Natives; and what they found aſhore not ſufficing them, they caught Abundance of Fiſh in the Sea. They liv'd much hated by the Natives; becauſe they kill'd their Women endeavouring to make Uſe of them, and the Men for other Reaſons. The *Indians* were not able to deſtroy thoſe New Intruders, who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of their Lands; tho' they had ſeveral Meetings to that Effect, yet never durſt attempt it. Some Years after, theſe Giants ſtill continuing there, and wanting Women, becauſe the Natives were not fit for them, by Reaſon of their vaſt Bulk, or becauſe they were naturally addicted to it, they gave themſelves over to the abominable Sin of Sodomy, and all the *Indians* affirm, they receiv'd a Puniſhment ſuitable to their Crime, a dreadful Fire falling from Heaven, whilſt they were committing the Sin, with a hideous Noiſe; out of the midſt whereof came a bright Angel, with a Sharp, and glittering Sword, wherewith, at one Stroke, he ſlew them all, and they were conſum'd by the Fire; ſo that nothing of them remain'd but ſome Bones; and the Skulls, which eſcap'd the Conflagration, as a Memorial of the Judgment.

This is the Account they give of the Giants, which we are apt to believe, becauſe there have been mighty Bones found in the Place they ſpeak of. I have heard *Spaniards* declare, they have ſeen a Piece of a Tooth, which if whole would have weigh'd a Pound; and that they had ſeen a Piece of a Shin Bone of an incredible Magnitude. This is ſome Proof of what they tell us, beſides the Remains of their Habitations, and the Wells they dug. I cannot pretend to give any Account, whence theſe Monſters ſhould come. Being this very Year 1550 in the City of *Lima*, I was told, that when *Don Antonio de Mendoza* was Viceroy of *New Spain*, ſome Men's Bones were there found, as big, if not larger than thoſe of the Giants I ſpeak of. Beſides I have heard that the Bones of Giants had been found before in a very ancient Tomb, in the City of *Mexico*, or ſome other Part of that Kingdom; which having been ſeen by ſo many, we may reaſonably believe, that there were ſuch Giants, and perhaps the ſame might be in both Places.

Monſtrous Bones.

Natural Bitumen.

At this same Point of *Santa Elena* is to be seen another very remarkable thing, being certain Springs of Natural Liquid Bitumen, so good that they might use it about Ships instead of Tar, and it runs out hot, which I have not seen in any other Part of the *West Indies* I have travell'd through; but I believe *Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo*, in the first Part of his Natural and General History of the *West Indies*, gives an Account of this and other such Sources.

CHAP. LIII.

Of the Founding of the City Guayaquil, *and how the Natives slew some of* Guaynacapa's *Commanders.*

Guancavilcas.

FArther on to the Eastward stands the City of *Guayaquil*, and within its Territory the *Indians* are *Guancavilcas*, such as I said before draw six of their Teeth, either to comply with some ancient Custom, or in Honour of their false Gods; and having already mention'd their Habit, and Customs it would be superfluous to repeat them. I have before declar'd how the Commanders sent by *Topaynga Yupangue* to reduce the Coast by fair Means, were all treacherously slain by those People. No Care was taken at that Time to revenge that unjust Slaughter; because the *Inga* himself was at *Cuzco*, and his Governors had enough to do to secure the Borders of their Provinces. Afterwards *Guaynacapa* succeeding in the Throne, and proving as brave a Commander as his Father had been, and even more discreet, and ambitious of Rule; he set out with great Speed from *Cuzco*, attended by the Prime *Orejones*, of the two most celebrated Families in that City, who were call'd *Hanancuzcos*, and *Orencuzcos*. After visiting the famous Temple of *Pachacama*, and the Garrisons residing by his Order in the Province of *Xauxa*, and that of *Caxamalca*, and other Places, both on the Mountains, and fruitful Plains, he turn'd away to the Coast, where

where a Fort had been built by his Order at *Tumbez*, tho' some *Indians* say, that was an ancienter Structure. The Inhabitants of the Island *Puna* being at Variance with the People of *Tumbez*, the *Inga*'s Commanders found no Difficulty in building of the Fort, which might perhaps have prov'd a troublesome Task, had it not been for those little Wars and Divisions. The Fort being almost finish'd, *Guaynacapa* came, and order'd the Temple of the Sun to be built close by it, and above 200 Virgins to be plac'd in it, being the Beautifullest Daughters of the Prime Men in the Country about. In this Fort, which before it fell to Ruin, is said to have been very Magnificent, *Guaynacapa* left his Governour, with a Number of *Mitimaes*, and great Stores of valuable Goods, besides Abundance of Provisions, for the Subsistance of those who resided in it, and the Troops that should happen to march that Way. They add, that they brought him a Lion, and a very fierce Tiger, which he order'd to be kept, and perhaps were the same that Captain *Peter de Candia* was expos'd to, when *Don Francisco Pizarro*, with his 13 Companions, that discover'd *Peru*, came first into this Country. In this same Fort of *Tumbez*, there was a good Number of Gold Smiths, who made Vessels of Gold, and Silver, and other Jewels; both for the Service of the Temple, which they look'd upon as sacred, and for the *Inga*, as also to beat out Plates of the same Metal, to cover the Walls of Temples and Palaces. The Women dedicated to the Service of the Temple, had nothing to do, but to Spin and Weave fine woollen Cloth, which they did to a great Perfection.

As soon as *Guaynacapa* had taken Possession of the Provinde of the *Guancavilcas*, that of *Tumbez*, and all about it, he sent Orders to *Tumbala*, the *Cacique*, or Lord of the Island of *Puna*, to come over, and do him Homage, and then to pay him Tribute in such things as his Island afforded. The Lord of *Puna* was much troubled at this Message of the *Inga*'s, because he being a Sovereign by Descent, look'd upon it as an insupportable Burden, to part with his Liberty, a thing so highly valu'd by all Nations, and to admit of a Stranger to be supreme Lord of his Island, knowing they were not only to serve him with

Puna *Island submits to the* Ingas.

with their Persons, but to suffer strong Holds to be built, and to maintain them at their own Cost; besides giving him the most beautiful of his Women, which he resented above all the Rest. Having consulted the Matter, and considering how unable they were to withstand the Power of the *Inga*; they concluded, that the best Advice was to embrace his Friendship, tho' it were but counterfeit. Hereupon *Tumbala* sent Messengers of his own to *Guaynacapa*, with Presents, and extraordinary Offers, inviting him to come over to his Island, to divert himself for some Days. This being pass'd, and *Guaynacapa* satisfy'd with their submissive Offers, *Tumbala*, and his Prime Men offer'd Sacrifices to their Gods, asking their Southsayers, what they should do to avoid being subject to him that aspir'd to Universal Monarchy. It is also generally reported, that they sent Messengers to several Parts of the adjacent Continent, to sound the Disposition of the Natives; endeavouring to incense them against *Guaynacapa*, that they might rise up in Arms, and shake off his Yoke. This was carry'd on with such Secrecy, and Dissimulation, that few, except those concern'd knew any thing of it. In the mean while *Guaynaçapa* came into the Island of *Puna*, where he was honourably receiv'd, and lodg'd in the Royal Apartment provided for him, in a short Time, where the *Orejones* met with the Natives, all of them expressing a plain, and unfeigned Friendship. Many of the People of the Contient being desirous to live as their Forefathers had done, and a forreign Yoke being always thought heavy, they were easily induc'd to conspire with the Islanders of *Puna*, for cutting off all those who came into their Country with the *Inga*.

Natives of it murder the Orejones of Peru.

They tell us, that at this Time *Guaynacapa*, order'd some of his Commanders, with a Number of Men to go visit several Towns on the Continent, and dispose Affairs for his Service. The Islanders were commanded to carry them over in Floats, and up a River, to land in a Convenient Place. *Guaynacapa* having given these Orders, return'd to *Tumbez*, or to some other Part near it. When he was gone, the *Orejones*, Noble Youths of *Cuzco*, went into the great Floats provided for them, with their Officers, and when they least thought of it, the Islanders treacherously

treacherously let slip the Ropes, that bound together the Timbers the Floats were made up of, so that the poor *Orejones* dropt into the Water, where they cruelly kill'd them, with the Weapons they carry'd conceal'd for that Purpose. Thus all the *Orejones* were either knock'd on the Head, or drowned, nothing but some of their Mantles, and other Ornaments remaining on the Floats. The Islanders rejoic'd much at this Exploit, haling one another from their Floats, and concluding they had now absolutely ruin'd the *Inga*; but found themselves much deceiv'd, as they themselves inform us. The *Orejones* that went aboard the Floats being thus destroy'd, the Slayers made hast back to take in more of them, who knowing nothing of what had happen'd, imbark'd in greater Numbers, with their Baggage, Arms, and Ornaments, and were all of them slaughter'd as the others had been, so that not one escap'd; for if any of them could swim, or dive, the others, who were more Skilful at both soon overtook, and dash'd out their Brains. The *Orejones* being all kill'd, the Islanders, with their Accomplices return'd to their Island. This News being brought to *Guaynacapa*, he was much concern'd, and offended, considering, that so many of his best Men should be unbury'd; for in most Parts of the *West Indies* they take more Care to adorn the Grave they are to be laid in, than the House they live in. He immediately gather'd the Remainder of his Forces, and was so intent upon punishing those Barbarians, that tho' they endeavour'd to oppose him, they could do nothing, nor so much as hope for Pardon; because the Offence was so heinous, that it admitted of no Mercy. Thus many thousands of *Indians* were put to several Sorts of Deaths, and some of the Heads, that had been advising were impal'd, and drowned. Having perform'd this Bloody Execution, *Guaynacapa* order'd that the wicked Action committed there should be always remember'd in their Dismal, and Melancholy Songs; which they do in their Language after the Manner of Dirges. Then he contriv'd to make a Causway over the River of *Guayaquil*, which is very wide, and the Work, by some Remains of it appears to have been Magnificent, but was never brought to Perfection, however

Punishment of them.

however it is call'd *Guaynacapa*'s Way. When all things were again settled to his Mind, and the People commanded to obey the Governour in the Fort of *Tumbez*, the *Inga* departed that Country. There are other Towns and Liberties within the Territory of the City of *Guayaquil*, whereof nothing needs be said, but that their Soil, Customs, and Habits is the same as the others.

CHAP. LIV.

Of the Island of Puna, *and of that of* la Plata, *and of the wonderful Root call'd* Zarzaparilla, *of extraordinary use in Physick.*

Puna *Island described.*

THE Island *Puna* lying near the Port of *Tumbez*, is about 10 Leagues in Compass, formerly very famous, on Account that the Natives of it were great Traders, their rich Island affording all things necessary for the Support of Man; besides that among their Neighbours they had the Reputation of being brave, having maintain'd bloody Wars with the People of *Tumbez*, and other adjacent Nations, killing, and robbing one another upon very trivial Occasions. The Great *Topaynga* sent to desire their Friendship, and Alliance, but they rejected him, and were never subdu'd till *Guaynacapa*, as was said above; tho' others affirm they had been before conquer'd by the *Inga Yupangue*, and rebell'd. The Natives are of a middle Stature, swarthy, Men and Women went clad, wore great Strings of *Chaquira*, or small Beads, and several Ornaments of Gold.

Product and Customs.

The Island has many Woods, and Groves, and abounds in Fruit, *Maiz*, *Yuca*, and other pleasant Roots, as also several Sorts of Birds, as Parots, *Guacamayas*, &c. and Beasts, as curious colour'd Apes, Monkeys, Foxes, Lions, Snakes, and other Creatures. The *Caciques* that dye are much Lamented, and bury'd as has been said of others, the Women that are not put into the Grave with them

cutting

cutting off their Hair. They were Vicious, and given to Superſtions, like their Neighbours, had their Temples in dark, and hidden Places, with hideous Figures carv'd on the Walls, where they Sacrific'd Birds, and Beaſts, and ſome *Indians* taken in War.

In another ſmall adjacent Iſland, now call'd *de la Plata*, or of Plate, they had formerly a *Guaca*, or Temple dedicated to their Gods, and about it much Gold, Silver, Woollen Cloth, and other things of Value, which had been preſented at ſeveral Times. Some of theſe People are alſo ſaid to have been guilty of Sodomy, but are now converted. La Plata Iſland.

Here and in the Territory of the City *Guayaquil* is Abundance of the Plant call'd *Sarzaparilla*, becauſe it grows like a Brier, call'd in *Spaniſh Zarza*, and ſhoots out ſmall Leaves at the Buds, and other Parts of the Branches. The Roots of it are good againſt ſeveral Diſtempers, and particularly for the Pox, and the Pains caus'd by it. They put the Patient into a cloſe warm Room, that the Air, or Cold may not hurt him, where he is only purg'd, dicted, and confin'd to drink of the Water this Root is boil'd in, which Water is clear, not ill taſted, and has no Scent, and thus without any further Trouble all the Infection is Expell'd, ſo that the ſick Perſon becomes ſounder than he was before, and without any of thoſe uneaſy Remains commonly left by other Medicins. Thus extraordinary Cures have been ſeveral Times perform'd in this Town of *Guayaquil*, and many who had their very Bowels tainted, and their Bodies corrupted, have been reſtor'd to perfect Health, and a freſher Collour than they had before, by only drinking the Water of theſe Roots, as were others quite over-run with the Pox, ſo that their very Breaths ſtunk. The ſame Effect it has wrought on ſome that were ſwollen, and others that had Sores. I am of Opinion it is one of the moſt valuable Plants, or Roots in the World, as frequent Experience has ſhown. This *Zarzaparilla* grows in ſeveral Parts of the *Weſt Indies*, but there is none ſo good as that of the Iſland *Puna*, and the Territory of *Guayaquil*. Sarzaparilla.

Chap. LV.

Of the founding of the City Santiago de Guayaquil, *of the* Indians *Subject to it, and other Particulars within its Liberties.*

Captain *Sebastian de Belalcazar* being fully impower'd by *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and understanding that the Provinces of *Guayaquil* were well peopled, resolv'd to build a City in that Territory, and accordingly set out from the City of *St. Miguel*, where he was then raising Men to return to the Conquest of *Quito*. As soon as he enter'd the Province, he endeavour'd to perswade the Natives to live peaceably with the *Spaniards*, and submit to the King; and the *Indians* knowing that the *Spaniards*, had already settled at *St. Miguel*, *Puerto Viejo* and *Quito*, many of them came out in Friendly Manner, and seem'd to rejoice at their coming; whereupon Captain *Belalcazar* founded the City, where he thought convenient, and continu'd there some few Days, being oblig'd to return to *Quito*, and leaving one *James Daza* Governour in the Place. He had not been long gone, before the *Indians*, growing weary of the Importunity of the *Spaniards*, who were continually craving of Gold, and Silver, and handsome Women, and divided among themselves, conspir'd together to cut them all off; which they accordingly put in Execution, falling upon them, when they least suspected any such Design, and killing all but 5, or 6 that made their Escape, with their Commander *James Daza*. They with much Difficulty, and Danger made their Way to the City *Quito*; whence Captain *Belalcazar* was then gone to discover the Country to the Northward, leaving one *John Diaz Hidalgo*, to Command in his Stead. This Account being brought to *Quito*, some *Spaniards* return'd with *James Daza*, and Captain *Tapia*, who thought fit to be assisting in that Enterprize. At their Return, they had some Encounters with the *Indians*; who had encourag'd one another, protesting they would dye, in Defence of

Slaughter of Spaniards.

of their Liberties, and Poſſeſſions, ſo that, tho' the *Spaniards* endeavour'd to appeaſe them, by fair Means, they could not prevail, by Reaſon of the great Hatred, and Averſion they had conceiv'd againſt them. In fine they ſlew ſome *Spaniards* and Horſes, and the reſt were oblig'd to return to *Quito*.

The Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro* underſtanding what had happen'd, ſent Captain *Zaera* to build this Town. Whilſt he was buſy making a Diſtribution of the Lands and Natives, among the *Spaniards* that came with him, the Governour ſent to recall him, in haſt, to March with all his Men to relieve the City of *Lima*, which the *Indians* had block'd up on ſeveral Sides. Thus the New City was again abandon'd. Some Time after the ſame *Don Franciſco Pizarro* ſent Captain *Francis de Orillana* into this Province, with a greater Number of Men, and Horſes, who founded the City of *Santiago de Guayaquil*, in the moſt convenient Part of the Province, and in the Year 1537. Many of the *Guancabilca Indians* are Subject to this City, as are thoſe of *Taquat*, *Colonche*, *Chinduy*, *Chongon*, *Daube*, *Chonana*, and many more, too inconſiderable to be mention'd. They are all ſeated in Lands producing Plenty of Proviſions, and all Sorts of Fruit mention'd in other Places; and in the hollow Trees they find much excellent Honey. There are great open Plains in the Territory of this City, and ſome Woods, Groves, and Thickets, with Rivers of good Water coming down from the Mountains.

Santiago City founded.

The *Indians* wear little Jerkins, and *Maures*, or Aprons to cover their Privities, and on the Head Coronets of very ſmall Beads, which they call *Chaquira*, ſome are of Silver, and others of Tigers, or Lions Skins. The Women's Habit is a Cloth, or Blanket wrapp'd about them, from the Waſte downwards, and another up to their Shoulders, and their Hair long. Some of the *Caciques* or prime Men ſtick Gold Points in their Teeth. It is ſaid of them, that when they ſow'd, they offer'd human Blood, and the Hearts of Men in Sacrifice to their Gods, and that there were in every Town old *Indians* appointed to converſe with the Devil. When the great Men were ſick they had other Superſtious Sacrifices to appeaſe their Gods.

and beg Health of them, killing Men, as I have been inform'd. For this Purpose they had Drums, and little Bells, and Idols, some of them in the Shape of Lions, and others of Tigers. Their Burials were the same as in other Parts; the Weapons they us'd long Staves, and Clubs, which we call *Mazanas*. Most of these People are consum'd, the rest become Christians, and having said enough of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*, I will now return to the Place where I left off, on the great Road made by the *Ingas*.

CHAP. LVI.

Of the Indians *between* Tomebamba, *and the City of* Loxa, *and of the founding of that City.*

PRoceeding from *Tomebamba* on the great Road towards the City of *Cuzco*, the way is acrosſ all the Province *de los Cannares*, as far as *Canaribamba*, and another Store houſe beyond it. On both Sides there are Towns belonging to this ſame Province, and a Mountain to the Eaſtward, the Deſcent whereof is inhabited, and runs towards the River of the *Amazons*. When out of this Province of the *Canares*, we come to that of the *Paltas*, where there are Store houſes, at this Time call'd *de las Piedras*, or of the Stones; becauſe many very curious ones were found there, ſent by the *Ingas*, during their Government, to their Stewards, or Commanders, thinking this Province of the *Paltas* of great Conſequence, and therefore they erected theſe *Tambos*, ſo they call theſe Apartments, and Store houſes, which were large and beautiful, and built very Maſterly, being all of Maſonry, and ſeated near the Riſe of the River of *Tumbez*, and near them ſeveral common Store houſes, where they laid up the Tribute the Natives were oblig'd to pay.

Paltas *Province.*

To the Weſtward of theſe Apartments lies the City of *Puerto Viejo*, and to the Eaſtward is the Province of the *Bracamoros*, which extends far, and has many Rivers, ſome of

Bracamoros *Province.*

of them very large, as also several Mountains, some of them very dreadful. The *Indians* there went Naked, were never subdu'd by the *Ingas*, and therefore more Savage, and Brutal than all those of *Peru*; being very like those of *Popayan*, and warlike; for the very *Orejones* of *Cuzco* confess that *Guaynacupa* fled from their Fury. Being but little acquainted with that Province, I will not pretend to give an Account of it.

From the Province of the *Cannares* to the City of *Loxa*, otherwise call'd *la Zarza*, they reckon 17 Leagues, the Way all Craggy, and in some Places deep, The Territory of the *Paltas* lying between them, as has been said. At a small Distance from the *Tambo*, or Apartments of *las Piedras*, begins a Mountain, not very large, but extraordinary cold, which holds somewhat above ten Leagues, and at the End of it is another of these Structures, call'd *Tambo blanco*, that is the White *Tambo*, or Apartment. Thence the Road runs to the River *Catamayo*, near to which, on the right hand stands the City *Loxa*, founded by Captain *Alonso de Mercadillo*, in the Year 1546. On both Sides of it there are Numerous Habitations of *Indians*, in all Respects like those already describ'd, wearing their *Llantos*, or Ligatures about their Heads to be distinguish'd by. Most of the Natives subject to this City of *Loxa* were formerly subdu'd by the *Ingas*. The Climate here is good, and wholesome, more temperate in the Vales, and along the Banks of Rivers, than on the Mountains; yet what is Inhabited there, is good Land, rather cold than hot; but the Deserts, and snowy Tops are so in excess. There are Abundance of *Guanacos*, and *Vicunnas*, like their Sheep, as also of Partridges, some less than Hens, and others bigger than Turtle Doves. In the Vales, and Plains along the Rivers there are several Groves, and Woods of the Country Fruit-Trees; besides which the *Spaniards* have planted Vines, Fig, Orange, and other *Spanish* Trees. About the City of *Loxa* there are great Herds of *Spanish* Swine, and Flocks of Goats, and other Cattle; because there is good Pasture, and Plenty of Water of several Rivers falling from the Mountains, which is very thin. Gold and Silver Mines have been discover'd in this Territory, and the *Indians* being

Loxa *City.*

being now secur'd in their Property, breed Abundance of *Spanish* Hens, Capons, Pidgeons, and whatsoever comes in their Way. All Grain thrives well about the City. The Natives are some of a Middle Size, and others bigger, all Cloath'd in Jerkins, and Mantles, both Men, and Women. The Situation of the City is the most convenient for the Province, the *Indians* of it at first belong'd to the Cities of *Quito*, and *St. Miguel*, but this was founded in regard that the *Spaniards* travelling along the great Road to *Quito* and other Parts, went in Danger of the *Indians* of *Carrochamba*.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the Provinces between Tamboblanco, *and the City of* St. Michael, *and of the Natives.*

BEfore I come down to the Plain, I must observe, that this same Mountain Way we are on leads to the Provinces of *Calva*, and *Ayavaca*, to the Eastward whereof is the Country of the *Bracamoros*, and the Mountains *Andes*, and to the Westward the City of *St. Michael*, which I am to speak of next. In the Province of *Caxas* there were great Store houses and Apartments, built by the *Ingas*, with a Governour, and Number of *Mitimaes*, to gather in the Tribute. From *Caxas* they go to *Guancabamba*, where there were greater Structures than at *Calva*; for there the *Ingas* had a stately Fort, which I saw, but is now gone to Ruin, as well as the rest. Here was also a Temple of the Sun, with Virgins appointed for its Service, who were much respected, as well as the Priests, and to it all the Country about repair'd to worship and offer Gifts. The Neighbouring *Caciques* brought in their Tribute hither, and went to *Cuzco*, when they were commanded. Beyond *Guancabamba* there are other Apartments, and *Indian* Dwellings, some of them subject to the City of *Loxa*, and the rest to that of *St. Michael*. These *Indians* inform us, they had formerly Wars among themselves, and went naked, till conquer'd, and

Guancabamba Indians.

and civiliz'd by the *Ingas*, to a greater Degree than ſome of our People pretend; and accordingly they built their Towns regularly, after another manner than they us'd before. They ſince wore Woollen Cloth, which is fine, and good, and did not eat Man's Fleſh; but rather look'd upon it as a Crime, and hated ſuch as did. Neither were they guilty of Sodomy, tho' ſo near to *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*; for they told me, they deſpis'd any Man that did it, if any ſuch happened to be found. They affirm, that before the *Inga Yupangue*, and his Son *Topaynga*, the Father of *Guaynacapa*, and Grandfather to *Atabalipa* could ſubdue them, they made ſuch a reſolute Defence that many thouſands of them, and no ſmall Number of the *Orejones* were kill'd; however they were ſo much ſtreightned at laſt, that ſome of their Commanders did Homage to thoſe Monarchs, in the Name of all the Nation. The Men are well countenanc'd, and ſwarthy, both they and their Wives clad as they were commanded by the *Ingas* their Ancient Sovereigns. In ſome Parts they wear their Hair extraordinary long, in others ſhort, and in ſome breaded very ſmall. If any Beard happens to grow out, they pull it up by the Roots, and I never ſaw an *Indian* that had any. They all ſpeak the Language of *Cuzco*, beſides their own, as I have ſaid of others. Here were formerly great Flocks of the *Peru* Sheep, which have been much leſſen'd by the *Spaniards*. They make Cloth of their Wool, and of that of the *Vicunnas*, which is better, and finer, as alſo of the *Guanacos*, that live on the deſert Tops of the Mountains. Such as cannot reach to this Wool wear Cotton. There are ſeveral Rivers, ſmall Brooks, and Springs in the Vales, and inhabited Plains, the Water whereof is good, and well taſted; as alſo great Breeds of Cattel, and ſuch Roots, and other Proviſions as have been already mention'd. All the ancient *Guacas*, or Temples have been thrown down, and Prieſts appointed every where to inſtruct the Natives.

Their Habit.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Continuation of the same Subject.

THE City of *St. Michael* was the first founded in this Kingdom, by the Marquiss *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and where the first Christian Church was erected. To describe the Plains, beginning at the Vale of *Tumbez*, it is to be observ'd that a River runs across it, whose Source, as was said, is in the Province of the *Paltas*, and runs down to the South Sea. All this Country about the Vale of *Tumbez* is very dry, and barren, tho' it sometimes rains there, which reaches almost as far as the City of *St. Michael*, all along in the Parts next the Mountains, for near the Sea it never rains. Formerly this Vale of *Tumbez* was very populous, and well cultivated, full of pleasant refreshing Trenches, drawn from the River, wherewith they Water'd as far as they thought fit, and brought up much *Indian* Wheat, excellent Fruit, and other things necessary for the Support of human Life. The Ancient *Caciques* before they had been subdu'd by the *Ingas* were much more honour'd by their Subjects, than any of those we have hitherto spoken of, and much Ceremony was us'd in serving them. They wore Mantles, and Jerkins, and Ornaments on their Heads, being like a Coronet made of Wool, and sometimes of Gold, or Silver, or of those small Beads they call *Chaquira*. They were very superstitious and adicted to sacrificing; and are more dainty, and vicious than those that live on the Mountains; yet laborious in Husbandry and will carry heavy Burdens. They till their Grounds very curiously, and in good Order, and are very regular in watering them; so that they produce Variety of Fruit, and pleasant Roots, and *Indian* Wheat twice a Year; whereof and of Kidney Beans, they have a mighty Increase, when they sow; and they gather Cotton enough about the Vale, to make Cloth of. Besides these People have considerable Fisheries, which turn to great Account

Vale of Tumbez.

Account; for these and their Trade on the Mountains has always Enrich'd them.

From this Vale of *Tumbez* there are two Days Journey to that of *Solana*, formerly very populous, and had *Tambos*, or Apartments, and Store houses. The great Road, made by the *Ingas* passes through these Vales, amidst Rows of Trees, and other pleasing Refreshments. From *Solana* the way goes on to *Pocheos*, which is on the River of the same Name, tho' some call it *Mayavilca*, from a Lord, or *Cacique* of that Name at the End of the Vale. This Place was formerly extraordinary populous, as appears by the many, and large Structures, which tho' decay'd, still testify what they were, and how much Account the *Ingas* made of the Country, where they had Royal Palaces, and Magazines; yet all so entirely ruin'd, that nothing now remains but the mighty Graves of the Dead, who whilst living cultivated all those Fields. Two Days Journey, from *Pocheos* is the spacious, and large Vale of *Piura*, where two, or three Rivers meeting are the Occasion of its great Breadth, and in it stands the City of *St. Michael*, which tho' little regarded at Present, because the Proprietors have but inconsiderable Lands assign'd them, deserves to be honour'd, and exempted, for its being the first Settlement the *Spaniards* made, before they took the mighty *Inga Atabalipa*. It was first founded in the Place they call *Tangaraca*, whence it was remov'd on Account of its being unhealthy, and the *Spaniards* sickning. It is now seated between two pleasant and well Wooded Vales, nearer one Vale than the other, on a craggy, and dry Ground, whither they cannot carry the Water in Trenches, as they do to all other Places in the Plains, tho' they have attempted it. Those who have liv'd there say, it is somewhat unhealthy, and particularly bad for the Eyes, which I believe is occasion'd by the Winds, and much Dust in Summer, and the extraordinary Damps in the Winter. They positively affirm it never rain'd formerly in this Territory, but only some Dews fell, and yet of late Years there are very heavy Showers of Rain. The Vale is like that of *Tumbez*, having many Vines, Fig, and other *Spanish* Trees. This City of *St. Michael* was founded

Solana *Vale.*

St. Michael *City.*

by *Don Francisco Pizarro*, Governour of *Peru*, then call'd *New Castile*, in the Year 1541.

Chap. LIX.

Of the Difference of the Seasons in Peru, *and that it never rains throughout all the Plains along the South Sea.*

THE Summer commences on the Mountains about *April*, and lasts all *May*, *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, and about *October* begins the Winter, which holds *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, so that it differs little, or nothing as to the Seasons from *Spain*, the Fields being all parch'd up at the proper Time. The Days, and Nights are much of a Length; but about *November* they grow longer, for what little Difference there is. Now on the Plains next the South Sea it is just contrary, for when it is Summer on the Mountains, it is Winter below, the Summer coming on in *October*, which lasts till *April*, and then Winter succeeds. This extraordinary Difference is very well worth Observation, as being very strange within the same Region, and Kingdom. And it is yet more remarkable, that they may in some Places set out in the Morning from the rainy Country, and be in another before Night, where it was never known to rain. For in the Plains nothing falls but only such a small Dew, that in many Places it scarce lays the Dust, for which Reason the Natives Water all their Land, tilling no more than they can bring the Water to, all the rest being so barren, that no Grass will grow on it, for it wholly consists of Sand, and dry Stones, producing nothing but Trees, that bear few Leaves, and no Fruit. There are also Abundance of Thistles, and Brambles, and in some Parts not that neither, but only Sand.

Difference of Weather in a small Distance.

That

That they call the Winter in the Plains, has the Name only from very thick Fogs, which look all as if they would immediately turn to Rain, and yet scarce leave Moisture enough behind them to lay the Dust, as has been said. It is very strange, that tho' the Sky is so thick clouded during those six Months, there should no more Wet fall, but those Dews, and yet for several Days the Sun shall not appear through those Clouds. The Mountain being so very high, and the Plains, and Coast so low, that seems to attract all the Clouds from the inferior Grounds; so that naturally it rains very much on the Hills, and at the same Time the Heat is great in the Plains, without any Wet. So on the Contrary the Dews, I have spoken of, fall when the Mountain is clear, and free from Rain. *Winter in the Plains.*

Another remarkable thing is, that one Wind, which is the South reigns continually along this Coast; which, tho' in other Parts it be damp, and cause Rain, does not so here, but runs along the Coast incessantly as far as *Tumbez*, unless it meets with another to oppose it. From that Place onward, there being other Winds, and a New Face of the Heavens, the Gusts drive and let fall heavy Showers. No natural Reason can be assign'd for this, but we see that from four Degrees of South Latitude, till beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* this Country is barren of it self. *South wind prevails.*

Here is still one thing more worth taking Notice of, *viz.* that under the Line here, some Parts are hot, and moist, and others cold and moist, but this we speak of is hot and dry, and as soon as out of it any way, we meet with Rain. This is what I have observ'd, and found by Experience; those who can discover any natural Reasons are left to declare them, it being sufficient for me to deliver the Matter of Fact, as I have seen, and known it.

U 2 CHAP.

CHAP. LX.

Of the Road the Ingas *caus'd to be made along these Plains, on which there were Lodgings, and Magazines, as well as on that along the Mountains, and why these* Indians *are call'd* Yungas.

BEfore I return to the Mountain Way, I muſt give an Account of that the *Ingas* made along the Plain, which tho' now broken, and ruin'd in ſeveral Places, ſtill ſhows what it once was, and teſtifies the Power of thoſe who caus'd it to be made. *Guaymacapa*, and his Father *Topaynga Yupangue* were the firſt, as the *Indians* inform us, that took a Progreſs all along the Coaſt, viſiting the Vales, and Provinces of the *Yungas*; tho' others tell us, that the *Inga Yupangue*, Father to *Topaynga*, and Grandfather to *Guaynacapa*, had done it before. Along this Coaſt, and Vales, the *Caciques* and prime Men, by his Order made a Road 15 Foot wide, with ſtrong Walls on both Sides above the Height of a Man. All the way was very clean, and ſhaded with Trees, whoſe Boughs in many Places hung over heavy with Fruit, and Abundance of Parrots, and other Birds were every where among the Woods. In each of theſe Vales the *Ingas* had ſtately Apartments, for themſelves, and mighty Magazines for their Soldiers, being ſo much fear'd, that none durſt omit to provide for them. If any thing was wanting whoſoever was to blame did not fail to be ſeverely puniſh'd; and on the other Hand, if any one of thoſe that attended him durſt preſume to go into the *Indians* Corn Fields, or their Houſes, he certainly dy'd, tho' the Harm done were never ſo inconſiderable. The Walls were carry'd along on both Sides of the Road, till the Depth of the Sand would not admit of any Foundation; from whence forward, that Travellers might not miſtake, and to ſhow the Grandeur of the Prince, whoſe Work that was, there were great Trees, or Timbers ſtuck in the Ground

A Noble Road.

Ground at ſmall Diſtances; and as there was ſpecial Care along the Vales to repair the Walls, if they went to decay, and to cleanſe the Way, ſo was there no leſs Vigilancy and Induſtry if any of thoſe Poles or Timbers happened to be blown down, to ſet it up again.

Yungas what they are.

There were ſome Forts, and Temples of the Sun in theſe Vales, which I ſhall mention in their Places, and being to Name *Ingas*, and *Yungas* in ſeveral Parts of this Work, I will inform the Reader what the *Yungas* ſignify, as I did before touching the *Ingas*. Remembring therefore that the ſeveral Provinces of *Peru*, are ſeated as has been ſaid before, many of them lying in the Brakes form'd by the *Andes*, and Snowy Mountains, it is to be obſerv'd that all the Inhabitants of the higher Grounds are call'd *Serranos*, that is, Mountain People, and thoſe of the Plains *Yungas*. But there being ſeveral Parts among the Mountains, through which the Rivers run, ſhelter'd by the higher Ridges and Clifts, they are thereby render'd hotter than the Plains, and therefore the Inhabitants of them are alſo call'd *Yungas*; ſo that when they ſpeak of any warm Territory throughout *Peru*, they give it, and the Natives this Name in general, tho' they may have others more peculiar to diſtinguiſh them by.

Lords of the Yungas.

The *Caciques*, or Native Lords of theſe *Yungas* were formerly very much honour'd and reſpected by their Subjects, and ſerv'd in great State, after their Manner, having continually Buffoons, and Dancers about them, for their Diverſion, and others that ſung, and play'd on Muſick. Beſides they had many Wives, and thoſe the Beautifulleſt that could be found, and every one in his Vale had a ſtately Palace, with many large Columns made of compound Matter, on which were Terraſes, and ſpacious Portals cover'd with Mats. About this Houſe was a large open Place, where the *Indians* made their *Areytos*, that, is, danc'd. Whilſt the Lord was eating, Abundance of People met and drank their Liquor, made of *Indian* Wheat, or Roots. There were Porters to theſe Apartments, who took Notice of all that went in or out.

All

All the Men wore Cotton Jerkins, and long Mantles, or Cloaks, as did the Women, with this Difference, that the Womens Garment was large and full, like a long Mourning Cloak, open on both Sides, to put the Arms through. Some of them us'd to be at War with one another, and there were of them, that could never learn the Language of *Cuzco*. Tho' there were three or four ſeveral Races of theſe *Yungas*, yet they all follow'd the ſame Cuſtoms, and Manners. They ſpent Days and Nights in feaſting, and drinking, and it is wonderful to ſee what a Quantity of their *Chicha*, or Liquor they would ſwallow, being ſeldom without the Cup in their Hands. Formerly they us'd to entertain the *Spaniards* that travell'd by their Houſes with great Kindneſs, but are much alter'd, becauſe as ſoon as the *Spaniards* fell to War among themſelves, they began to abuſe the *Indians*, who therefore took an Averſion to them; beſides that ſome Governours have ſhew'd themſelves ſo mean ſpirited, that they have no Value for them; but on the contrary are very proud of having ſome of thoſe for their Servants who pretended to lord it over them. This has been occaſion'd by the ill Management of ſome Perſons in Power, who could not brook the Orders ſent from *Spain* for maintaining of the Natives in their full Liberty, and endeavouring to civilize them thoroughly; tho' to ſay the Truth few Governments in the World were preferable to that of the *Ingas*. I cannot but lament the Extortions, and Violent Practices of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Indians*, which have almoſt depopulated theſe Vales formerly ſo full of Inhabitants, as is well known to many.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

That these Indians *believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, and why they bury'd Women alive in their Graves.*

I Have often said, it was a general Practice in all these Parts, to bury all their Treasure, a Quantity of Provisions and Liquor, and some of their Wives, with the Dead. At *Cenu*, which is in the Province of *Cartagena*, I was present in the Year 1535, when the *Spaniards* dug up many Graves in an open Field, near an *Indian* Temple, some of them so ancient that great tall Trees were grown over them, and they took thence above the Value of a Million of Pieces of Eight, besides what the Natives had convey'd away, and what was lost in the Earth. Many other Treasures have been found in several Parts, and the same is likely to happen frequently. It is not long since *John de la Torre*, who had been a Captain under *Gonzalo Pizarro*, found one of these Graves in the Vale of *Tza*, which is in the Plains, and in it as much as was worth above 50000 Pieces of Eight. This manner of Burial shews they had some knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul; for the Devil, as they inform us, gave them to understand that they were to rise again in a certain Place he had provided for them, where they should Eat, and Drink, and live at their Ease. The better to perswade them into this Belief, he sometimes took upon him the Shape and Habit of those that were Dead, and appearing thus visibly to the living, told them he was in another delightful Kingdom, in the same manner as they saw him. These Illusions were the Occasion that they took more Care of adorning, and enriching their Graves, than about any thing in this life; believing that the Souls did not dye, but were translated to another Place of sensual Bliss. This made many Friends, and Dependants on great Men, when there was not Room in their Graves, dig Pits in the

Rich Graves.

Illusions of the Devil.

the Lands of their deceas'd Lords, or such Places as they us'd to delight in, where they laid themselves, believing that his Soul, would pass that way, and take them along to wait on him. Some of their Wives, the more to oblige them, hang'd themselves in their own Hair before the Graves were made. The Truth hereof is sufficiently manifested by those Graves we have found, and it was practic'd after the coming of the *Spaniards* among them, till their Conversion. I remember, that being in the Government of *Cartagena* about 12, or 13 Years since, when the Licenciate *John de Vadillo* was Governour, a Boy came running to the Place where *Vadillo* was, from an *Indian* Town call'd *Pirina*, because they would have bury'd him alive, with the Lord of that Place, who was then newly dead.

Confirmation of them.

There is no Question to be made of their seeing the Devil in those Shapes I have spoken of, and throughout all *Peru*, they call him *Sopay*; and I have been told it my self by those who have seen him. Besides they affirm, that he often enter'd into those Skins of Men stuff'd with Ashes, mention'd in the Vale of *Lile*, and spoke to them. *Father Dominick*, a Person very curious in enquiring into these Affairs inform'd me, that an Acquaintance of his told him, he had been sent for by *Don Paul*, Son to the *Inga Guaynacapa*, who declar'd to him, that a Servant of his said, he had heard loud Cries, near the Fort of *Cuzco*, which express'd these Words. *Inga, why do you not observe those things you are oblig'd to? Eat, Drink, and be Merry, for you will soon cease to Eat, and Drink, and make Merry.* He who told it *Don Paul* heard these Cries 5, or 6 several Nights; and soon after *Don Paul* dy'd, as did he who heard the Words.

All the Lords, and *Indians* of these Vales, wear their distinctive Marks on their Heads, to be known by from others; but I do not find that either those in the Plains, or the Mountain People were guilty of Sodomy, as has been said of the Natives of the Island *Puna*, and *Puerto Viejo*, no question there might be some wicked one among them; but if he was discover'd, they sham'd, and call'd him Woman, bidding him, not wear Men's Cloaths.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Of the Ceremonies us'd at Funerals, and of several Sorts of Graves.

HAving in the last Chapter spoken of the Opinion of the *Indians*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, it will be proper in this to show how they made their Graves, and laid the dead in them, wherein they differ'd very much, some making them deep, others high, others plain, every Nation using a several Way. In the Province of *Collao* they rais'd them in the Fields, orderly, as high as Towers, some more, and some less; and some of them of fine Stones curiously wrought. The Entrance to them was to the Eastward, where they offer'd their Sacrifices, burnt some things, and sprinkl'd those Places with the Blood of Lambs, or other Creatures. *Different Graves.*

In the Territory of *Cuzco* they bury'd their dead sitting on lofty Seats, which they call *Dubos*, clad, and adorn'd with the best they had. In the Province of *Yauya*, being a considerable Part of this Kingdom of *Peru*, they sew'd them up in a New Sheep's Skins, forming a Face, Nose, and Mouth without, and thus kept them in their Houses. The great Men us'd to be carry'd abroad by their Children, through their Lands, and Farms on Biers, in great State, and then they sacrific'd to them Sheep, and Lambs, and sometimes Children, and Women. This being made known to *Don Jeremy de Loayfa*, the Arch-Bishop, he commanded the Natives of those Vales, under severe Penalties, and the Clergy that instructed them, to bury all those Bodies.

In several other Parts of the Provinces already mention'd, they bury in deep Graves, which are hollow within, and in some Places, as the Territory of *Antiocha*, they throw so much Earth upon them, that they look like small Hills; and there is a Door left to carry in their other Dead, the living Women, *&c.* At *Cenu* some of them were plain, with large Rooms in them, and others rais'd

like Hillocks. In the Province of *Chinchan*, which is in the Plains, they bury'd them lying on *Barbacoas*, that is, Couches or Beds made of Cane.

In another of these Vales call'd *Lunaguana* they bury'd them sitting. In several Parts of these Vales they built great Walls, and Apartments among the Desert Rocks, or Sands, where every Race had its particular Place of Burial, to which Purpose they made great Cavities, shut up with Doors, as artificially as they were able, and it is wonderful to behold what vast Numbers of Dead there are along those Sands, and barren Rocks, and at Distances great Quantities of Skulls, and of Garments, rotted, and almost consum'd with lying there. These Places, which they look'd upon as Sacred, they call'd *Guacas*, being a dismal Name, and much Treasure has been taken out of them. Formely they us'd to open these Tombs, or Graves, and put in fresh Garments, and Provisions at certain Times. When the *Caciques* dy'd, the prime Men of the Valley met to mourn, and lament, many of the Women us'd to cut off all the Hair they had, and then they walk'd about those Places, where their Lord us'd most frequently to divert himself, making a dismal Noise with Drums, and Pipes, and singing dolefully, to move such as heard them to weep. After weeping they had other Ceremonies, and offer'd Sacrifices, converfing with the Devil, and then having kill'd some Women, lay'd them in their Graves with their Treasure, and Provisions, as above, certainly believing they were gone to the Place the Devil told them of. They always lamented 4, 5, 6, or 10 Days before the Interment, according to the Quality of the Person deceas'd; for the greater he had been, the more Honour they did him, in Mourning, and Musick, and repeating all his Actions whilst living.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIII.

Of Sodomy us'd in the Temples, the giving of Names to Children, and the Superstitions of the Indians.

NOtwithstanding what has been said, that the Sin of Sodomy was not us'd among the *Peruvians*, that is to be understood, in common; for it is certain there were some Particular Places, where they kept Boys in Temples for that Purpose, and look'd upon that Abomination as a Piece of Religion, only to be practis'd upon solemn Occasions by the Priests, and *Caciques*. For a Testimony hereof I will give the Relation I receiv'd at *Lima* from *Father Dominick of St. Thomas* and is as follows. *Sodomy Religiously us'd.*

It is true the Devil has introduc'd this Vice by Way of Sanctity among the Mountain People and *Yungas*; for every Temple, or Place of Worship of Note keeps one two or more Men, who are clad like Women from their Infancy, imitating them in their Tone, and all other Particulars. With these on great Festivals, the prime Men us'd to have their Beastly Copulation. This I know, because I have punish'd two of them; the one, of the Mountain *Indians*, who was kept to this End in a Temple, they call *Guaca*, of the Province of the *Conchucos*, in the Territory of the City *Guanuco*; the other was of the Province of *Chincha*, where the *Indians* belong to the King. When I talk'd to them, representing the Heinousness of the Sin, they answer'd, They were not to be blam'd, as having been plac'd there from their Infancy, by their *Caciques*, that they might make use of them in that shamful way, and for them to be Priests and look to the Temples. Thus the Devil made them believe there was a Sort of Sanctity, in committing that unnatural Crime. This *Father Dominick* gave me under his own Hand, and he is well known to be a Person of Truth, and Integrity. Besides I remember, that *James de Galvez*, who is now one of the King's Secretaries in the the Court of *Spain*, *Instance of it.*

Another. told me, that as he and *Peter Alonſo Carraſco*, an ancient Conquerer, and Inhabitant of the City of *Cuzco*, were coming from the Province of *Collao*, they ſaw one, or two of theſe *Indians*, who were kept in the Temples, as *Father Dominick* ſays.

Names how given. Whilſt I was in *Peru* I obſerv'd, that in moſt of the Provinces they us'd to give Names to their Children, at 15, or 20 Days old, which they retain'd till the Age of 10, or 12 Years; about which Time they took New Names, moſt of the Father's Kindred, and Friends, meeting to that End upon a certain Day appointed. Then they danc'd, after their manner, and drank, which was their chiefeſt Delight; and that being over, the ancienteſt, and moſt honourable Perſon in the Company, ſhore the Lad, or Maid, that was to be Nam'd, and par'd his, or her Nails, which with the Hair they kept very chearily. The Names they us'd were of Towns, Birds, Beaſts, or Fiſhes; which I know to be true, becauſe I have had an *Indian*, who was call'd *Urco*, ſignifying, a Sheep, and another *Llama*, being a Yew, and have known others call'd *Piſcos*, being the Name of Birds; but many are very preciſe in taking the Names of their Fathers, or Grandfathers. The Lords, and prime Men ſeek Names to pleaſe their Fancy, and thoſe the greateſt they can think of, yet *Atabalipa*, the *Inga* the *Spaniards* took at *Caxamalca*, ſignifies a Hen; and his Father was call'd *Guaynacapa*, that is, rich Youth.

Superſtions Theſe *Indians* look'd upon it as an ill Sign for a Woman to be deliver'd of two at a Birth, or for a Child to come into the World with any Defect; ſo that when this happened the Husband, and Wife were very Melancholy, and faſted, Eating no *Agi*, and drinking no *Chicha*, which is their Liquor; beſides other Superſtitions they learnt from their Forefathers. They were alſo much addicted to obſerving of other Signs, and Tokens. When a Star happened to ſhoot, they rais'd mighty Cries; were great obſervers of the Moon, and Planets, and generally infected with Superſtition. There are *Spaniards* ſtill living, who were with *Pizarro*, when he took *Atabalipa*, in the Province of *Caxamalca*, and ſaw after Midnight ſomething green in the Sky, as thick as a Man's Arm, and as long as

as a Horſe Man's Spear. The *Spaniards* gaſing, and *Atabalipa* being told of it, he deſir'd they would let him go out to ſee it, and having ſo done, became very Melancholy, and ſo continu'd the next Day. *Pizarro* asking him the Reaſon of it, he anſwer'd, I have ſeen the Appearance in the Sky, and aſſure you that ſuch another was ſeen before my Father *Guaynacapa* dy'd. Accordingly 15 Days after *Atabalipa* departed this Life.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of the Fertility of the Plains, of the ſeveral Sorts of Fruit, and Roots they produce, and the Method of Watering the Fields.

ALL the Soil of the Vales, where the Sand does not reach, and as far as the Woods extend, is as fertil, and plentiful as any in the World, and the propereſt to ſow any thing whatſoever, being till'd, and manur'd with little Labour. I have already ſaid it never rains there, and all the Watering it has is from the Rivers that come down from the Mountains, and run to the South Sea. In theſe Vales the *Indians* ſow their *Mayz*, or Wheat, which yields two Crops in a Year, and comes up very plentifully. In ſome Places they Plant the Roots call'd *Yuca*, good to make Bread, and Drink, for want of *Mayz*, and there grows plenty of Patatoes, ſo ſweet, that they are like Cheſt nuts; beſides there are *Papas*, Kidney Beans, and ſeveral Sorts of pleaſant Roots. Throughout all theſe Vales, there is a Sort of the moſt delicious Fruit I ever taſted, by the *Spaniards* call'd *Pepinos*, that is, Coucombers, of an excellent Taſte, and ſome of them very ſweet ſcented. There are beſides great Numbers of *Guayava*, *Guava*, *Palta*, a Fruit like Pears, *Guanavana*, *Caymito*, Pine Apple, and other Trees. *Plentiful Product.*

In the *Indian* Houſes there are many Dogs, quite different from ours in *Spain*, by them call'd *Chunos*. They have great Breeds of Geeſe; and in the Thickets of the Vales *Dogs, Geeſe, and Fruit.*

Vales there are long, and narrow *Carobs*, not so thick as Bean Cods, whereof in some Places they make Bread, and reckon it good. They very much use drying of such Fruit and Roots, as are proper for it, as we do Figs, Raisins, and other Sorts. At present there are great Vineyards in many Parts of these Vales, yielding Abundance of Grapes; and Groves of Fig, Pomgranate, and Quince Trees; which it is needless to particularize, since all the Sorts of Fruit *Spain* affords thrive perfectly well.

Grain *European* Wheat is well known to answer to satisfaction, and it is a delightful Sight to behold the Fields all over fresh and green as Grass, without one Drop of Rain. Barley comes up as well as Wheat, and there is Store of Lemmon, sweet Lime, Orange, Citron, and Sweet Lemmon Trees; besides many other Sorts of Fruit, I think too tedious to mention, having spoken of the chiefest. The Rivers coming down from the Mountains through these Plains, and some of them being broad, and sow'd all over, or at least us'd to be so, when more populous, they drew Trenches, through such Places, as *Watering by Trenches.* is very strange to mention; for they carry'd them through high and low Grounds, along the Sides of Hills, and Mountains, and many of them across, some one way, and some another, which renders it extraordinary pleasant travelling over those Vales, because they all look like delightful Gardens, and Groves. The *Indians* were, and still continue very industrious in conveying the Water along these Trenches, and I have my self sometimes halted by a Trench, which has been dry before my Tent was set up, and fill'd again another way; for the Rivers never failing, these *Indians* can carry the Water where they please. These Trenches are always very green, and along them there is Plenty of Grass for Horses.

Birds. In the Woods, and Groves there is singular Variety of Birds, and particularly great Numbers of Turtle Doves, Pea Hens, Pheasants, some Partridges, and Multitudes of Deer; but no noxious Creatures, as Serpents, Snakes, or *Foxes.* Wolves. The worst Animals are the Foxes, so mischievous, that tho' things be lay'd up never so carefully; they will come where the *Spaniards*, or *Indians* lye, and if they find

find nothing else, steal the Horses Girts, or the Reins of the Bridles. In several Parts of the Vales there are large Fields of Sugar Canes, whereof Sugar is made in several Towns, and Preserves. All these *Yunga Indians* are very laborious, and when they carry Burdens on their Backs, strip themselves stark Naked, without leaving any thing on them but a small Clout, about a Span long, and not so broad, to cover their Privities and girding their Mantles and Cloaks to their Bodies, they run with their Loads. Nor are they less regular, and industrious in sowing their Grounds, than has been said they are in Watering. *Sugar.*

CHAP. LXV.

Of the way from the City of St. Michael *to* Truxillo, *and of the Vales there are in it.*

HAving already mention'd the founding of the City of *St. Michael*, the first Christian Town in *Peru*, I will proceed to shew what lyes between it, and *Truxillo*, the Distance between them being about 60 Leagues. From *St. Michael's* to the Vale of *Motupe* is 22 Leagues, all on the Sands, a very bad Way, especially that now us'd. There are some little Vales in this Length of 22 Leagues, and tho' there be Rivers that come down from the Mountains, they do not run through them, but are swallow'd up, and lost in the Sands, so that they are of no Advantage. Those who are to travel these 22 Leagues, must set out in the Evening, that going on all the Night, they may come in good Time to the *Xagueyes*, where Travellers drink, and go thence without feelling much Heat. Such as can, carry Calabashes full of Water, and Leather Bottles of Wine, to serve them the rest of the Journey. As soon as they come to the Vale of *Motupe* they see the royal Road made by the *Ingas*, as describ'd in the foregoing Chapters. *Rivers swallow'd in Sand.*

This

Motupe Vale. This Vale is broad, and very fruitful, and tho' a River comes down to it from the Mountain, it ſinks, and is loſt before it can reach the Sea. The *Carob*, and other Trees extend far, by Reaſon of the Moiſture they meet with under their Roots. In the Bottom of the Vale there are *Indian* Towns, the Inhabitants whereof uſe the Water of deep Wells they dig; all of them bartering Commodities, for it never appear'd that they had any Sort of Coin. They tell us there were great Palaces for the *Ingas*, in this Vale and many Magazines, and on the Higheſt and Stony Hills, they had their *Guacas*, or Temples, and Places of Burial. The Wars very much leſſen'd the Number of People, and thoſe great Structures, are all ruin'd, the *Indians* living in little Houſes deſcrib'd before. At certain Seaſons they trade with thoſe on the Mountains, having here great Fields of Cotton, whereof they make their Cloth.

Xayanca Vale. Four Leagues from *Motupe* is the delightful Vale of *Xayanca*, almoſt four Leagues over. Through it runs a curious River, from which they draw Trenches enough to water all the *Indians* will ſow. This Vale was formerly very populous as well as the reſt, and in it ſtately Apartments and Store houſes, where the *Ingas* Stewards reſided, as has been obſerv'd. The Native Lords of theſe Vales were formerly very much reſpected and honour'd by their Subjects, and ſuch of them as remain are ſo ſtill, being very well attended by Men and Women Servants, and have their Porters, and their Guards.

Tucume Vale, and that of Cinto. From this Vale the Road goes to that of *Tucume*, which is alſo large, and pleaſant, full of Woods, and Groves, and the Ruins, ſtill ſhew what great Structures there were in it. A ſmall Days Journey from it is another fine Vale call'd *Cinto*. The Reader is to obſerve, that all between theſe ſeveral Vales, and the reſt we ſhall write of is Sands and barren Rocks, where no living Creature is to be ſeen, nor any Tree, or Graſs, unleſs ſome Birds that fly over. The way being ſo ſandy, the Vale appearing, tho' at a great Diſtance is a mighty Comfort, eſpecially if Men travel a foot, the Sun ſhines hot, and they are thirſty. Thoſe who are Strangers in the Country

try ought not to travel over these Plains, without good Guides to conduct them across the Sands.

From this Vale we proceed to that of *Collique*, through which runs a River of the same Name, so large that it cannot be forded, unless when it is Summer on the Mountain, and Winter in the Plain; and yet the Natives draw so many Trenches from it, that they almost drain it at some Times, even in Winter. This Vale is also wide, and full of Trees, as well as the others, and most of the Natives are consum'd, with the Calamities of the Wars there were between the *Spaniards*. Collique Vale.

From the Vale of *Collique* we go on to that of *Zana*, like the others, and thence to that of *Pacasmayo*, the most fertil, and best peopled of any yet spoken of, the Natives whereof, before the *Ingas* subdu'd them, were powerful, and respected by their Neighbours, and had stately Temples, where they sacrific'd to their Gods; all of them now thrown down. Among the Rocks, and stony Grounds there are very many *Guacas*, being the Buryal Places of these *Indians*. Through this Vale runs a curious River, whence many Trenches are drawn, and the Product is as in the others, and so other things. In this Vale Abundance of Cotton grows, and there are good Breeds of Cows, and better of Swine, and Goats, as there is of other Cattle, and the Climate is very good. I travell'd through it in *September* 1547, to join the rest of the Kings Forces that came from *Popayan*, to punish the Rebels, and was extremely pleas'd with this Vale, admiring its Woods, and Groves full of infinite Variety of Birds. Zana and Pacasmayo Vales.

The next Vale is that of *Chacama*, nothing inferior to that of *Pacasmayo* in all Respects, and producing much Sugar. Four Leagues farther is that of *Chimo*, in which the City *Truxillo* stands. The *Indians* report, that formerly, before the *Ingas* had any Dominions, there was here a powerful *Cacique* call'd *Chimo*, as the Vale is now. This Man they say gain'd many Victories, and rais'd some Structures, which tho' so ancient plainly testify they were very great. When the *Ingas* had subdu'd the Plains, they highly valu'd this Vale of *Chimo*, where they built stately Palaces and Pleasure Houses. The royal Road runs Chicama Vale, and Chimo.

through it, wall'd on both Sides. The Native *Caciques* were always reſpected, and counted rich, which has appear'd to be true, much Gold and Silver having been found in the Graves of their Anceſtors. The Natives are now grown thinner, the *Caciques* leſs regarded, and moſt of the Vale is divided among the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants of the City of *Truxillo*. The Sea Port call'd the *Arrecife* of *Truxillo*, is not far from the Vale, and much Fiſh is kill'd all along the Coaſt, to ſupply the City, and the *Indians*.

CHAP. LXVI.

Of the City of Truxillo, *and the Country between it and the City of* Lima.

Truxillo *City.*

IN this Vale of *Chimo* ſtands the City of *Truxillo*, near a pretty large and fine River, whence they draw Trenches to water the Gardens, and Orchards of the *Spaniards*, which are always green, and flouriſhing, and the Water runs by all the Houſes. This City is ſeated in a Place reckned very wholeſome, every way ſurrounded with Farms, where the Inhabitants have their Corn Fields and Cattle; and being all water'd every Spot is full of Corn, Vineyards, all Sorts of *Spaniſh* Fruits, and Multitudes of Orange Trees, which yield infinite Quantities of Orange Flowers, not to repeat the ſeveral Names of other *Spaniſh* and *Indian* Trees. Beſides they breed vaſt Numbers of Foul, ſo that the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants are plentifully ſupply'd with all things, and particularly with Fiſh, the Sea being but half a League from them. The Spot the City ſtands on is a Plain form'd in the midſt of the Groves, and other Delights of the Vale, near a Parcel of Rocky barren Hills, being well contriv'd, the Building good, the Streets wide, and the Market Place Spacious. The Mountain *Indians* come down to attend the *Spaniards* that are Proprietors, and furniſh the City with ſuch things as their Lands afford. Ships go hence loaden with Cotton Cloth, made by the *Indians*, to ſell in

in other Parts. This City of *Truxillo* was built by the Governour of *Peru*, *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in the Year 1530.

From it to that of *Lima*, otherwise call'd *de los Reyes*, or of the Kings is 80 Leagues, all the way Sands, and Vales. Seven Leagues from *Truxillo* is the Vale of *Guanape*, formerly as famous among the Natives, for their Liquor call'd *Chicha* made there, as *Madrigal*, or *St. Martin* are in *Castile* for their excellent Wine. It was then very populous, and its *Caciques*, or Lords were of great Note, and much honour'd by the *Ingas*, after their Conquest. The *Indians* that are left follow Husbandry, like the rest, watering their Lands with Trenches, and it appears that the *Ingas* had their Store houses, and Apartments here. There is one Sea Port belonging to the Vale, which is advantageous, because many of the Ships trading along the South Sea, between *Panama* and *Peru* take in Provisions at it. Guanape Vale.

Hence we proceed to the Vale of *Santa*, and short of it is another small Vale, without any River in it, but only a Source of good Water, which the *Indians*, and such as travel that way drink of, and perhaps proceeds from some River that runs under Ground. The Vale of *Santa*, was formerly very populous, and had brave Commanders, and potent *Caciques*, who at first durst stand in Competition with the *Ingas*, who are said to have brought them under rather by Kindness and Art, than by Force of Arms, and afterwards held them in great Esteem, building stately Palaces, and Magazines there, in regard that this Vale is one of the largest of any we have yet pass'd. A rapid and mighty River runs through it, which swells when it is Winter on the Mountains, and some *Spaniards* have been drown'd in passing it. The *Indians* at present pass it in Floats, being in my Time reduc'd to about 400, tho' there were formerly many thousands of them. What I most admir'd in travelling through this Vale, was the vast Number of Places wall'd in, as has been mention'd above, for Buryal of their Dead, which are all cover'd with Men's Bones; the Graves of the deceas'd, and the Fields they till'd whilst living, being the most remarkable things. They us'd, as in other Places, to water all Parts with Trenches drawn Santa Vale.

from the River, but the *Indians* being ſo much decreas'd, moſt of the Land lyes waſte, overgrown with Trees, and Brambles, ſo thick that they are often impaſſable. Both Men and Women here wear Jerkins, and Mantles, or Cloaks, and have their Diſtinctive Ligatures about their Heads. The Sorts of Fruit already mention'd, and *Spaniſh* Grain grows in this Vale, and the Natives take much Fiſh. The Ships trading along the Coaſt always water at this River, and take in other Neceſſaries. The Woods being ſo great, and the People ſo few, infinite Multitudes of Goats breed here, and are very troubleſome to Paſſengers.

Guambacho *Vale.*

The Vale of *Guambacho* is two Days Journey from the laſt, of which I can add nothing, being in all Reſpects like the others. I went in a Day, and a half from it to that of *Guarmey*, formerly very populous, and now breeding great Numbers of Swine, Cows, and Horſes. The next is that of *Parmonga*, no leſs delightful than the Reſt, but I believe there are no *Indians* left in it, but what live in the upper Parts toward the Hills, for there is nothing now but deſert Woods, and Groves. Only one thing remarkable remains, and is a handſome and well contriv'd Fort, after their Manner, where the Trenches carry'd to water the upper Parts are very curious, and well worth obſerving. The Apartments were extraordinary fine, much Variety of Birds, and wild Beaſts being painted about it, and the whole enclos'd with ſtrong Walls, of good Workmanſhip. It is now quite ruin'd, and undermin'd in ſeveral Places, to look for Gold and Silver in Graves, ſo that it only ſerves as a Memorial of what it was. Two Leagues from this Vale is the River of *Guaman*, ſignifying, The Faulcons River; but is commonly call'd *la Barranca*. This Vale is like the reſt, and when it rains on the Mountains the River ſwells much, and is dangerous to paſs, ſo that ſome have been drown'd in it. A Days Journey farther is the Vale of *Guaura*, whence we will proceed to that of *Lima*.

Guarmey, *and* Parmonga,

Barranca *River and Vale.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVII.

Of the City of Lima.

THE Vale of *Lima* is the largeſt of all that are between *Tumbez*, and it, and was no leſs populous, tho' now there are few Natives, becauſe the City being built there, and their Lands taken by the New Commers, they all went away to other Vales. When the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado* enter'd this Kingdom, the Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro* who was then at *Cuzco*, reſolv'd to build a City in this Plain, for fear leſt the ſaid *Alvarado* ſhould deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome Part of that Coaſt; for then neither *Truxillo*, nor *Arequipa*, nor *Guamanga* were founded. *Pizarro* having view'd *Sangalla*, and other Places along the Coaſt, came at laſt with ſome *Spaniards* to the Spot where the City now ſtands, which they all approv'd of, and accordingly it was immediately founded in an open plain Field, two ſmall Leagues from the Sea. A River riſes above it to the Eaſtward, carrying little Water when it is Summer on the Hills, but grows more conſiderable in Winter, and joyns the Sea to the Weaſtward. The great Market Place is within a Stones throw of the River, nor can the City be enlarg'd on that Side to encloſe it. This is the chiefeſt, and largeſt Town in *Peru* next to *Cuzco*, being very well built, ſome of the Houſes adorn'd with Towers, and Terraſſes on them, the Market Place ſpacious and the Streets wide. There are Trenches of Water running by moſt of the Houſes, very uſeful, and pleaſant, for they ſupply the Houſes, and ſerve to water their Gardens, and Orchards, which are many, and delightful. It is now the Reſidence of the Viceroy, and the Courts of Juſtice are kept in it, and all the Trade of the Kingdom concentring in it, there is always a great Multitude of People, and Abundance of Shops richly furniſh'd. That Year when I departed the Kingdom, there were many Inhabitants that had Lands, and *Indians* under them, ſome of

Lima *Vale.*

Lima *City*

of them worth 150000 Ducates, others 80000, others 60000, some more and some less. In short I left them all very wealthy, and Ships often sail from the Port of this City, each of them carrying 800000, or a Million of Pieces of Eight.

Above the City, to the Eastward, is a great and high Hill, on which a Cross is set up, and every way about there are Abundance of Plantations, and Farms, where the *Spaniards* breed Cattle, have Dove Cotes, Vineyards, and curious Orchards full of the Native Fruit, Fig, Pomgranate Trees, *&c.* Sugar Canes, Melons, Roots, and Herbs, brought out of *Spain*, all thriving to Perfection. This now the Troubles and Rebellions are over is certainly one of the best Countries in the World to live in; for we see it is never subject to Famine, or Plague, nor does it ever rain, or is there any Thunder, or Lightning; but on the contrary the Sky is always serene, and pleasant. Much more might be said in behalf of it, but that I must conclude, only adding that the City was built in the Year 1531.

Chap. LXVIII.

Of the Vale of Pachacama, *and the ancient Temple there was in it.*

Pachacama *Vale.*

FOur Leagues beyond the City of *Lima*, still along the Coast, is the Vale of *Pachacama*, very famous among the *Indians*, pleasant and fruitful, and in it stood one of the most Majestick Temples of all these Parts. They report of it, that tho' the *Ingas* built many Temples besides that of *Cuzco*, which they beautify'd and adorn'd with mighty Expence, yet none was to compare to this of *Pachacama*. It was built on a small Hill made by Hand, of Earth, and other Materals, the Structure standing on the Top, and partly reaching down to the Bottom, having many Gates, all painted with Figures of fierce Creatures, as were the Walls. Within the Temple, where

where the Idol ſtood, were the Prieſts, who pretended to much Sanctity, and when they offer'd Sacrifices, kept their Faces towards the Gates, and their Backs to the Idol, looking down, and quaking, in ſo much Diſorder, as ſome of the *Indians* have told me, that they might be compar'd to the Prieſts of *Apollo* we read of, when they were to deliver their vain Oracles. They alſo inform'd me, that they us'd to Sacrifice Abundance of Beaſts, and even ſome Human Creatures before this Devil, who ſpoke, and gave them anſwers, upon their greateſt Feſtivals, which being heard by all, they gave entire Credit to them.

The Prieſts were highly honour'd, and even the Lords, and *Caciques* oblig'd them in many Particulars. About the Temple, they ſay, there were many, and ſtately Apartments, for ſuch as came on Pilgrimage, and none thought worthy to be bury'd near the Place, but only the Lords, Prieſts, and Pilgrims, who brought Offerings to the Temple. On the great Feſtivals of the Year, Abundance of People aſſembled together and had Sports, and Muſick, after their Manner. When the *Ingas* conquer'd the Kingdom, and came to this Vale of *Pachacama*, it being their Cuſtom to erect Temples to the Sun, and finding this which was ſo great, ſo ancient, and ſo much honour'd by all the People round about, they concluded it would be a very difficult Matter to put it down, and therefore agreed with the *Caciques*, and Prieſts, that this Temple of *Pachacama* ſhould remain as it was, provided that another ſtately one ſhould be built, and that of the Sun have the Preference; which was accordingly done, and ſeveral Virgins appointed to ſerve it, at which they ſay the *Pachacama* Devil was highly pleas'd. The *Indians* at firſt ſaid this *Pachacama* us'd to appear to ſome of their Elders, and perſwade them that the God of the Chriſtians, and he were the ſame, that ſo they might neglect to embrace Chriſtianity, and adhere to his Worſhip; however they have been all long ſince Baptiz'd, and theſe Temples are quite gone to Ruin. The Name of this Devil ſignify'd, maker of the World, for *Camac* is maker, and *Pacha*, the World.

When

When the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro* took the *Inga Atabalipa*, in the Province of *Caxamalca*, being inform'd of the Immense Treasure there was in this Temple, he sent his Brother Captain *Ferdinand Pizarro*, with a Number of *Spaniards* to secure all the Gold he should find there, and bring it away to *Caxamalca*; but before he could get thither, the *Indians* affirm, the Priests, and prime Men had convey'd away 400 Loads of Gold, which could never be heard of; and yet *Ferdinand Pizarro* found some Gold, and Silver there. Afterwards Captain *Roderick Orgonez*, and *Francis de Godoy*, with others, drew much Gold, and Silver out of the Graves; and it is certainly believ'd there is still much more, which cannot be found. From the Time that *Ferdinand Pizarro* came to this Temple it declin'd, the Idols being destroy'd as did that of the Sun. Few of the *Indians* are also left; but the Vale is as exuberant and full of Trees as the rest, and has good breeds of Cows, Horses, and other Cattle.

CHAP. LXIX.

Of the Vales lying between Pachacama, *and the Fortress of* Guarco.

Chilca *Vale.*

FRom the Vale of *Pachacama* the way runs on to that of *Chilca*, remarkable for a very strange thing, which is, that tho' it receives no Rain from Heaven, nor any River, or Brooks runs through it, yet the greatest Part is full of *Indian* Corn Fields, of sundry Roots, and Fruit Trees. The manner of tilling here is well worth observing; for the *Indians* dig large, and deep Pits, in which they sow what they have Occasion for, and the Moisture gathering there it grows up; but the *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat would never shoot out at all, were it not that they put one, or two Heads of the Pilchards they take in the Sea into the Hole with every Grain, and by that Means it thrives plentifully. It

is

is very wonderful than Men ſhould live ſo well where there is no Rain, or any other Moiſture, but only a ſmall Dew. The Water they drink is drawn out of great, and deep Wells; and in the Sea they take ſuch Abundance of Pilchards as ſerve to maintain the *Indians*, and to improve their Land; and here were Apartments, and Magazines belonging to the *Ingas*.

Three Leagues from *Chilcá* is the Vale of *Mala*, where the War began, and broke out between *Don Franciſco Pizarro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, the Controverſy being about which of their Governments the City of *Cuzco* fell in, which they at firſt refer'd to *Father Francis de Bobadilla*, of the Order of the *Mercenarians*; and tho' the two Competitors met, and the Father pronounc'd Judgment, they did not ſtand to it, but decided the Matter by the Sword, which coſt *Almagro* his Life. A good River runs through this Vale, all ſhaded with Woods, and Groves. Mala Vale.

Somewhat above 5 Leagues beyond this Vale of *Mala* is that of *Guarco*, large, and ſpacious, full of Fruit Trees, and particularly famous in this Kingdom. It abounds in very pleaſant taſted, and ſcented *Guayavas*, and *Guavas*; Wheat, and *Maiz* thrive well, and all other things of the Growth of *Spain*, or thoſe Parts. The Woods, and Groves afford a delightful Shade, with Trenches running through them, and great Numbers of Turtle Doves, Pigeons, and other Birds. The Natives ſay there were great Multitudes of People formerly, who ſtood at Defiance with thoſe on the Mountains, and others in the Plains; and that the *Ingas* coming to ſubdue all the Country about them, they diſdaining to yield, and forfeit that Liberty they were left in by their Forefathers, behav'd themſelves ſo gallantly, that they maintain'd War above four Years, during which Time many brave Actions were perform'd, as we are told both by them, and the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*. The War being thus protracted, the *Inga* in the Summer went back to *Cuzco* becauſe of the Heats, and left his Forces to carry on the Conqueſt; which being deſirous to bring to a Concluſion, he return'd with all the Nobility of his Capital, and built a City, to which he alſo gave the Name of *Cuzco*, and Guarco Vale.

ſo to all the Eminences, and Quarters of it as in his own Metropolis. At length, when the People of *Guarco* had done their utmoſt, they were brought into Servitude by the Tyrant, who return'd with his Army to *Cuzco*, and the New Town he had built loſt its Name. However as a Trophy of his Victory, on a high Hill, he erected the Nobleſt Fortreſs there was in the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, founded upon large ſquare Stones, the Fronts of the Gates curiouſly adorn'd, and the Courts and Portals very ſpacious. From this Royal Fabrick there are ſtone Stairs down into the very Sea, which beats againſt them with ſuch Force, that it is amazing to think how they could be built ſo curious and ſtrong. Formerly this Fort was very well adorn'd with Painting, and in it much Treaſure belonging to the *Ingas*. As large as this Structure is, and as big as the Stones, there is no Sign of any Cement, or other thing to hold them together, and they are ſo nicely wrought that there is ſcarce any diſcovering where they join. They tell us, that when this Fabrick was to be rais'd they dug down into the very Rock, on which they lay'd a Foundation of Maſſive great Stones, which render'd the Superſtructure permanent. This Work conſidering it was perform'd by thoſe *Indians* is very wonderful; and the Ruins of it ſtill teſtify what it was.

Stately Fort.

CHAP. LXX.

Of the great Province of Chincha.

LIttle above two Leagues beyond the Fortreſs of *Guarco*, is a pretty large River, call'd *Lunaguana*, the Vale through which it paſſes like the others. Six Leagues from that River is the pleaſant, and ſpacious Vale of *Chincha*, no leſs renown'd in *Peru*, than formerly dreaded by its Neighbours. That this is true appears in that when *Pizarro* with his 13 Companions was diſcovering

Lunaguana River, and Chincha Vale.

covering the Coaſt, they every where bid him go to *Chincha*, which was the largeſt, and beſt Country, and therefore tho' a Stranger to it at that Time, when he articled with the King of *Spain*, he deſir'd that his Government might extend from *Tempulla*, or the River of *Santiago*, to this Vale of *Chincha*. As to the Original of theſe *Indians* of *Chincha*, they tell us, that a Number of Men came formerly under the Command of a Captain of their own, who was very Religious, from other Parts into this Vale, where they found Abundance of People ſo ſmall, that the talleſt was not above two Cubits high, from whom by their Valour they took the Country. They add, that all thoſe ſmall Natives conſum'd by Degrees, and that the Great Grandfathers of thoſe who were living in my Time, ſaw ſome of their Graves, and their Bones were as ſmall as has been ſaid. Theſe *Indians* being Maſters of the Vale, and finding it pleaſant, and fruitful, they built handſome Towns; and report, they receiv'd an Oracle through a Rock, which they afterwards look'd upon as ſacred, calling it *Chincha*, and *Camay*; and there they offer'd Sacrifices, and the Devil ſpoke to the Elders of them.

In Proceſs of Time theſe *Indians* increas'd, and grew ſo powerful, that moſt of the Neighbouring Vales endeavour'd to be in Amity and Allyance with them, to their great Honour and Benefit. Being grown ſo potent, at the Time that the firſt *Ingas* were buſy about building the City of *Cuzco*, they March'd out to plunder the Mountain Countries, did much Harm among the *Soras* and *Lucanes*, and went as far as the great Province of *Collao*, whence after many Victories obtain'd, they return'd home loaden with Booty. There they and their Progeny continu'd, giving themſelves up to Pleaſure and Diverſions, with Abundance of Women, and uſing the ſame Cuſtoms as the others already ſpoken of. Several *Spaniards* affirm, that when they conquer'd this Vale under *Pizarro*, there were above 25000 Men in it, and at preſent I believe they ſcarce amount to 5000. They always continu'd proſperous and abſolute, till the Brave *Inga Yupangue*, having ſubdu'd the greateſt Part of the Kingdom, ſent a General of his own Family, call'd *Capayngа Yupangue*, who en-

ter'd *Chincha* with a mighty Army of *Orejones*, and others where he had ſeveral Encounters with the Natives, and not being able entirely to ſubdue them, paſs'd on farther. At length, they ſay, they were finally conquer'd by *Topaynga Yupangue*, Father to *Guaynacapa*, from which Time forwards they were ſubject to the Laws of the *Ingas*, and great Palaces and Store houſes were built, and tho' the *Ingas* did not take the Power of Government from the Native *Caciques*, yet they kept their Deputy in the Vale, and order'd they ſhould Worſhip the Sun, who was their God. Accordingly a Temple was here built in Honour of him, with the ſame Number of Virgins, as in other Places, and Prieſts to offer Sacrifices. Notwithſtanding the erecting of this Temple of the Sun, the Natives did not leave off the Worſhip of their ancient God *Chinchaycama*. The *Ingas* had their *Mitimaes* in this Vale, as well as in the others, and order'd that the Lords, or *Caciques* ſhould reſide ſome Months in the Year at his Court in *Cuzco*. The Lord of *Chincha*, who was ſtill living in my Time, and for an *Indian* excellently qualify'd, was in moſt of the Wars under *Guaynacapa*.

This is one of the largeſt Vales in all *Peru*, very delightful for its many Groves, and Trenches of Water, and abounding in Fruit, particularly that delicious Sort, the *Spaniards* call *Pepinos*, that is, Cowcumbers, not of the Nature of ours in *Spain*, tho' ſomething like them in Shape; yellow when par'd, and ſo pleaſant to the Taſte and Scent, that a Man muſt eat many of them before he can be ſatisfy'd. The Birds are the ſame already mention'd; but there are very few of the Country Sheep, which were moſt deſtroy'd, during the Wars among the *Spaniards*. Corn, Vines, and all other things brought from *Spain* thrive. There were Abundance of Graves in the upper barren Parts, whence the *Spaniards* drew much Gold. Theſe *Indians* were great Dancers, and their Lords kept much State, being highly reſpected by their Subjects. When ſubdu'd by the *Ingas* they took to their Cuſtoms, like the others. The long Wars in this Kingdom of *Peru*, and the frequent taking out of the *Indians* to carry Burdens, were the Occaſions that their Numbers are ſo much decreas'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

Of the other Vales, as far as the Province of Tarapaca, *and of the City of* Arequipa.

PRoceeding on from *Chincha*, along the Plains, and Sands we come to the pleasant Vale of *Yca*; as large, and formerly no less populous than the rest; with a River running through it, which when it is Summer on the Mountains has so little Water, that the Inhabitants find a want. Before the *Spaniards* came thither, besides the common Trenches, the *Indians* had drawn a very large one from the Top of the Mountain, which supply'd the Defect of the River. At present the great Trench being spoild, when the River is very low they dig great Pits in it at small Distances, which hold Water for them to Drink, and to make small Draughts to Water their Grounds. Here were formerly powerful Lords, much respected, and honour'd, and all other things were as in the rest of the Vales. Yca *Vale.*

Hence the Road runs to the lovely Vales and Rivers of *Nasca*, where most of the *Indians* as I was inform'd by *Spaniards* of Credit were consum'd by the Wars between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*. In the chiefest of these Vales, by a particular Name call'd *Caxamalca*, there were great Apartments, and Magazines of the *Ingas*; and there is much Sugar made in them all, which supplies several Parts of the Kingdom. The next Vale is that of *Hacari*, and then those of *Occonna*, *Camama*, and *Quilca*, with great Rivers in them. Again beyond *Quilca*, which is the Sea Port to the City of *Arequipa*, are the Vales of *Chuli*, *Tambopalla*, *Ylo*, and the wealthy one of *Tarapaca*. Nasca *Vale, &c.*

Near the Vales there are some Islands in the Sea, full of Sea Wolves, whither the Natives go in Floats, and bring thence from off the higher Grounds Abundance of the Dung of Birds to Manure their Lands, which they find a great Improvement of barren Land, where little of their Wheat would grow without it, so that they would scarce be able to subsist but for those Birds, and therefore they trade

trade with this Dung as a thing of Value. It is needless to say any more of these Vales as far as *Tarapaca*, for it would be a Repetition of the same thing. The Tribute paid to the *Ingas* some carry'd to *Cuzco*, others to *Hatuncolla*, others to *Bilcas*, and some to *Caxamalca*; because the Principal Seats of those Princes were in the Mountain Country. There are very rich Mines of pure Silver in the Vales of *Tarapaca*. Beyond them, those who have travell'd along the Coast say there are Deserts, as far as the Borders of *Chile*. Much Fish is taken all along this Coast, some of it very good; and the *Indians* make Floats for fishing, of great Trusses of Oaten Straw, or of the Skins of Sea Wolves, which are so numerous in some Parts, that they make a hideous Noise, when they come together.

Arequipa City.

From the City of *Lima* to that of *Arequipa* is 120 Leagues. This City stands in the Vale of *Quil.a*, 14 Leagues from the Sea, on the most pleasant, and advantageous Situation that could be found thereabouts, being reckon'd the healthiest, and most delightful in all *Peru*. Very good Wheat grows about it, whereof they make excellent Bread. Its Territory reaches from the Vale of *Hacari*, till beyond *Tarapaca*, and some Towns in the Province of *Condesuyo* are subject to it, where several of the Inhabitants have Lands. The *Hubinas*, *Chiquiquanita*, *Quimistaca*, and the *Collaguas* are also subordinate to it, formerly populous, and full of that Country Sheep, but much consum'd by the Wars. The Sea being so near, *Arequipa* is plentifully supply'd with all it wants, and *Spanish* Commodities, and most of the Treasure of the Province of *los Charcas* is brought to it, to be shipp'd off at *Quilca* for the City of *Lima*. Near the City is a burning Mountain, which some fear may break out, and do harm; and sometimes it is subject to great Earthquakes.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXII.

Of the Province of Caxamalca, *and others,*

I Am the ſhorter in ſpeaking of ſome of theſe Provinces becauſe the Natures of moſt of them reſembled one another to ſuch a Degree, that they ſeem'd to be the ſame, and therefore having deſcrib'd ſome, the leſs needs be ſaid of the others. Having now run through the Plains, I will return to the Mountains, where I left off, at the City *Loxa*, and Province of *Guancabamba*, to turn off to the City of *St. Michael*, and the reſt, that has follow'd after it. To begin there again I take the Diſtance from *Guancabamba* to be about 50 Leagues, little more, or leſs, and that is the Liberty of the City of *Truxillo*. This Province was remarkable for the taking of the *Inga Atabalipa*, and renowned throughout the Kingdom for its Wealth and Extent. The Natives tell us, they were much reſpected by their Neighbours, before the *Ingas* ſubdu'd them, and that they had Temples, and Places of Worſhip, on the High Clifts; but that, tho' they were clad, it was not ſo decently as ſince. Some of them ſay they were conquer'd by the *Inga Yupangue*; yet others affirm it was by his Son *Topaynga Yupangue*. Whichſoever of them it was, they all agree, that they ſlew great Numbers of his Men, before they were reduc'd, and that at laſt they were rather brought under Subjection by Art and fair Means, than by Force. Truxillo *Liberty.*

Their Lords were highly reſpected, had many Wives, the Son of the chief whereof was Heir, and they were bury'd as has been ſaid of others. They paid great Honour to their Temples, where they ſacrific'd Sheep, and Lambs, and the Prieſts are ſaid to have convers'd with the Devil. On their Feſtivals, great Numbers of them met in Places ſwept very clean, where they danc'd, and drank much of their Liquor made of *Mayz*, and Roots. They were all Clad in curious Tunicks and Mantles, and as

as a distinctive Mark on their Heads wore a Ligature, some wider, and others narrower.

The *Ingas* set a great Value on this Province, when they had conquer'd it, and built in it a Palace, Magazines, and a Temple of the Sun, where the Virgins dedicated to its Service spun and wove the finest Cloth imaginable; for which Purpose they were furnish'd with the most curious Colours in the World. This was the Head of all the Provinces about it, which sent thither to give their Accounts, and many came to sacrifice in this Temple. There were several things very remarkable in the Palace of the *Ingas*, particularly very stately Baths, us'd by the great Men, when they lodg'd there.

The Province has declin'd very much, the Reason whereof is, because the *Inga Guaynacapa* dying, the same Year that *Pizarro* discover'd this Kingdom, his eldest Son and Heir *Guascar*, born of the principal Queen, whom they call the *Coya* took upon him the Diadem, or Crown at *Cuzco*, and sent Messengers into all Parts of the Kingdom to proclaim him King. But the great General *Chalicuchima*, with *Quizquiz*, *Tuclagualpae*, *Orumixavi*, and other famous Commanders, who had been with *Guaynacapa*, at the Conquest of *Quito*, had concerted to build another City of *Cuzco* in the Northern Provinces, to make a separate Kingdom of them, and bestow it on *Atabalipa*, a brave, and discreet Youth, well belov'd by the Soldiers, and old Officers, as having come from *Cuzco* with his Father, very Young, and been very long in the Army. Nay many *Indians* affirm, that *Guaynacapa* himself, before his Death, considering that the Kingdom he was to leave extended above a thousand Leagues along the Coast, and that there was much more Land still to conquer, towards *Quillacinga*, and *Popayan*, had resolv'd to leave *Quito* and those Conquests to the said *Atabalipa*. However that was, *Atabalipa*, and his Party understanding, that *Guascar* had enter'd upon the Government, they had Recourse to Arms; tho' they say *Atabalipa*, was first taken by the Contrivance of the Commander *Atoco*, in the Province of *Tomebamba*. They add, that he made his Escape by the Help of a Woman, and coming

to

to *Quito*, gather'd his Forces, gave Battle to *Atoco*, in the Territory of *Ambato*, where he was routed and kill'd. The News of *Atoco*'s Death being brought to *Cuzco*, the Generals *Guancanque*, and *Ingaroque* march'd out, by *Gunſcar's* Order, with a Numerous Army, and maintain'd a bloody War with *Atabalipa*, to oblige him to ſubmit to his lawful Sovereign *Guaſcar*; whilſt he labour'd to uſurp the Sovereignty. Several Battles were fought, and in them the *Indians* ſay, above 100000 Men were kill'd, *Atabalipa* ſtill getting the better. He coming to *Caxamalca*, which is the Occaſion of my mentioning this here, hear'd the News of the Strange People that were come into the Kingdom, and that they drew near him; and concluding it would be very eaſy to take and make them Slaves, he order'd his General *Chalicuchima*, to repair to *Cuzco* and endeavour either to take, or kill his Enemy. Whilſt he ſtay'd at *Caxamalca*, *Pizarro* came thither, where thoſe things happen'd which have been ſaid above, and *Atabalipa* was taken. Theſe Wars, and the long Continuance of the *Spaniards* there, reduc'd *Caxamalca* to ſuch a Conditon, that it ſeem'd to retain nothing but the Name of what it had been. Afterwards it began to recover a little, but other Wars enſuing, could not riſe to what it had been before. All the Structures of the *Ingas*, are gone to Ruin, as well here as in other Places. Caxamal-ca.

This Province is extraordinary fruitful, producing Corn, as plentifully as *Sicily*, with all Sorts of Grain, and Roots, and feeding Abundance of Cattle, as alſo Flocks of Foul. The Natives are of a good peaceable Diſpoſition; have ſome commendable Cuſtoms for living comfortably; but do not regard Honour, and conſequently are not ambitious; but very kind to the *Spaniards* that travel among them. They are ſingularly ingenious and induſtrious in drawing of Trenches, tilling their Lands, building of Houſes, breeding of Cattle, and working moſt curiouſly in Gold and Silver. They make as good Tapiſtry as the *Flemmings*, of the Wooll of their Sheep, and have ſuch an Art that all the Woof looks like Silk, tho' it be Wooll. The Women are beautiful and loving, many of

them clad like the *Pallas* of *Cuzco*. Here are rich Mines and the People are all converted.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Of the Cities of Frontera, *and* Leon de Guanuco.

SHort of the Province of *Caxamalca* laſt deſcrib'd, another Road made by the *Ingas* ſtrikes off to the Province of the *Chachapoyas*, who defended themſelves ſo bravely againſt the ſaid *Ingas*, that they oblig'd them to fly, in ſhameful manner, but being overpower'd were at laſt oblig'd to ſubmit to thoſe Monarchs. Many of them were then carry'd to *Cuzco*, where they had Lands aſſign'd them to till and build Houſes on near a Hill, adjoining to the City, call'd *Carmenga*. The Mountain Provinces about the *Chachapoyas* being ſtill apt to revolt, the *Ingas* order'd theſe People, with ſome of the *Orejones* to keep Garriſons on the Frontiers, to curb thoſe *Indians*, and therefore they had great Stores of all thoſe Weapons they uſe.

Chachapoyas *Province.*

Theſe *Chachapoya Indians* are the faireſt and moſt agreeable of all I have ſeen in thoſe Parts; and their Women ſo beautiful, that many of them were prefer'd to be Wives to the *Ingas*, and others plac'd in the Temples of the Sun, and to this Day as many of them as remain are moſt lovely Creatures, extraordinary fair and well ſhap'd. Both they, and their Husbands wear woollen Garments; and *Llantos* about their Heads, which are the Ligatures by which they are diſtinguiſh'd from other Nations. When ſubdu'd by the *Ingas* they ſubmitted to their Cuſtoms, Habit, Religion, *&c.*

Captain *Alonſo de Alvarado* enter'd this Province, by Order of *Don Franciſco Pizarro*, and when he had ſubdu'd it, founded the City *Frontera*, in the Year 1536, on a Spot of Ground call'd *Leuanto*, ſtrong by Nature, which was levell'd by Hand to build the Town; whence it was ſoon after remov'd to another Province, call'd

Frontera *City.*

los

los Guancas, look'd upon as a healthy Place. The *Chachapoya*, and *Guanca Indians* ſerve the Inhabitants of this City that are Proprietors, as do thoſe of the Province of *Caſcayunga*, and others. There were great Apartments and Magazines of the *Ingas* in theſe Parts, their Towns are very healthy, and ſome of them have rich Gold Mines. Men and Women are all clad, had Temples formerly dedicated to their Gods, and Abundance of Sheep, and made curious Cloth for the *Ingas*, as they do ſtill, and delicate Tapiſtry of great Value. Their Cuſtoms, and the Product of the Country differ'd little or nothing from what has been already deſcrib'd. About the City the *Spaniards* have their Farms, which yield them much Wheat, and other things of *Spaniſh* Growth. To the Eaſtward of it runs the Ridge of the Mountains *Andes*, beyond which is *Moyabamba*, and other great Rivers, and ſome Nations of a leſs civiliz'd People than theſe I ſpeak of.

It is generally believ'd that the Progeny of a famous Commander among them call'd *Ancoallo* ſettled this way up the Inland, for they tell us, that he ſeeing the Cruelty of the *Inga* Generals, abandon'd his Native Country, and went away with ſuch of the *Chancas* as would follow him, and there is a mighty talk of the Lake where they are reported to have built their Towns. In the Year 1550, above 200 *Indians* came to the City *Frontera*, *Gomez de Alvarado* being then Governour, who ſaid, that a very great Number of them departing their Country ſome Years before, had travell'd through many Provinces where they met with ſo much Oppoſition, that only thoſe here mention'd had ſurviv'd. They declar'd, that to the Eaſtward, there are large and populous Provinces, ſome of them abounding in Gold and Silver.

The City of *Leon de Guanuco* was firſt founded in the Year 1539, by *Gomez de Alvarado*, under the Direction of the Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro*. This Province of *Guanuco* was firſt ſubject to the City of *Lima*, whoſe Inhabitants having more Lands than they were able to make good, and one *Illatopa*, an *Indian*, being in Arms ravag'd all the Country about. This oblig'd *Pizarro*, tho' oppos'd by the Councel of *Lima* to order the building of the New City of *Leon*, to curb the revolting *Indians*, and

Leon de Guanuca City.

distribute Lands to such *Spaniards* as still wanted. Some Years after the first building, it was again abandon'd, on Account of the General Insurrection of the *Indians*, throughout the Kingdom. Some Time after it was rebuilt by *Peter Barroso*, and lastly quite settled and establish'd by *Peter de Puelles*, after the Rebel *Yllatopa* was taken.

The Situation is healthy and the Mornings and Evenings extraordinary pleasant. All Sorts of Grain and Fruit, both *European* and *Indian* thrive well; there is Plenty of Cattle and Foul, and some Lions, and large Bears on the Mountains. There was a Noble *Inga* Palace in this Province, and a Temple of the Sun so much honour'd, that 30000 *Indians* are said to have been deputed to its Service. To say any more of it, would be only repeating what has been mention'd in speaking of other Provinces, and therefore we shall pass it by.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Of the Country from Caxamalca *to* Xauxa.

FRom *Caxamalca* to the charming Vale of *Xauxa* is about 80 Leagues. Eleven from *Caxamalca* is another large Province, formerly very populous, call'd *Guamacucho*, and the mid way a very pleasant and delightful Vale, which being shelter'd by the Mountains, is hot, and a fine River runs through it, along whose Banks, Corn, Vines, and all *Spanish* Fruit grows in Perfection. This Province of *Guamachuco* was like that of *Caxamalca* in all Respects. In the best Part of it is a large Plain, on which the *Tambos*, or Royal Palaces were built, two of which are 22 Yards Broad and about 200 in length, all of Stone, cover'd with mighty Beams, and curiously thatch'd over with Straw after their Manner. The Wars have consum'd many of the Natives; the Climate is good, rather cold than hot, abounding in all things for the Support of Man, and paticularly great Numbers of Sheep, and of *Guanacos*, and *Vicunnas*, which are wild, on the Mountains.

Guamachuco *Province.*

I

I was inform'd, the *Ingas* had a Royal Foreſt in this Province, into which no Native was to enter, upon Pain of Death, to kill any of the wild Cattle, which was there very Numerous, beſides ſome Lions, Bears, Foxes and Deer. When the *Inga* would make a royal Hunting, he order'd 5, 10, or 20000 *Indians* to come together, who beſet a great Part of the Foreſt, cloſing up by Degrees in good Order, till they came to joyn Hands, with all the Game in the Midſt of them. It was then pleaſant to ſee how the *Guanacos* would skip, and the Foxes run about to make their Eſcape. Another Parcel of *Indians* went into the Ring, who with Staves, or Darts kill'd or took as many as the Prince pleas'd, and they ſeldom deſtroy'd leſs than 10, or 15000, ſo great was the Plenty of them. Of the Wool of theſe *Vicunnas* they made the fineſt Cloth for the Service of their Temples, and for the *Ingas* themſelves, their Wives and Children. Theſe *Indians* are very tractable, and have always been in ſtrict Friendſhip with the *Spaniards*. Formerly they were ſuperſtitious and ador'd ſome Stones as big as Eggs, and others larger, of ſeveral Colours, which they plac'd in their *Guacas*, or Temples, ſtanding on the high ſnowy Mountains. In their Sacrifices they us'd to ſhed the Blood of Sheep and Lambs, fleaing them alive, before they were kill'd, and then took out their Hearts and Plucks very haſtily, to obſerve their Signs and Tokens in them; for I was inform'd that ſome of them were addicted to Southſaying, and took much Notice of the Motion of Comets. The *Ingas* brought them to Worſhip the Sun, and the *Spaniards* have made them Chriſtians. From this Province of *Guamachuco* a Royal Road made by the *Ingas* runs to the *Conchucos*, and falls into another, nothing inferior to it at *Bombon*. The one they ſay was made by *Topayngi Tupangue*, and the other by his Son *Guaynacapa*.

Conchucos *Province.*

Two ſmall Days Journey from *Guamacucho* was the Province of the *Conchucos*, and in the Mid-way Apartments and Store houſes to entertain the *Ingas* when they travell'd; for they did it with great State, and not above four Leagues a Day, unleſs upon extraordinary Occaſions, and therefore at every four Leagues had thoſe Magazines and Lodgings, plentifully ſtor'd with all the Country

ty could afford, tho' it were in Deserts; all which their Stewards look'd to, and that none might be wrong'd kept their Accounts exactly on Knots made in Clusters of Strings of several Colours, very ingenious, tho' we cannot understand them, and these they call *Quipos*. The Road was always kept very clean, and where the Hills were craggy, they carry'd them along the Sides, making spacious resting Places, and stone Stairs, so very firm and solid, that they will last many Ages.

The common Particulars of these *Indians* are like the rest; they are of a middle Stature, very Warlike, and gave the *Ingas* much Trouble before they were subdu'd. They slew some *Spaniards* at several Times, insomuch that the Governour *Pizarro* sent Captain *Francis de Chaves* against them, who made War in a dreadful Manner, burning and impaling a great Number of them. Much about that Time, or very little before happened the general Insurrection of most of the Provinces, when the *Indians* between *Cuzco* and *Quito* slew above 700 *Spaniards*, putting such as they could take alive to cruel Deaths. Their Fury is much to be dreaded when they prevail, and they alledg'd they fought for their Liberty, and to be deliver'd from the Hardships they lay under, as the *Spaniards* did for the Sovereignty over them and their Lands.

There are rich Gold and Silver Mines in this Province of the *Conchucos*. Sixteen Leagues beyond it is that of *Pyscobamba*; and 8 Leagues from the last that of *Guaraz*, among craggy Mountains, and it is very remarkable to see how curiously the great Road is carry'd along them, being broad, and smooth, along the the Sides, the solid Rock being cut away in many Places to make Levels, and stairs. These *Indians* are also of a middle Stature, very laborious, inclin'd to dig Silver, whereof they us'd to pay Tribute to the *Ingas*. Among the other ancient Structures there is a large Fort, being a Sort of Square, 140 Paces in Length, and something more in Breadth, with Bodies and Faces of Men carv'd in several Parts, all exquisitely well done. Some of the *Indians* say, the *Ingas* caus'd it to be built in Memory of a Victory obtain'd, and for a Fortress to support their Allies. Others positively deny it, and tell us, that long before the *Ingas* reign'd

Pyscobamba, & Guaraz Provinces.

reign'd, there was a gigantick Race of Men in that Country, as big as those Figures represent, who were all destroy'd by the Wars and Length of Time, so that no Memory of them remain'd but these Stones.

Beyond this Province is that of *Pieres*, near a River, on which there are Peers to lay over the Bridge they make to pass it. The Natives here are of a good Size, and genteel Men to look to, for *Indians*. Further on is the great and stately Palace of *Cuzmijo*, the chief of all the Structures from thence to *Cuzmanco*, and of many more.

Next is the Province of *Bambo*, strong by Nature and the Natives so Warlike, that they say the *Ingas* could never subdue them by Force; but they were brought to submit by fair Means. Here is a Lake about 80 Leagues in Compass, in a plain and cold Country, at some Distance from the Mountain, and round it were the [illegible] Towns, with large Trenches and other Fortifications about them. There are some Islands, and Rocks in it, where the Natives, in Time of War, secure themselves from their Enemies. Some believe the Water that runs from this Lake is the Original of the famous River of Plate, because it is grown to a mighty Stream in the Vale of *Xauxa*, and afterwards join'd by the Rivers *Pareo*, *Bilcas*, *Abancay*, *Apurima*, *Yucay*, and others, to the Eastward, unknown to us. The Natives here formerly had much Cattle, which tho' decreas'd by the Wars, yet there are great Flocks of the wild Sort on the Hills, and Deserts, little *Indian* Wheat grows, because the Country is too cold, as has been said.

Ten Leagues farther is the Province of *Tarama*, no less Warlike than the other, and a much better Climate, which is the Reason it produces Plenty of *Indian* and *European* Wheat, and all Sorts of the Country Fruit. To pass by other things wherein they resemble their Neighbours, when any Couple is to be Marry'd, all the Neighbours meet, and fall a drinking of their Liquor, then the Bride and Bridegroom come together, and after biting one another on the Cheeks, and some other Ceremonies, the Wedding is concluded. When the great Men dy'd, they were bury'd as has been said of others, and their Wives

Wives that remain'd alive, were ſhorn, put on black Hoods, and daub'd their Faces with a black Compoſition they made; in which Widow Habit they were to continue a Year, at the End whereof they might Marry again, but not ſooner. They had ſolemn Feſtivals in the Year, and were very ſtrict in obſerving their Faſts, without eating Fleſh, or Salt, or lying with their Wives. They deſir'd the moſt religious among them all to faſt a whole Year for the Health and Proſperity of them all, which being perform'd, they met about Harveſt Time, and ſpent ſome Days and Nights in eating and drinking. Sodomy was hateful among them, tho' perhaps formerly us'd by the People of *Guaylas*, becauſe the others to this Day uſe an Expreſſion, or Proverb by way of Contempt, or to affront any body, ſaying in their Language, *As far as* Guaylas; ſignifying with us, *May you be purſu'd by the* People of *Guaylas*; that is, may you fall into the Hands of *Sodomites*.

Chap. LXXV.

Of the Vale of Xauxa.

Xauxa Vale.

This Vale is about 14 Leagues in Length, and four or five in Breadth, in ſome Places more, in others leſs, the River mention'd in the laſt Chapter running through it and was formerly ſo Populous, that the *Spaniards* reckon it contain'd 30000 *Indians*, when they came into it, I queſtion whether there be 10000 at preſent. They were divided into three Parties, yet all of them call'd *Guanças*. They ſay they were ſo order'd in the Days of *Guaynacapa*, or his Father, who divided their Lands, ſo one Part is call'd *Xauxa*, the ſecond *Maricabilca*, and the third *Laxapalanga*. There were Houſes of the *Ingas* in each of them, but the chiefeſt is the Fort call'd *Xauxa*, being very ſtrong and curious, within an Incloſure, where there was alſo a Houſe of *Mamaconas*, and a Temple of the Sun, and Abundance of Workmen, who made Veſſels of Gold, and Silver for the Temple, and the *Inga*, in whoſe Ser-

vice

vice above 8000 Men were there employ'd. All the Buildings were of Stone cover'd with mighty Beams, and long Straw over them.

Ridiculous Indian Story.

These *Indians* tell a comical Story concerning their Original, which is, That they are descended from a Man, whose Name I have forgot, and a Woman call'd *Urochombe*, who both of them came out of a Spring, call'd *Guaribilca*. These two bred so fast, that all the *Guancas* came of them. In Memory whereof they say, their Ancestors built a great high Wall, and near it a Temple, where they came to pay their Worship. They own'd an universal Creator of all things, whom they call *Ticebiracocha*, and believ'd the Immortality of the Soul. Their Towns were divided into Quarters, built with Stone, like the Forts, and resembling small Towers, wide at the Bottom, and narrow at the Top. Formerly they were all free Districts, and made War one upon another; but when subdu'd by the *Ingas*, apply'd themselves to Husbandry, and bred much Cattle, wearing longer Garments than they had done before. About their Heads they have woollen Ferrets, four Fingers broad, for their distinctive Mark; fought formerly with Slings, Darts and Spears, and had built a Temple call'd *Guaribilca*, near the Spring above mention'd. I saw it, and by it were three or four Trees, call'd *Molles*, like large Walnut Trees, which they reckoned sacred, and by them a Seat for the great Men, who came to offer Sacrifice, whence they descended on broad Stones, to an Enclosure, in which the Temple stood. There were Porters at the Gate to guard it, and Stairs went down to the aforesaid Spring, where stands a great ancient Triangular Wall, within it was a Plain, where they say, the Devil they ador'd resided, and us'd to speak to some of them.

These *Indians* add, they were told by their Forefathers, that a great Multitude of Devils once appear'd in that Place, who did much Harm among the Natives, frighting them with hideous Figures; but that 5 Suns were seen in the Sky, the Sight and Brightness whereof so daunted those Devils that they vanish'd, howling and shrieking; and the Demon *Guaribilca*, who resided in that Place was never seen again, all that Mansion of his being burnt. However, tho'

the *Ingas* built a Temple of the Sun, they did not give over ſacrificing to *Guaribilca*; but now both Places are ruin'd, and overgrown with Briers. For when the Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro* came into this Vale, the *Indians*, ſay, the Biſhop *Father Vincent de Valverde* broke down all the Idols; ſince which Time they never heard more of the Devil. I went to ſee this Temple, with *Don Chriſtopher*, Son to Maſter *Alaya*, who ſhew'd me this Piece of Antiquity, and now the *Indians* are all Chriſtians. This Vale of *Xauxa* is enclos'd with ſnowy Mountains, among which there are many Vales, where the *Guancas* ſow their Grain. The City of *Lima* was founded in this Place, before they remov'd it to that where it now ſtands; and much Gold, and Silver has been found here.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Of the Country between Xauxa *and* Guamanga.

Acos Territory.

FRom this Vale of *Xauxa* to the City of *Victoria de Guamanga* I reckon 30 Leagues. Travelling along the great Road, we paſs by ſome Eminences hanging over the Vale, on which there are very ancient Structures all gone to Ruin. Thence we proceed to the Territory of *Acos*, near a Bog full of Buſhes. The Natives live clear from the Road, among craggy Mountains lying to the Eaſtward, of whom there is nothing to be ſaid particular, being like the others ſpoken of.

Pico Apartments.

From *Acos* the Road leads to the *Inga* Apartments of *Pico*, along a Ridge, till it goes down the Sides of the Hills, and tho' the Cragginеſs of them makes it appear difficult, it is ſo broad, and well levell'd that a Man would almoſt think he is travelling on a Plain. Thus it goes down to the River that runs through *Xauxa*, over which there is a Bridge, and the Paſs is call'd *Angoyaco*. Near the Bridge there are white Crags, whence guſhes a Spring of Brackiſh Water. At this Paſs of *Angoyaco* there were Buildings of the *Ingas*, and an Encloſure of Stone, in which

which there was a Bath of the Water flowing there naturally hot, and fit for that uſe, to which the *Ingas* were much addicted, and all the *Indians* of thoſe Parts, both Men and Women waſh'd themſelves every Day. Next the River this Place is in the Nature of a ſmall Vale, full of the Trees they call *Molles*, and ſeveral other Sorts.

Farther on is the Town of *Picoy*, after paſſing another River, which has alſo a Bridge becauſe it is very rapid in Winter. From *Picoy*, we go to the Apartments of *Parcos*, built on the Top of a Mountain. The *Indians* live on high craggy Mountains on both Sides of it, among whom the *Spaniards* travelling to and fro are entertain'd. Short of *Parcos*, in a little Deſert is a Place they call *Pucara*, ſignifying, a Strong thing, where there was a Palace, and Temple of the Sun, and ſeveral Provinces reſorted thither with their Tribute. Here is ſuch a Multitude of Stones, ſo diſpos'd by Nature, that at a Diſtance they look like a City, or Caſtles with many Towers; for which Reaſon the *Indians* ſeem to have given it a proper Name. Among theſe Rocks and Crags, there is one near a ſmall River, very wonderful to behold, conſidering its Bulk and Grandeur. I ſaw, and lay on it one Night, and do take it to be 200 Cubits high, and above 200 about, at the very Top. Did it ſtand in a convenient Place, an impregnable Fort might be eaſily made of it. Another thing remarkable in this Vaſt Rock is, that there are ſo many Cavities about it as will contain above 100 Men, and ſome Horſes. All theſe ways are full of Caves, where Men and Beaſts may ſhelter themſelves againſt Rain and Snow. The Natives of this Country we are paſs'd, have their Habitations among great Mountains, moſt of the Tops whereof are generally cover'd with Snow, and they ſow their Corn in cloſe warm Spots, like Vales, that are ſhelter'd by the Hills, on many of which there are great Veins of Silver.

Picoy Town.

Parcos Apartment.

From *Parcos* the Road goes down a Hill, to a River, bearing the ſame Name as the Apartments, over which there is a Bridge built upon great Stone Piles. On this Mountain of *Parcos* the Battle was fought between the *Indians* and Captain *Margovejo de Quinnones*; and here *Gonzalo Pizarro* put to Death Captain *Gaſpar Rodriguez de Campo Redondo*. Beyond this River of *Parcos* is the A-

partment of *Assangaro*, whence the Road leads to the City of *St. Juan de la Victoria de Guamanga*.

Chap. LXXVII.

Of the City of Guamanga.

Wars with Mango Inga.

After the bloody War there was at *Cuzco* between the *Indians*, and the *Spaniards*, King *Mango Inga Yupangue*, finding himself quite broken and that there was no Possibility of recovering the City of *Cuzco*, resolv'd to retire to the Provinces of *Viticos* lying farther up the Country, beyond the Ridge of the great Mountains *Andes*. Captain *Roderick Orgonez* had first given him a Defeat, and rescu'd Captain *Ruy Diaz*, whom the *Inga* had kept Prisoner for some Time. *Mango Inga* being thus resolv'd, many of the *Orejonos* of *Cuzco*, who were the Nobility of that City, thought fit to follow him. Being come to *Viticos*, with a mighty Treasure he had gather'd from several Parts, and his Wives and Retinue, he settled in the strongest Place, whence his Men made frequent Excursions into the peaceable Parts, doing all the Harm they could to the *Spaniards*, whom they look'd upon as their Mortal Enemies, as having oblig'd them to quit their Dominion and Native Country. These things *Mango Inga* and his Followers gave out in all Parts, where they went to plunder: Now there being no *Spanish* City built in these Parts, but all the Natives divided among the Inhabitants of *Cuzco* and *Lima*, *Mango Inga*'s *Indians* had the Opportunity of doing much Mischief, killing and robbing many *Spaniards*, and *Indians* their Confederates. This mov'd *Don Francisco Pizarro* to send out Forces against him. The Factor *Illan Suarez de Caravajal* Marching from *Cuzco* by his Orders, sent Captain *Villadiego*, with a Party to scour the Country, hearing that *Mango Inga* was not far from them. These Men, tho' they had no Horse, which are the main Strength against the *Indians*, relying on their own Courage, and egg'd on by Covetousness, hoping to take the

Inga

Inga, and with him Part of his Treasure, ventur'd to climb a high Mountain, and got to the Top of it so tir'd, and spent, that *Mango Inga*, having Intelligence of them, fell on with little above 80 *Indians*, the *Spaniards* being 28, or 30, and kill'd Captain *Villadiego*, and all the rest, except 2, or 3, who with the Assistance of some *Indians* that were their Friends return'd to the Factor.

This News being brought to *Pizarro*, he march'd out of *Cuzco* very speedily, sending Parties after *Mango Inga*; but to no Effect, for he retir'd, with the Heads of the Christians to his Station at *Viticos*, till afterwards Captain *Gonzalo Pizarro* gave him several defeats overthrew many of his Works, and gain'd some Bridges. The Harm done by the revolted *Indians* being very great, *Pizarro* with the Advice of grave Men, and the Kings Officers, resolv'd to build a City in the mid way between *Cuzco* and *Lima*, for the Security of Travellers, and it was first call'd *St. Juan de la Frontera*, till afterwards the Viceroy *Vaca de Castro* having gain'd a Victory over the People of *Chile*, chang'd the Name to *la Victoria*. All the Provinces from the *Andes* to the South Sea, were before subject to the Cities of *Cuzco* and *Lima*, and the *Indians* divided among the Inhabitants of them. The Governour *Pizarro* having now resolv'd to found this City, he requir'd the Inhabitants of both to come, and settle in this New One, or else they should lose the Title they had to the *Indians* in those Parts, so that the Limits of *Lima* should only extend to the Province of *Xauxa*, and those of *Cuzco* to *Andaguaylas*.

Guamanga *City*.

Don Francisco Pizarro first founded this City, in the Year 1539 at an *Indian* Town call'd *Guamanga*, from which it had the Name, and lay near the Mountains *Andes*; but it was afterwards remov'd to the Place where it now stands, being a Plain, by a little Ridge of Hills, to the Southward. There was another Plain half a League off, which might have been more convenient for the Inhabitants, but that it wanted Water, and by the City, where it now stands, runs a small Brook, which affords it very good to drink. The Houses are the best and

and largeſt of any in *Peru*, all of Stone and Brick, Til'd, with Towers. The Market Place is plain and ſpacious, the Situation extraordinary wholeſome, being neither hot nor cold, but very temperate, and neither the Sun, Air, nor Dews hurtful. The *Spaniards* have their Farms, where they keep Cattle in the Vales, and on the Rivers about the City. The greateſt River is call'd *Vinaque*, where are the Ruins of very ancient ſtately Structures, which ſeem to be of a very long ſtanding. The Neighbouring *Indians* being ask'd, who built thoſe old Piles, anſwer it was done by other white Bearded People like us, who they ſay, came thither long before the *Ingas* reign'd, and ſettled their Habitations. I am of Opinion that this, and ſome others Structures in this Kingdom, are not of that Sort the *Ingas* erected; for this was Square, and theirs long and narrow. It is alſo reported, that an Inſcription was found upon one of the Stones of this building, which I do not affirm, tho' I do not queſtion but that ſome People capable of doing ſuch things might formerly come thither.

Ruins of mighty Structures.

About the River *Vinaque*, and in other Places about the City there grows Abundance of Corn, whereof they make as good Bread as any in *Spain*; Vines and all other things brought from *Spain* thrive, there is Plenty of all *Indian* Fruits, and more Pigeons than ever I ſaw in any other Part of the *Indies*. In Summer there is ſome want of Graſs for Horſes, which the *Indians* ſupply, yet no Cattle here ever eats Straw. There are very good outlets about the City, tho' the Briars and Brambles are ſo thick in ſome Places, that Travellers either a foot, or a horſeback muſt mind how they go.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Of the Indians *about* Guamanga, *and of the Province of* Bilcas.

THE *Indians* in this Part are ſtill very Numerous, tho' decreas'd by the Wars, and were moſt of them *Mitimaes*, that is tranſplanted by the *Ingas* from other Parts, ſome of them *Orejones*, but not of the Nobleſt of *Cuzco*. To the Eaſtward of the City are the Mountains *Andes*, and the South Sea to the Weſtward. I have already mention'd, what *Indians* lye along the great Road, the reſt have a fruitful Soil, are clad, and like the others, keeping their Places of Worſhip very private, where they ſacrific'd and perform'd other Superſtions. They were ſo reſolute and warlike, that the *Ingas* found much Difficulty in ſubduing them, for they tell us, that in the reign of *Inga Yupangue*, after the *Soras* and *Lucanes* ſturdy People in the Territory of this ſame City were defeated, a great Number of *Indians* fortify'd themſelves on a Strong Rock, where they did Wonders in Defence of their Liberty, in ſuffering Hunger, and other Hardſhips. On the other Hand, the *Inga Yupangue*, being ambitious of Sovereignty, and fearing to loſe Reputation, kept them block'd up, and in great Streights above two Years; at the End whereof, after the utmoſt Efforts, they ſubmitted to him. When *Gonzalo Pizarro* rebell'd the principal Inhabitants of this City of *Guamanga*, having taken up Arms for the King, went to ſecure themſelves upon this Rock, where they ſay they ſaw ſome Memorials of what the *Indians* report.

Reſolute Indians.

From the City of *Guamanga* to that of *Cuzco* is about 60 Leagues. In the way are the Hills and Plain of *Chupas*, where the bloody Battle was fought, between the Governour *Vaca de Caſtro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro* the Younger. Farther on along the great Road, is the Structure of *Bilcas*, 11 Leagues from *Guamanga*, which the Natives ſay was the Center of the Dominion of the *Ingas*; for

Chupas *Hills and Plain.*

Bilcas *Structure.*

for they tell us, it is as far from *Quito* to *Bilcas*, as from *Bilcas* to *Chile*; and some *Spaniards* who have travell'd it, affirm the same. *Inga Tupangue* built these Apartments, if we may believe the *Indians*, and his Successors enlarg'd them. The Temple of the Sun was large and very curious. Near the Structure, on the Top of the Mountain is an Eminency rising above the rest, which they always kept very clean. On the East Side of this Plain, was a Stone Chappel, or Place of Worship, belonging to the *Caciques*, enclos'd with a little Wall, whence a small Terrase jutted out six foot wide, on which other enclosures were founded, till at the End was the Spot, where the Lord plac'd himself to pray, made of one Piece, so large that it is eleven foot in Length, and 7 in Breadth, and in it two Seats for the aforesaid Purpose. This Stone, they say, us'd to be cover'd with Gold and Jewels, adorning the Place they held in such Veneration. Another large Stone like a Font, is now in the midst of the Square, on which they tell us, the Beasts and Young Children were sacrific'd, and their Blood offer'd to the Gods. Some Treasure has been found by the *Spaniards* on the aforesaid Terrase. Behind it stood the Palace of *Topaynga Yupangue*, with other Apartments, and great Magazines. There are still, near a small Hill above 700 Houses, which serv'd to lay up Provisions. In the midst of the Square was another Seat, like a Stage, where the *Cacique* sate to see the usual Dancing and Sports. The Temple of the Sun, the Stones whereof were curiously join'd, had two spacious Fronts, with two Stone Staircases going up to them, of about 30 Steps each; and within it were Lodgings for the Priests, and those who look'd after the *Mamaconas*. The *Orejones*, and other *Indians* say the Figure of the Sun was of great Value, that there was much Treasure dedicated to it and bury'd, and that above 40000 *Indians* serv'd these Structures in their Turns. Forty Porters were appointed to keep the Gates. Across the Square ran a curious Trench, very Artificially Drawn, and the great Men had private Baths in it, for themselves, and their Wives. There is nothing of all this now to be seen, but the Foundation, bare Walls, some of the

Notable Place of Worship.

the Enclosures, and the Stairs of the Temple, all overrun with Grass, and most of the Magazines fallen down.

The Road runs on from hence to *Uramarca*, 7 Leagues farther towards *Cuzco*, and in the way travellers cross the broad River call'd *Bilcas*, which is near these Structures. On each Side of the River is a large Pillar of Stone, strong and with deep Foundations, to lay the Bridge over, which consists of Cables made of Withes, in the Nature of the Ropes they use in *Spain* for Wells. These Bridges, when laid, are so firm, that Horses may gallop over them, as if they were of Stone. This Bridge I went over, and it was 166 Paces in Length. About the Source of this River is the fertil Province of the *Soras*, inhabited by a Warlike People. They and the *Lucanes* us'd the same Tongue, went clad, and had much Cattle, and there were Gold and Silver Mines in both of them. The *Ingas* valu'd them so much, that they reckoned their Provinces their Peculiar Patrimony, and the Sons of the prime Men resided at the Court of *Cuzco*. The Road goes on to *Uramarca*, a Town of *Mitimaes*, or *Indians* transplanted from other Parts, most of the Natives having perish'd during the Wars with the *Ingas*.

Wonderful Bridge.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Of the Province of Andabaylas, *the River* Apurima, *the Vale of* Xaquixaguana, *and great Road as far as* Cuzco.

WHen I came into the Province of *Andabaylas* a noble *Indian* call'd *Basco* was Lord of it, and the Natives are call'd *Chancas*, who wear Cotton Tunicks, and Mantles. They were formerly so brave, as we are inform'd, that they not only made Conquests abroad, but even laid Siege to the City of *Cuzco*, till at last overthrown by the Valour of the *Inga Yupangue*. The

Chancas Indians.

renowned Commander *Ancoallo*, ſo famous in theſe Parts for his Bravery, was a Native of this Country; of whom we ſaid before, that diſdaining to ſubmit to the *Ingas* he went up the Inland, and ſettled on the Banks of a Lake. I enquir'd of theſe *Chancas* about their Original, who told me ſuch another Fable, as that above of *Xauxa*, ſaying, their Anceſtors came on a ſudden out of a ſmall Pool call'd *Soclococha*, whence they extended their Conqueſts to a Place they call *Chuquibamba*, where they ſettled. Some Years after they made War upon the *Quichuas*, a very ancient Nation, then poſſeſs'd of this Province of *Andabaylas*, which they ſubdu'd, and remain'd poſſeſs'd of it to this Day. They held the Lake they pretended to have come out of as ſacred, and it was their principal Place of Worſhip, where they offer'd Sacrifice. Their Cuſtoms were like thoſe before mention'd, and are now Chriſtians. They all wore their Hair long, breaded very ſmall, and about their Heads ſmall woollen Twiſts hanging down under their Chins. The Province is long, full of Tame Cattle, and the wild is innumerable; Proviſions and Fruit abound in it. We were here a long Time, with the Preſident *Gaſca*, when he went to puniſh the Rebel *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and theſe *Indians* ſuffer'd much by the unreaſonableneſs of the *Spaniards*, the good *Cacique* being very induſtrious in ſupplying them.

Fabulous Original.

From this Province of *Andabaylas*, by the *Spaniards* generally call'd *Andaguaylas*, we go to the River *Abancay*, which is 9 Leagues nearer to *Cuzco*, and on its Banks there are ſtrong Stone Pillars, holding a Bridge like the laſt ſpoken of. The Courſe of it forms a ſmall but fruitful Vale among the Mountains. By this River *Don Diego de Almagro* routed and took Captain *Alonſo de Alvarado*, who commanded for the Governour *Don Franciſco Pizarro*.

Abancay River.

Eight Leagues from this River *Abancay* is that of *Apurima*, the greateſt from *Caxamalca* to the Southward. The Road is well carry'd along the Sides of the Hills, which muſt coſt them that did it vaſt Labour, in breaking the Rocks, and levelling of it, eſpecially where it comes down to the River, being ſo ſteep, and difficult, that ſome Horſes, loaded with Gold and Silver have fallen down it, and been loſt paſt retrieving. When

Apurima River.

I

I return'd to *Lima*, after we had routed *Gonzalo Pizarro*, ſome Soldiers of us croſs'd this River without any Bridge, becauſe it was then Broken. Every one of us ſingly was put into a Basket and drawn over upon a Cable made faſt to the Pillars aforeſaid on both Sides, for above 50 Fadom Diſtance. Beyond the River is the Place where the *Ingas* had their Apartments, and an Oracle, where the *Indians* ſay the Devil gave Anſwers out of the Trunk of a Tree, near which they bury'd Gold, and offer'd Sacrifice.

From this River *Apurima* the way proceeds to the Apartments of *Limatambo*, and beyond the Mountain *Bilcaconga*, where *Don Diego de Almagro* had a Fight with the *Indians*, before he got to *Cuzco*, is the Vale of *Xaquixaguana*, Plain, and encompaſs'd with Hills, but ſmall. At the Entrance into it is the Place where *Gonzalo Pizarro*, was routed and executed, with others of his Followers, by the Licenciate *Peter de la Gaſca*, the King's Preſident. Here was a ſtately rich Palace, to which the Kings of *Cuzco* us'd to repair for their Diverſion. In this Place alſo *Don Franciſco Pizarro* order'd *Chalicuchima*, *Atabalipa*'s General to be burnt. From this Vale to the City of *Cuzco*, is 5 Leagues, the great Road croſſing it. The Water of a River that riſes hard by makes a quaking Bog, which would be almoſt impaſſable, had not the *Ingas* made a broad and firm Cauſway over it, with Walls on both Sides, ſo ſtrong, that it will laſt many Years. From the Cauſway the Road runs along ſmall Hills, and the Sides of them as far as the City of *Cuzco*.

Limatambo *Structure, and* Bilcaconga *Mountain.*

Xaquixaguana *Vale*

Chap. LXXX.

Of the great City of Cuzco.

THE City of *Cuzco* is ſeated on a very uneven Ground, encompaſs'd with Mountains on all Sides, and between two ſmall Brooks, one of which now runs through it, becauſe the Buildings have been extended beyond it. On the Eaſt Side of it is a Vale, beginning at the City, ſo that the Water of the two Brooks run to the Weſtward. In this Vale, by reaſon of its extraordinary Coldneſs, there are no Fruit Trees, except ſome *Molles*. On the neareſt, and higheſt Hill to the Northward of the City is a Fortreſs, which was once a ſtately ſtructure, for Bigneſs and Strength, and tho' now ruin'd, ſtill ſhows what it was, the mighty Foundations being ſtill viſible, and ſome of the principal Towers ſtanding. To the Northward, and Eaſtward, are the Provinces of *Andeſuyo*, being the Woods and Mountains of the *Andes*, and the great one of *Chinchaſuyo*, being the Lands towards *Quito*. On the South Side are the Provinces of *Collao*, and *Condeſuyo*; the firſt of them to the South Eaſt, and the latter to the South Weſt.

Cuzco City.

One Part of the City was call'd *Hanancuzco*, and the other *Orencuzco*, in which the nobleſt Inhabitants liv'd, and where there were ſome very ancient Families. On another Side was the Hill of *Cærmenga*, where there were little Towers at certain Diſtances, which ſerv'd to ſhew the Motion of the Sun, which they valu'd themſelves much upon. In the middle near the Hills, where the greateſt Part of the Town ſtood was an indiffernt large Square; ſaid to have been formerly a Bog, or Lake, and made good, and levell'd as it is with Stone and other Materals, by the firſt Founders. From this Square were deriv'd four great Roads. That they call'd *Chinchaſuyo* led to the Plains, and all the Hilly Country as far as the Provinces of *Quito* and *Paſto*. The ſecond Nam'd *Condeſuyo* goes to the Provinces that are ſubject to

to this City, and that of *Arequipa*; the third being *Ag-*

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THE CITY OF
CUSCO
CAPITAL OF PERU

Spaniards reside. *Mangocapa* the first *Inga* King was the Founder

Nam'd *Condesuyo* goes to the Provinces that are subject to

to this City, and that of *Arequipa*; the third being *Andesuyo*, to the Provinces along the Sides of the Mountains *Andes*, and some Territories beyond them; and the last, which is *Collasuyo*, to the Lands extending to *Chile*. Thus as *Spain* was divided by the Ancients into Provinces, so these *Indians* distinguish'd their vast Empire by Roads. Over the River that runs through the City there are Bridges. No regular City nobly adorn'd was found in the Kingdom of *Peru*, but only *Cuzco*, which, as has been said, was the Metropolis and Court of the *Ingas*. The other Provinces consisted of scatter'd Dwellings, and what Towns there were had no Form, or any thing commendable.

Cuzco was regular and stately, being doubtless founded by very understanding People. It had great Streets, tho' narrow, and the Houses of dry Stone, so curiously join'd, that it is a great Additon to the Antiquity of the Structure, such mighty Stones being so neatly put together. All the rest was Timber, Thatch and Terrass, for there was no Sign of Tiles, Bricks, or Lime. The *Ingas* had Apartments in several Parts of the City, where every Successor in the Empire kept Entertainments. Here also was the famous, and magnificent Temple of the Sun, call'd *Curicanche*, the richest in Gold and Silver of any in the World. Most of the City was inhabited by *Mitimaes*, who were govern'd by singular Laws and Statutes, after their Manner, and known to all Men, both as to civil and religious Affairs. It was the wealthiest Place we know of in the *West Indies*, immense Treasures having been there long heap'd up by those mighty Princes, and no Gold or Silver once brought in was to be carry'd out again, on Pain of Death. The Sons of the prime Men came in their Turns from all the Provinces of the Empire to reside some Time at Court, with all their Retinue. There was a great Number of Goldsmiths and Gilders, who work'd for the *Ingas*. In the principal Temple resided their high Priest, whom they call'd *Vilaoma*. At present here are very good Houses, with Turrets, but thatch'd with Straw. The Place, tho' cold, is healthy, best furnish'd with Necessaries of any in the Kingdom, and where most Estated *Spaniards* reside. *Mangocapa* the first *Inga* King was the Founder

Temple of the Sun.

Founder of it, and after ten other Sovereigns his Succeſſors had kept their Court there, it was rebuilt by *Don Franciſco Pizarro*, the *Spaniſh* Governour in the Year 1534.

This being the prime Seat of the Empire, the *Indians* at certain Times of the Year, came from all the Provinces, to build the Houſes, cleanſe the Streets, and do whatſoever elſe was enjoin'd them. On both Sides near it there are many great Apartments, and Magazines like the others in the Kingdom, all of them only differing in Size, and Strength; and the *Ingas* being ſo wealthy ſome Structures gilt, and others adorn'd with Plates of Gold. Not far from the City is a great Hill, call'd *Guanacaure*, anciently held ſacred, and accordingly they there ſacrific'd human Blood, and Abundance of Sheep and Lambs. The City being full of Strangers reſorting from the Provinces of *Chile*, *Paſto*, *Cannares*, *Chachapoyas*, *Guancas*, *Collas*, &c. every Race of them was by it ſelf, in particular Places, aſſign'd by the Governments. They all obſerv'd their own Cuſtoms, and wore their ſeveral Habits, and tho' there were 100000 Men together, they were all known by the diſtinctive Marks on their Heads.

In ſeveral Parts of the City there are great Structures under Ground, and ſtill, very deep in it, they find ſome great Stones, Pipes, and Pieces of Gold they us'd to bury, whereof very much has not been yet found. Round about there are many Temperate Vales, producing much Fruit, which is ſold in the City: as alſo Plenty of Wheat, beſides *Spaniſh* Fruit Trees. The River that runs through the City drives Mills, and four Leagues from it are ſtill to be ſeen the Quarries where they dug the Stones for their Buildings, and very remarkable. The City has plentiful Breeds of Hens, and as good Capons, as any in *Europe*, as alſo good *European* Garden Stuff; and in the Vales there are Herds of Cows, Goats and other Cattle, both of our Sort, and the *Indian*.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Of the Vale of Yucay, *and Province of* Condesuyo.

ABout 4 Leagues from *Cuzco* is the beautiful Vale of *Yucay*, so seated among the high Mountains, that their Shelter renders it healthy and pleasant, for it is neither too hot, nor too cold, insomuch that the Inhabitants, and Council of *Cuzco* have had thoughts of removing the City thither; which will never be done because the Buildings are so great, that it will be too chargeable, and troublesome; besides that it would not be allow'd of for the Antiquity of the City. This Vale as well as that of *Bilcas* bears Vines, and all Sorts of Fruit, and delightful Trees; yet this seems to exceed all the rest, for the *Indians* resorted to it for their Diversion, and particularly *Viracocha Inga*, Grandfather to *Topayngi Yupangue*. All about it are Ruins of great Structures, particularly those at *Tambo*, three Leagues down in the Vale, between two great Hills, near a Break, through which a Brook runs. Tho' the Vale is so temperate as has been said, the Hills are cover'd with Snow the greatest Part of the Year. Here the *Ingas* had one of the strongest Forts in all their Dominions, seated on Rocks, which a few Men could defend against a mighty Army. Some of the Rocks, about it were perpendicular, and consequently render'd the Place impregnable, there being several Stages below, one above another, that look like Walls, on the Breadth whereof they sow'd as much Corn as they had Occasion for. Among these Rocks are still to be seen some Figures of Lions, and other Beasts, as also of Men, with Weapons like Halbards, in their Hands, as if they guarded the Passes, all of them curiously carv'd. The Buildings were very great, and they say there were mighty Treasures in them, before the *Spaniards* subdu'd the Country. Some of the Stones in these Structures are so large, that they requir'd much Strength of Men, and no less Art to bring and place them where they are. It is confidently

Yucay *Vale.*

Fort.

ly reported, that in this, and other *Tambos*, for this Name they gave to such Structures, there was melted Gold us'd instead of Cement, [*This must be as we use Lead for cramping of Stones*] and that the Governour *Pizarro* had much of it. The *Spaniards* say, *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro* the Younger took much Gold from *Pacaritambo*, at several Times, I cannot question the Truth hereof, when I call to mind the great Treasure that was seen at *Sevil* carry'd thither from *Caxamalca*, where that immense Mass of Wealth promis'd the *Spaniards* by *Atabalipa* was gather'd, and most of it brought from *Cuzco*; and yet this was inconsiderable to what was afterwards found, and distributed among them, and all together much inferior to what the *Indians* convey'd away, and could never be heard of. Had the fine Cloth that was then lost, and despis'd been preserv'd, the Value of it would have been greater than I dare to speak of.

Chumbilcas Indians, &c.

This Province of *Condesuyo* comprehends the *Indians* they call *Chumbibilcas*, the *Vuinas*, those of *Pomatambo*, and several other Nations. Some of them were Warlike, and had their Dwellings among excessive high Mountains, where they had infinite Multitudes of Tame and Wild Cattle, and their Houses were all of Stone, cover'd with Straw. Much Gold has been found in the Rivers that run among the *Aymaraes*. At *Pomatambo*, and in some other Parts of the Kingdom there is curious Tapistry made, the Wool being very fine, and the Colours so lively, that they exceed those of other Nations. There are many Rivers in this Province of *Condesuyo*, over some of which they have Bridges of Ropes, made like those already mention'd. It yields much Fruit, and other Trees, and there are Deer, and Partridges, and Hawks to kill them.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Of the Mountains Andes, *and the* Indians *living on them.*

THis Ridge of Mountains call'd *Andes* is one of the greateſt in the World, for it commences at the Streights of *Magellan*, and runs through all *Peru*, and ſeveral other Provinces. It is very thick of high Clifts ſome of them cover'd with Snow, others belching out Fire. There is much Difficulty in paſſing it, by Reaſon of the Thickneſs of the Woods, and becauſe it rains there moſt of the Year, and is ſo cloſe and dark, that there is no ſtirring without ſpecial Care, for the Roots of the Trees riſe above the Ground, every where, ſo that it is more troubleſome making way for Horſes to paſs. There is a Tradition among the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, that *Topaynga Yupangue* went over this Mountain, with a mighty Army, and found much Difficulty in ſubduing ſeveral Nations, that dwelt on it. At the foot of it towards the the South Sea the Natives were civiliz'd, clad and ſubmiſſive to the Laws of the *Ingas*; but on the other Side to the Eaſtward the People are more rude, and brutal, but bring up Abundance of *Coca*, which is an Herb the *Indians* value very much, whereof I ſhall ſpeak in the next Chapter. On theſe High Mountains there are Abundance of wild Creatures, as Bears, Lions, Tigers, Dantas, Boars, Fine Monkeys call'd *Gatos Pintados*, &c. Some *Spaniards* have ſeen Snakes there, as big as large Pe ms, *Vaſtſna s* and tho' ſo frightful to behold, they do no manner of Harm, in ſomuch, that a Man may ſit down upon them without Danger. Being at *Cuzco*, and diſcourſing with the *Indians* about theſe Snakes, they told me what I am going to relate, as a certain Truth, and is, That in the Days of the *Inga Yupanguc*, Son to *Viracoche Inga*, ſome of his Commanders were ſent by him, with a great Number of Men, to ſcour the *Andes*, and ſubdue all the *Indians* they could. That whe1 they were far on the

Mountains, thoſe Snakes deſtroy'd moſt of thoſe Men, which prov'd ſo great a Loſs, that the *Inga*, was much concern'd at it. An old Witch hearing of it, deſir'd him to let her go to the *Andes*, and ſhe would ſo ſtupify the Snakes, that they ſhould never more do Harm. Leave being granted, ſhe went to the Place, where the Miſchief had been done, and by her Spels and Charms took away all their Fierceneſs and made them ſo tame, and ſtupid, as they now are. This is likely a Fiction of theirs, but it is certain, that tho' ſo large, theſe Snakes are not hurtful.

Some Parts of the *Andes*, where the *Ingas* had Apartments, and Magazines were very populous; and the Soil Fruitful, producing *Maiz*, *Yuca*, and other Roots and Fruits; beſides thoſe Sorts the *Spaniards* have carry'd out of *Europe*. In the moſt inacceſſible Part of theſe Mountains, they ſay, there are People ſo Barbarous, that they have neither Houſes nor Cloaths; but live wandering about like Brutes, killing Birds and Beaſts with their Arrows to eat. That they have no Lords or Commanders; but meet accidentally in Caves and hollow Trees. They add there are alſo great Female Baboons, but I have not ſeen them, with which thoſe Men have carnal Copulation; ſome whereof they affirm bring forth Monſters, with Heads and privy Members like Men, and Feet and Paws like Monkeys. Theſe Men, they tell us are ſmall body'd, of a monſtrous Shape and hairy; having no Language, but rather a Sort of Houl. I do not vouch this for a certain Truth, but am apt to believe it may be poſſible, ſince we know there have been Men ſo beaſtly as to leave Women, to mix with Mares and other Beaſts.

Barbarous People.

In the Year 1549 I went to the Province of *los Charcas*, to take a View of the Towns and Provinces there, having Letters of Recommendation from the Preſident *Gaſca* to the *Corregidores*, or Prime Magiſtrates of all Places, for them to be aſſiſting to me, that I might enquire into all that was remarkable in thoſe Parts. A Gentleman of *Malaga*, whoſe Name was *Inigo Lopez de Nuncibay*, and I happen'd to lye one Night together by the Way in a Tent, where a *Spaniard*, that accidentally was preſent told us, that he had himſelf ſeen one of the Monſters

Los Charcas Province.

ſters above deſcrib'd, dead on the Mountain. Beſides *John de Varagas*, an Inhabitant of the City *la Paz* aſſur'd me, that the *Indians* at *Guanuco* told him they hear'd the howling of theſe Baboons, or Devils. This is what they report of theſe wretched Creatures, and I have been credibly inform'd, that *Francis de Almendras*, of the Town of *La Plata*, took an *Indian* Woman coupling with a Dog, and caus'd her to be burnt. Beſides I was told by *Lope de Mendieta*, *John Ortiz de Zarate*, and other Townſmen of *La Plata*, they had it from ſome of their *Indians*, that a Woman in the Province of *Aulaga* was deliver'd of three or four Monſters ſhe had by a Dog, but they ſoon dy'd.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Of the Herb Coca, *and of the Country between* Cuzco, *and the City* La Paz.

Chewing us'd by Indians.

I Have obſer'd in all Parts of the *Weſt Indies*, where I have been, that the Natives delight in holding Herbs, Roots, or Twigs of Trees in their Mouths. Thus in the Territory of *Antiocha* they uſe a ſmall Herb, call'd *Coca*, and other Sorts in the Province of *Arma*. In thoſe of *Quimbaya*, and *Anzerma*, they cut Twigs off a Sort of tender midling Trees, which are always green, wherewith they are inceſſantly rubbing their Teeth. In moſt Parts about *Cali*, and *Popayan*, they hold in their Mouths the aforeſaid ſmall *Coca*, with a Compoſition they keep in little Calabaſhes, or elſe a Sort of Earth, like Lime. Throughout all *Peru*, from the Time they riſe in the Morning, till they go to Bed at Night, they are never without this *Coca* in their Mouths. The Reaſon ſome *Indians*, to whom I put the Queſtion, gave me for ſo doing, was, that it made them inſenſible of Hunger, and added to their Strength and Vigour. Something there may be

in it, yet I am rather of Opinion, it is only an ill Habit, and fit for such People as they are.

Coca Plant. This *Coca* is planted on the Mountains *Andes*, from *Guamanga* to the Town of *La Plata*, where it grows up to little Trees, which they cherish and nurse up carefully, that they may bear those Leaves resembling our Myrtle. They dry them in the Sun, and then lay them in long narrow Baskets, each of them holding about a Quarter of an Hundred Weight. So highly was this *Coca* valu'd in *Peru*, in the Years 1548, 49, 50 and 51, that I believe no Plant in the World, except Spice could equal it; for at that Time most of the Plantations about *Cuzco*, *La Paz* and *La Plata* yielded some 80, some 60, some 40000 Pieces of Eight a Year, more or less and all in *Coca*; and whosoever had Lands assign'd him, first reckoned how many Baskets of *Coca* they yielded. In fine, it was more esteem'd than the best Wheat. They carry'd it to sell at the Mines of *Potosi*; and so many fell to planting, that it is now much fallen in the Price, but will always be valu'd. Several *Spaniards* got Estates by buying and selling of *Coca*, or bartering for it in the *Indian* Markets.

The Distance between the City of *Cuzco*, and that of *La Paz* is about 80 Leagues, before which last Place was founded, all the Country now belonging to it, was subject to the first. From *Cuzco* the great Road of *Collasuyo* leades to the narrow Passes of *Mohina*, leaving the Apartments of *Quispicanche* on the right Hand. This Road as soon as out of *Cuzco* runs to this Place all a broad Causway, and of solid Masonry. At *Mohina* is a muddy Bog, through which the Road is still carry'd on strong Foundations; and here were great Structues, but all gon to Ruin. When *Pizarro* came with his *Spaniards* to *Cuzco*, they are said to have found a great Quantity of Gold, Silver, and curious Cloth, in and about these Buildings. Some *Spaniards* have told me, there was in this Place, a stone Statue of a Man, with a Sort of long Garment, and Beads in his Hand; besides other Figures, which the *Ingas* caus'd to be carv'd, for Memorials of their Grandeur; tho' some of them were Idols they worshipp'd.

Mohina Passes.

Beyond

Beyond *Mohina* is the ancient Town of *Urcos*, about 6 Leagues from *Cuzco*. Along this Road is a great ſtrong Wall, on which the *Indians*, ſay, there was an Aqueduct, artificially brought from ſome River as they draw their Trenches. In this Wall was a ſpacious Gate, and Officers at it, who receiv'd the Duties payable to the Sovereigns; beſides whom there were others appointed by the *Ingas*, to ſeize and puniſh ſuch as durſt preſume to carry any Gold, or Silver from *Cuzco*. Here were the Quarries, where they dug Stone for their *Buildings*, and very remarkable. *Urcos* ſtands on a Hill, where there were Lodgings for the *Ingas*. Urcos *Town.*

Three Leagues from hence is *Quiquixama*, all the way uncooth Mountains, down the middle whereof falls the River *Yucay*, over which is a Bridge, like thoſe above mention'd. Near this Place dwell the *Indians* they call *Cavinas*, who before they were ſubdu'd by the *Ingas*, had their Ears bor'd, and ſome Sort of Ornament in them, and were *Orejones*. *Manghcapa* the Founder of *Cuzco* is ſaid to have gain'd them to his Party. They wear woollen Garments, moſt of them without Hair, and tye a black Breade about their Head. Their Towns are on the Mountains, and their Houſes of Stone. They had formerly a Temple, held in great Veneration, call'd *Auzancata*, near which they ſay, their Anceſtors ſaw a Devil in their own Shape and Habit, to whom they offer'd Sacrifice, after their Manner. They tell us they then poſitively believ'd, that the Souls departing the Body, went to a great Lake, whence they vainly thought they deriv'd their Original, and that there they enter'd into the Bodies of thoſe that were born. When ſubject to the *Ingas* they became more polite, and ador'd the Sun, yet not forgetting their own Temple. Quiquixama *Territory.* Cavinas Indians.

Beyond this Province are the *Canches*, peaceable and underſtanding *Indians*, free from Malice, laborious, and uſeful for digging Gold and Silver, and rich in their Sheep. Their Towns are like their Neighbours, as are their Garments, and about their Heads they wear black Twiſts hanging under the Chin. They are ſaid to have maintain'd War long with *Viracoche Inga*, and his Predeceſſors, and to have been much eſteem'd, when ſubdu'd Their Canches Indians.

Their Weapons were Darts, Slings, and thoſe they call *Ayllos*, wherewith they bound their Enemies. Their Cuſtoms differ not from the reſt, and they generally have no regard for Honour, or Grandeur, yet ſome of their Lords are haughty among their People, and treat them roughly. They had their appointed Feſtivals, at certain Times of the Year, and danc'd in the Squares before the Houſes of their Lords. All this Country produces Wheat, and *Maiz*, has Abundance of Partridges and *Candores*, the *Indians* breed many Hens in their Houſes, and take Plenty of good Fiſh in the Rivers.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Of the Province of the Canas, *of* Ayavire, *and the Country of the* Collas.

Canas *Province.*

THE next Province adjoyning to the *Canches* is that of the *Canas*, another Nation, and the Names of their Towns are *Hatuncana*, *Chiquana*, *Horuro*, *Cacha*, &c. They are all clad, Men and Women, and on their Heads wear great, round, and high woollen Caps. They had their Towns on the Hills, before the *Ingas* ſubdu'd them, whence they made War upon one another; but afterwards came down into the Plain, and built more regularly, their Cuſtoms being the ſame with the *Canches*. They had a Temple call'd *Ancocagua*, where they ſacrific'd after their wicked Manner. On the farther Side of a River is a ſmall Encloſure, in which ſome Quantity of Gold was found; for they ſay it was a Temple erected in Honour of their God *Ticeviracocha* whom they call, the Creator, and in it was an Idol of Stone, as big as a Man cloath'd, and with a Crown, or Diadem on his Head. There were thoſe that imagin'd this Figure might be made for ſome one of the Apoſtles that came into this Country.

All this Territory of the *Canas* is cold, as well as that of the *Canches*, and well ſtor'd with Proviſions, and Cattle.

tle. The South Sea is on the West, and the *Andes* on the East of it. From the Town of *Chiquana*, in the Province to that of *Ayavire* is about 15 Leagues, in which Interval there are some Towns of the *Canas* and several Plains, and large Champains fit for breeding of Cattle, but that they are too cold; and the great Store of Grass growing in them only serves the *Guanucos*, and *Vicunnas*. This Town of *Ayavire* was formerly, and still is very remarkable, especially for the mighty Graves belonging to it, which are so numerous, that they take up more ground than the Town. The *Indians* affirm that the Natives of *Ayavire*, were of the Race of the *Canas*, and having maintain'd War against the *Inga Yupangue*, were so weaken'd that it oblig'd them to submit to his Servitude, rather than utterly to perish; yet he being revengeful, after basely murdering many *Indians* of *Copacopa*, and other Towns near the *Andes*, did the same by the People of *Ayavire*, so that very few escap'd alive, and such as remain'd rang'd about the Fields, and call'd upon their Forefathers, who had been long dead, bitterly bewailing the Desolation of their Country. Ayavire *Town.*

Ayavire standing in a good Country, and a considerable River running by it, the *Inga Yupangue* order'd a stately Palace to be there built for him, with Magazines at the Foot of a little Mountain, as also a Temple of the Sun. This done, and the Natives being consum'd as has been said, the *Inga* order'd *Mitimaes*, that is, *Indians*, with their Wives and Families, to come from the adjacent Provinces to take Possession of the Lands of the Dead, and to build a regular Town, near the Temple of the Sun, which afterwards continually encreas'd, till the coming of the *Spaniards*, since then it has been much impair'd by the Wars. Near it are the Ruins of a Temple, and round all the Town Abundance of Graves.

At *Ayavire* begins the Province of the *Collas*, the largest, I believe, in all *Peru*, and reaches as far as *Caravoko*. On the East of it are the *Andes*, on the West the Tops of the snowy Mountains, and their Sides running down towards the South Sea. Besides the till'd Lands, here are great Deserts, full of wild Cattle. This Collas *Province.*

Country

Country is all Plain, and good Rivers croſs it in ſeveral Parts, which make large Medows full of Graſs, tho' in Summer it is parch'd up, as in *Spain*. Their Winter begins in *October*, and ends in *April*; the Days and Nights are almoſt equal, and it is colder here than in any Part of *Peru*, except the higher Grounds, and ſnowy Mountains, the Reaſon whereof is that this Land is alſo high, and almoſt equal with the Hills. Were this Territory a deep Vale like *Xauxa*, or *Coquimbo*, that would produce *Maiz*, it might be reckoned one of the Wealthieſt Parts of the *Weſt Indies*. It is very troubleſome travelling in theſe Plains of *Collao* in windy Weather; but when calm and the Sun ſhines, the Meddows yield a pleaſant Proſpect, tho' neither *Maiz*, nor any Trees thrive, and conſequently there is no Sort of Fruit. The Towns ſtand thick, and the Houſes in them cloſe to one another, not large, but of Stone, and Thatch'd with Straw, inſtead of Tiling. All about theſe Towns are ſow'd Grounds, their Chief Suſtenance being *Papas*, which are Roots, not unlike thoſe we call Pig Nuts. Theſe they dry in the Sun, and keep the Year about, and when dry they call them *Chuno*, putting a great Value upon them, for they have no Trenches to water their Fields, as has been ſaid of other Parts, and therefore ſoon want, if they have not Rain, unleſs they have laid up Store of theſe dry'd *Papas*. Many *Spaniards* have grown very rich, only by carrying this *Chuno* to *Potoſi*. They have another Sort of Food call'd *Oca*, of great uſe with them; but their ſmall Grain, about the Bigneſs of Rice, known by the Name of *Quinna* is much better. In plentiful Years the Inhabitants of *Collao* live well; but ſuffer very much when they want Rain.

The *Ingas* being wiſe and provident Princes, enacted ſuch Laws as eaſed the People of thoſe wants they us'd to ſuffer, before they were under their Government. For here among the *Collas*, and in other Vales of *Peru*, which by reaſon of their Coldneſs, were not ſo fruitful as the Hot, they order'd that ſince the great Mountains *Andes* were near moſt of their Towns, a certain Number of *Indians*, with their Wives ſhould go out of each of them, and till the Lands appointed them by their *Caciques*, wher-

where they sow'd whatsoever their own would not bear, with which they furnish'd their Lords, or Commanders, and these were call'd *Mitimaes*. Thus, tho' no *Maiz* be sow'd in the Province of *Collao*, by this Contrivance the Lords and all that will have it are supply'd; for they never fail to bring Loads of *Maiz*, *Coca*, all Sorts of Fruit, and much Honey, which they find among the Woods in Trees, as has been said in speaking of *Quimbaya*. There is very good Honey of this Sort in the Province of *los Charcas*. *Francis de Caravajal*, Major to *Pizarro*, afterwards declar'd a Traitor, is said, always to have eaten of this Honey, and to have drank it like Wine, or Water, declaring, he found it kept him in Health, and Vigour; and so he was when I saw him executed in the Vale of *Xaquixaguana* very lusty, tho' above 80 Years of Age, as he said himself.

CHAP. LXXXV.

A farther Account of this Nation of the Collas.

MAny of these *Indians* say they receiv'd a Tradition from their forefathers, that there was formerly a mighty Flood; and pretend they are of great Antiquity, telling many Fables concerning their Original, which I think not worth Writing, for some say they came out of a Spring, others from a Rock, and others from Lakes; so that there is no regarding their Stories. They all agree, that their Progenitors liv'd very rudely, before they were subdu'd by the *Ingas*, having their Towns on the Hills, whence they warr'd upon one another, and their Manners were very Vicious. Afterwards, they learnt of the *Ingas* like the rest, went clad, and tho' they allow'd the Women to be loose before they were Marry'd, yet if they afterwards prov'd false to their Husband, the Penalty was Death. On their Heads they wore a Sort of Caps, like our Stone Mortars, made of their Wool, and call'd *Chucos*, their Heads being all long, without

Indians *Fables.*

Habit.

out any Pole, because they shape them to their Fancy, in their Infancy, as has been said before. The Women on their Heads have Hoods, almost like Friers. They tell us, there were two mighty Lords among them, before the Reign of the *Ingas*, one of them call'd *Zapana*, and the other *Cari*, and these made themselves Masters of many *Pucares*, which are their Forts. That one of them went upon the Lake *Titicaca*, and in the greatest Island, there is in it found white bearded People, with whom he fought, till he destroy'd them all. That after this, they had many Battles with the *Canas*, and the *Canches*, and after many notable Exploits perform'd abroad, these two great Men War'd upon one another, endeavouring to gain the Friendship of *Viracocha Inga*, who then reign'd at *Cuzco*. He concluded a Peace with *Cari*, at *Chucuyto*, and us'd such Art, that he brought many of the *Collas* under his Dominion without Force.

State Commonalt.

The great Men had a Numerous Retinue, were carry'd on Men's Shoulders when they travell'd, and much respected by all their *Indians*. They had their *Guacas*, or Temples in the Deserts; but the most remarkable thing here is their Graves, which I particularly observ'd and admir'd, they should take so little Care of the House they liv'd in, and be so solicitous about their Burial. Thus in the Plains, near the Towns, there were Tombs, or Monuments, like small square Towers, some all of Stone, others of Stone and Earth; some wide some narrow, in fine sutable to the Persons that made them. The Tops of some were cover'd with Straw, others with large Stones, and I think the Way into them look'd to the East. When the great Men dy'd; they lamented them for several Days, the Women holding Staves in their Hands, and their Bodies girt, and every one of the dead Mans Kindred brought what he was able either of Sheep, Lambs, *Maiz*, or other things. Before the Body was bury'd, they kill'd the Sheep and laid the Plucks in the Places they had for that Purpose in the Tombs. Whilst they bewail'd the departed, much Liquor was made of *Maiz* for them to drink, and the more of it was spent, the greater Honour they reckon'd

Graves & Funerals.

they

they had done the Dead. When the Liquor was made, and the Sheep and Lambs kill'd, they carry'd the Body to the Field where the Grave was, moſt of the Town's People attending him, if he were a Lord, and by it they burnt 10, or 20 Sheep, more or leſs according to his Quality. Then they ſlew the Wives, Children, and Servants, that were to be ſent to ſerve him, according to their vain Opinion. All this was then put into the Grave, with ſome Perſons alive. When he was thus bury'd, they all return'd to the Houſe he was brought from, where they devour'd the Meat that had been gather'd, and drank the *Chicha*, or Liquor provided; going out now and then to the Squares before the Houſes, where they all danc'd together weeping. This laſted ſome Days, at the end whereof they aſſembled the pooreſt Men and Women, and gave them what Meat and Drink was left. They ſay they had other Ceremonies, if the Perſon deceas'd was of extraordinary Quality. When all this was perform'd, the Wives that had not been kill'd, and other Servants went about the Town in their Mantles and Hoods, ſome of them carrying the dead Lords Arms, others the Ornament he wore on his Head, others his Garments, others the *Duho*, or Seat he had ſate on, and ſo of other things, following an *Indian*, who went before drumming and weeping, and all of them utter'd moſt diſmal, and doleful Expreſſions. Thus they went all about the Town, ſinging Dirges, and in them repeating all the Dead Man's Actions, and other things to that Purpoſe. I remember when I went from *los Charcas*, with one *James de Uzeda*, an Inhabitant of the City *La Paz*, in the Town of *Nicaſio*, we ſaw ſome Women going about in the aforeſaid Manner, and underſtood by the Interpreters that they ſaid, what we have mention'd; and one of thoſe preſent added, as ſoon as theſe Women have done wailing, they will be all drunk, and ſome of them will kill themſelves, to go bear the dead Lord Company. I have ſeen them bewail the Dead in ſeveral other Places, and the Women tye Ropes about their Heads, to expreſs more Sorrow.

Beſides they cut off their Hair, and wore their worſt Cloaths, without taking any Care of themſelves, ſpending a whole Year in Lamentation, if the Dead Perſon was a *Cacique*, and forbearing to light Fire in his Houſe for ſeveral Days. They alſo kept the Anniverſaries, adorning the Graves with Greens, killing ſome Cattle, and burning much Fat of Lambs by them. Then they ſpilt ſeveral Veſſels of their Liquor about, and ſo ended their vain Ceremony.

Theſe People had very conſiderable Temples, obſerv'd their Ceremonies, and honour'd their Prieſts; keeping Feſtivals, particularly, when they gather'd in their *Papas*, which are the principal Suſtenance, and then they ſacrific'd many Beaſts. At this Time they have many Churches and are all Chriſtians. They formerly, as well as the other Mountain People, call'd the Almighty Creator *Ticeviracoche*, and believ'd he reſided in Heaven; yet ador'd many Gods, like other Heathens. They have a Sort of Songs, which preſerv'd ſomething of their Hiſtory, tho' they had no uſe of Letters. They are a rational People, and had ſome Knowledge of the Motions of the Sun and Moon, by which Means, they kept Account of their Years, but thoſe were only of 10 Months. They told me, they call'd the Year *Mari*; a Month, and the Moon *Alejpaquexa*, and the Day *Auro*. When ſubdu'd by the *Ingas*, by their Order they built ſtately Temples, both in the Iſland *Titicaca*, and at *Hatuncolla*, and elſe where. They hated Sodomy, tho' it is reported that ſome of the more ruſtick Sort, who look'd to the Cattle us'd it privately, as did thoſe who ſerv'd the Temples.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

Of Pucara, *of* Hatuncolla, *of the Town of* Aſſangaro, *and of the great Lake of* Titicaca.

FOur Leagues from *Ayavire*, along the great Road, is *Pucara*, which ſignifies, a ſtrong Place, and ſaid to have been formerly very populous, but at preſent there is ſcarce one *Indian*. I ſpent a whole Day in viewing this Place. The Neighbouring People ſay, that *Topaynga Yupangue* kept theſe *Indians* beſieg'd a long Time, they having kill'd many of his Men; but that when ſubdu'd, the *Inga*, as a Memorial of his Victory caus'd ſeveral great Figures of Stone to be made, which I do not vouch for a certain Truth, but was told it. All I ſaw here, was the Ruins of mighty Structures, and many Stone Statues of Men, and other things, worth obſerving. Pucara *Fortreſs.*

Hatuncolla is 15 Leagues from *Pucara*, and in the way to it there are ſeveral Towns, as *Nicaſio*, *Xullaca*, &c. In former Times *Hatuncolla* was the principal Place of *Collao*, the Natives whereof tell us, that before the *Ingas* ſubdu'd them, they were under the Government of *Zapana*, and his Succeſſors, who gain'd ſeveral Victories over their Neighbours. The *Ingas* afterwards adorn'd it with ſtately Structures, Magazines, and a Temple of the Sun, ſo that it was ſomething extraordinary as the Name denotes, for *Hatun* ſignifies Great. Now all is gone to Ruin, and moſt of the Natives are conſum'd by the Wars. Hatuncolla *Town.*

From *Ayavire*, above ſpoken of, runs another Road, call'd *Omaſuyo*, along the other Side of the great Lake, I ſhall preſently treat of, and nearer the Mountains *Andes*, leading to the great Townſhips of *Horuro*, *Aſſilo*, *Aſſangaro*, and others of great Note, being rich in Cattle, and Proviſions. When the *Ingas* reign'd, they had great Flocks of Sheep in all theſe Territories. Among them in the woody Part of the Mountain is the Famous, and

Caruaga *River.* and rich River of *Caruaya*, whence of late Years above 1700000 Pieces of Eight Value of Gold was taken up, and ſo fine, that it was above Standard. There is ſtill more Gold found in it, but it coſts much Labour, and the lives of the *Indians* if they are employ'd, the Place being reckoned unwholeſome, but the Treaſure immenſe.

This Province of *Collao* being very large, as has been ſaid beſides the Parts inhabited, there are ſeveral Deſerts, and Snowy Mountains, and Fields abounding in Graſs, which ſerves the wild Cattle, whereof there is Plenty every where. In the midſt of the Province is the largeſt Lake we know of in the greateſt Part of the *Weſt Indies*, and call'd *Titicaca*, about it are moſt of the Towns of this Nation, and the People ſow in the Iſlands it forms, and there keep ſuch things as they value moſt, as being ſafer there than near the Roads. I have already ſaid, this Country yields no Fruit, nor *Maiz*, becauſe of its exceſſive cold. Among the Ruſhes in this Lake there are great Numbers of ſeveral Sorts of Birds, and large Geeſe; beſides they take two or three Sorts of well taſted Fiſh, but moſt of it reckoned unwholeſome. The Lake is 80 Leagues about, and ſo deep, that Captain *John Ladrillero* told me, that going about it in Brigantines they had in ſome Places found 70 and 80 Fadom Water, in ſome more, and ſome leſs. This and its ſwelling Waves when the wind blows makes it look like a Gulph of the Sea. I cannot be poſitive whence ſo much Water comes, for tho' ſeveral Brooks, and Rivers fall into it, they all ſeem to me too little to form it, eſpecially conſidering that this runs out into another ſmaller Lake, call'd *Aulagas*. It might remain ever ſince the Flood, for had it any Supply from the Sea, I ſhould think the Water would be Salt, rather than Sweet, beſides that it is 60 Leagues from the Sea. This Water disburdens it ſelf at a deep River, reckoned a great Security to this Country, call'd *El Deſaguadero*, that is, the Drain, and runs into the Lake of *Aulagas*, above mention'd. Another remarkable thing is, that we ſee how the Water of the Lake *Titicaca* runs into that of *Aulagas*, but not how it goes out, tho' the latter has been ſearch'd all round. To this I

Titicaca *Lake.*

have

have heard some *Spaniards* and *Indians* say, that in certain Vales near the South Sea there are continually Sources of Water breaking out from under Ground, which they suppose may come from this Lake, forcing its way through the Bowels of the Earth, till it comes to the Sea, the general Receptacle of all Waters. This Lake was call'd *Titicaca*, from the great Temple built in it concerning the which they tell us a ridiculous Story, and is, that they had no light for several Days, and when they had thus continu'd in Darkness, the Sun rose very bright out of the Island of *Titicaca*, for which Reason they held it Sacred, and the *Ingas* built the aforesaid Temple in it, in Honour of the Sun, which was in great Veneration and had Virgins, and Priests belonging to it, with mighty Treasures, whereof the *Spaniards* found some, but much more is suppos'd to have been lost.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

Of the rest of the Country, as far as Tiaguanaco, *and of that Town.*

TO return to *Hatuncolla*, the way runs thence to *Paucarolla*, and other Towns of this Nation of the *Collas*, as far as *Chuquito*, which is the best, and most regular Place to be found in the greatest Part of this Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the *Indians* belonging to the King of *Spain*, in this Territory. The *Ingas* formerly made much Account of it, and according to the *Indians* it is one of the ancientest Places hitherto spoken of. *Cariapassa* was Lord of it, and a Man of good Sense, for an *Indian*. The Towns subject to it are *Xuli*, *Chilane*, *Acos*, *Pomata*, and *Cepita*, in which there are Lords, who have Command over great Numbers of Natives. They are rich in Cattel, and have Plenty of Provisions of the Country, having *Mitimaes* in the Islands and other Parts to sow *Coca*, and *Maiz*. There are Christian Churches in all the

Chuquito Town.

the aforesaid Towns, most of them founded by the *Reverend Father Thomas of St. Martin*, Provincial of the *Dominicans*. The *Desaguadero*, or Drain, running from the Lake of *Titicaca* to that of *Aulagas* passes by *Cepita*, where in the Reign of the *Ingas* there us'd to be Tol Gatherers, who receiv'd the Duties from those who went over the Bridge, which was made of Trusses of Oat Straw, in such Manner that Men, Horses, or any thing else might pass. Beyond these Towns is *Guaqui*, where the *Ingas* had Apartments, and now there is a Church.

Tiaguanaco *Town.*

Tiaguanaco is no large Town, but remarkable for its mighty Structures, which are more than ordinary. Near the chief Apartments, stands a Hill rais'd by Hand, and set upon a Solid Foundation of Stone. Beyond this Hill are two Stone Idols, of a human Shape, and so curiously carv'd, that they seem to be the Work of very able Masters. They are as big as small Giants, with long Garments different from those the Natives wear, and seem to have some Ornament on their Heads. Near these Stone Statues is another Building, whose great Antiquity, and the want of Letters are the Cause we cannot discover what Nation laid such vast Foundations, and erected such mighty Piles, or how long it has been rais'd; for at present there is nothing to be seen, but only a good Stone Wall, that appears to have stood many Ages, some of the Stones being much worn, and decay'd, and so prodigiously large that it is wonderful how they could be brought thither by Men. Several of them are variously wrought, some being shap'd like Human Bodies, which perhaps were their Idols. Near the Wall there are several Cavities under Ground.

Wonderful Antiquities.

Again, to the Westward of this Structure, there are still greater Antiquities and among them several Gate Ways, with their Jambs, Thresholds, and little Portals, all of one single Stone. What I took particular Notice of, when I view'd, and writ down these things was, that as big as these Gate Ways were, there ran out from them other larger Stones, on which they were founded, some of them being above 30 Foot long, above 15 in Breadth, and 6 in Thickness, and yet all this, the Gate, Jambs, and Thresholds were all of one entire Stone, which

which is moſt wonderful. I own it is beyond my comprehenſion, nor can I imagine what Tools they had to do it with, for it is plain thoſe Stones muſt have been much larger before they were hew'd into the Shape they are now in. It is farther obſervable, that this Structure was never finiſh'd; becauſe there is nothing of it, but only theſe Gate Ways, and other Stones I ſaw of a prodigious Magnitude, ready hew'd, and ſquar'd for the Building, at a little Diſtance from which was a ſmall Chappel, or Cloſet, and in it a large Stone Idol, they propably ador'd. It is reported, that ſome Gold was found by this Idol, and about this Temple there was a Number of large, and ſmall Stones hew'd out, like thoſe already mention'd.

To conclude, I take this to be the greateſt Piece of Antiquity in *Peru*, for theſe Structures are ſuppos'd to have been erected long before the Reign of the *Ingas*; and I have heard the *Indians* affirm, that the ſaid *Ingas* took their Model for the great Building at *Cuzco*, from the Wall in this Town; they add that thoſe Princes once deſign'd to have ſettled their Court at *Tiaguanuco*. Another thing is here very remarkable, which is, that for a great way about there are no Rocks, nor Quarries, whence they might have taken ſo great a Number of them, and doubtleſs there muſt have been a Multitude of People to draw them. I ask'd the *Indians* before *John de Varagas*, under whom they are, whether thoſe Piles had been rais'd by the *Ingas*, at which they laugh'd, declaring, as has been ſaid, that they are much more ancient, but they knew not who was the Founder, having been told by their Forefathers, that all we ſaw there was done in one Night. This and what they report of bearded Men having been ſeen in the Iſland *Titicaca*, and their building the Structure at *Viracque*, makes me believe there was formerly ſome civiliz'd People in theſe Parts, who in Proceſs of Time were all conſum'd. At a Diſtance from theſe Buildings, are the Apartments of the *Ingas*, and the Houſe in which *Mango Inga*, the Son of *Guaynacapa* was born. Near to which are the Graves of the Native Lords of this Town, as high as Towers, broad and ſquare, with the Doors to the Eaſtward.

Chap. LXXXVIII.

Of the City La Paz, *the Country between it, and* La Plata, *and of that Town.*

Viacha *Town.*

HOlding on the great Road, seven Leagues from *Tiaguanuco* is the Town of *Viacha*; leaving on the left Hand those of *Cacayavire*, *Caquingora*, *Mallama*, and others not worth naming in particular. Amidst them is the Plain, near to *Guarina*, where the Battle was fought between *James Centeno*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in which many brave Officers, and Soldiers of the Loyal Party, serving under the former were kill'd, and the Rebels under the latter came off Victorious. To go to the City *la Paz* we must leave the great Road, and turn off to the Town of *Laxa*, from which the City is 7 Leagues distant, seated in the narrow Part of a small Vale form'd by the Mountains, and on the Plainest Spot, where there is Plenty of Wood and Water, this Vale being more Temperate than the higher Plains of *Collao*, which do not afford all things Necessary to supply such a City. The Inhabitants have had Thoughts of removing near the great Lake of *Titicaca*, or the Towns of *Tiaguanuco*, or *Guaqui*, but it will continue in the Vale of *Chuquiabo*, where much Gold has been taken out of rich Mines.

La Paz *City.*

The *Ingas* had a great Value for this *Chuquiabo*, near to which is the Town of *Oyune*, where they say much Treasure lyes hid, in an ancient Temple, on the Top of a great snowy Mountain, but could never be found. This City call'd *Nuestra Senora de la Paz*, that is, Our Lady of Peace was founded by Captain *Alonso de Mendoza*, in the Year 1549. In this Vale where the City stands, they sow *Maiz*, and plant some few Trees, and it produces *Spanish* Herbs and Grain. The *Spaniards* are plentifully supply'd with Provisions, Fish from the Lake, and fine Fruit brought from the hot Vales, where much Wheat is sow'd, and there are great Breeds of Cows, Goats, and other Cattle. The Avenues to the City are uncooth,

and

and craggy, by Reason of its Situation among the Mountains, and by it runs a River of good Water. The Town of *la Plata* is seated in the Province of *los Charcas* about 90 Leagues from *la Paz*, whence I will return to the great Road, which runs from *Viacha* to *Hayohayo*, where there were great Apartments of the *Ingas*; beyond *Hayohayo* is *Siquisica*, which is the utmost Extent of the Province of the *Collas*. Eleven Leagues farther is *Caracollo*, seated in great Champain Plains, near the Province of *Paria*, formerly much valu'd by the *Ingas*, where the People are clad like the rest, and wear a Sort of small woollen Caps on their Heads. Beyond *Paria* are the Towns of *Pocoata*, *Macha*, *Caracara* and *Moromoro*, and there are other considerable Provinces near the *Andes*.

Paria Province.

The *Spanish* Town of *la Plata*, in the Plain of *Chuquisica*, of the Province of *los Charcas*, is very famous in *Peru*, and throughout a great Part of the World, on Account of the immense Treasure sent thence into *Spain*, besides which, it is seated in a Soil producing Fruit Trees, Wheat, Barley, Vines, and other Necessaries. The Farms and Lands for breeding of Cattle sell at very great Rates because of the vast Wealth of the Mines of *Potosi*. Its Territories are large, and several good Rivers run by it, so that there are great Breeds of Cows, Goats, and Horses, and some of the Inhabitants are as rich as any in the *West Indies*; for in the Years 1548 and 1549 the yearly Income of some Estates, as that of the General *Peter de Hinojosa*, was worth 100000 Peices of Eight, others 80000 and some more. This Town of *la Plata* was founded by Captain *Peranzurez*, in the Year 1538, and besides the Places already mention'd, there are subject to it those of *Totora*, *Topaca*, *Sipisipe*, *Cochabamba*, the *Carangues*, *Quillanca*, *Chayanta*, *Chaqui*, the *Chichas* and others; all Rich, and some of their Territories, as the Vale of *Cochabamba* proper to bear Wheat, and *Maiz*, and to breed Cattle.

La Plata Town.

Beyond this Town is the Province of *Tucuman* discover'd by Captain *Philip Gutierrez*, *James de Rojas*, and *Nicholas de Heredia*, who went that way to the River of *Plate*, and farther Southward, than the Fort built by *Sebastian Gabot*. *James de Rojas* dy'd of a wound he receiv'd with a poison'd Arrow, and afterwards *Francis de*

Tucuman Province.

Mendoza impudently seiz'd *Philip Gutierrez*, and oblig'd him to return to *Peru*, with great Hazard of his Person. *Mendoza* returning from his Discovery of the River was kill'd, with his Collonel *Ruy Sanchez de Hinojosa*, by *Nicholas de Heredia*, which was the Occasion that those Parts were not then throughly discover'd, the Divisions among them, being the Occasion of their returning to *Peru*, where meeting with *Lope de Mendoza*, Collonel to the Commander *James Centeno*, who fled from the Fury of *Caravajal*, one of *Gonzalo Pizarro*'s Officers, they join'd him; but being again divided they were routed by the said *Caravajal*, at a Town call'd *Pocona*.

Chile Kingdom.

Farther on is the Province of *Chile*, first Govern'd by *Peter de Valdibia*, and other Countries next the Streights of *Magellan*, but *Chile* deserves a Particular Relation, and and having describ'd all from *Uraba* to *Potossi* which is 1200 Leagues in Length, I shall proceed no farther. As for the *Indians* subject to the Town of *la Plata*, their Customs are the same as those already spoken of.

Chap. LXXXIX.

Of the immense Wealth of Porco, *and* Potossi.

Rich mines

IT appears by the Account the *Indians* give, that whilst the *Ingas* govern'd *Peru*, the *Indians* in this Province of *los Charcas*, dug much Silver out of several Mines, and deliver'd it to the Officers appointed by those Princes, and there were then Mines on this Hill of *Porco*, whence they tell us much of the Plate found in the Temple of the Sun at *Curicancha* was brought, and the *Spaniards* have taken thence much more. In my Time a Mine belonging to the Commander *Ferdinand Pizarro* was open'd, and said to yield him 200000 Pieces of Eight a Year. *Anthony Alvarez*, an Inhabitant of this Town, at the City of *Lima*, shew'd me some Ore, taken out of another Mine he has

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on the ſame Hill of *Porco*, which ſeem'd to be almoſt all Silver, ſo that this Place was, is, and 'tis believ'd will always be prodigious rich. Other very wealthy Mines have been found on the Mountains within the Liberty of this Town of *la Plata*, ſo that all Men certainly believe, if they had Hands enough to work there might be as much Silver found here, as there is Iron in *Biſcay*; but much of this Treaſure lyes bury'd, becauſe the *Indians* cannot be compell'd to dig it, and the Country is too cold for Blacks, and they very coſtly. There are alſo Rivers within the Liberties of this City, that yield very fine Gold, which is little regarded by reaſon of the richneſs of the Silver Mines.

The Mines of *Porco*, and ſeveral others in theſe Parts were many of them open'd in the Days of the *Ingas*; but thoſe of *Potoſi*, I ſhall now ſpeak of were never diſcover'd, till the Year 1547, when one *Villaroel*, a *Spaniard*, with ſome *Indians*, ſearching about for Silver, lighted upon this Prodigious Treaſure, which is on a High Hill as here repreſented, being the pleaſanteſt, and beſt ſeated of any in that Country, and the *Indians* calling all Hills, and high Places *Potoſi*, this however retain'd the Name. Tho' at the Time of its Diſcovery the Kingdom was all in Confuſion, *Gonzalo Pizarro* being in Rebellion, yet the Bottom of this Hill was preſently inhabited, many great Houſes built, the *Spaniards* making this their Chief Reſidence, inſomuch that the Magiſtrates came away to it, and the Town of *la Plata* was almoſt depopulated. They preſently took Poſſeſſion of the Mines, and diſcover'd about the Top five extraordinary rich Veins, the Fame whereof drew *Indians* from all Parts to dig it. The Method was that every *Indian* that work'd in the Mine gave the Proprietor of it a Mark, that is, eight Ounces a week, or if it were very rich two Marks; and if thoſe on whoſe Lands the *Indians* liv'd had no Mines, they allow'd them half a Mark every Week. Such Multitudes of People flock'd to dig Silver, that the Place was like a great City. In the Year 1549 when I was there the Kings fifth amounted weekly to 25, 30 and 40000 Pieces of Eight, and notwithſtanding this wonderful Maſs of Treaſure, they mutter'd and ſaid the Mines were

Potoſi.

were not good, Now this that came to the King's Melting Houſe was only the *Spaniards* Plate, and not all they got neither, for many ſent it away where they pleas'd in ſmall Ingots, and it is verily believ'd that the *Indians* carry'd mighty Wealth away to their own Towns. In all Probability there never was ſo rich a Hill in the World, nor had ever King ſo great a Revenue from one Town, for the fifths, from 1548 to 1550 have amounted to above 3 Millions of Ducats, which is more than the *Spaniards* had from *Atabalipa*, or was found in the City of *Cuzco*, when firſt diſcover'd.

Strange Nature of Ore.

Experience ſhews, that the Ore will not run with Bellows in this Place, tho' it does at *Porco*, and other Places, tho' all endeavours have been us'd to bring it about here, by the moſt underſtanding Men, the Hardneſs of the Ore may perhaps be the Occaſion of it. The Ingenuity of Man overcomes all Difficulties, and the Method us'd in this is very peculiar, for the *Ingas* finding the Ore would not run in ſome other Places, no more than this of *Potoſi*, they invented a Sort of Earthen Pots, like thoſe we ſet Flowers, or ſmall Trees in, with Holes in ſeveral Parts of them. Into theſe they put Coles, and the Ore at Top, planting them on the Ridges, or Sides of Hills, where the Wind blew ſtrongeſt, the Ore would run which they afterwards refin'd with ſmall Bellows, or Trunks they us'd to blow through. Thus was all the incredible Quantity of Silver found in this Hill melted, the *Indians* going about to all the higheſt Places to do it. Theſe Pots they call *Guayras*, and there are ſuch Multitudes of them all about the Hills at Night, that they look like Illuminations. When the Wind blows hard they run much Silver; but when calmer none at all; ſo that the Wind is as uſeful here to refine the Plate, as it is at Sea for Sailing. There being none to Overſee the *Indians*, and they being always employ'd to run it on the Hills, it is believ'd that many of them have enrich'd themſelves carrying home conſiderable Quantities of this Plate. This was the Reaſon why the *Indians* flock'd hither, from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, there being ſuch Opportunity to make their Advantage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XC.

Of the rich Market kept at Potosi, *and of the Sheep,* Guanacos, *and* Vicunas *in* Peru.

IT is well known there were great *Tianguez*, that is, Markets kept throughout all *Peru*, where the Natives barter'd their Wares and Commodities; among all which, that of the City of *Cuzco* was the chief; for it was very remarkable after the coming of the *Spaniards*, on account of the extraordinary Quantity of Gold bought and sold in it, besides all other things the Country afforded. However this *Tianguez* or Market was never to compare to the wealthy one of *Potosi* where such a mighty Trade was drove, that the *Indians* alone, without the *Spaniards* being any way concern'd, dealt daily for the Value of 25 or 30000 Pieces of eight in Gold, and some Days above 40000, insomuch that I believe no Fair in the World did ever equal it. I observ'd it several times, and saw, that the Place being a Plain, along one Side of it there ran a Row of Baskets of *Coca*, which was the greatest Wealth in these Parts; another of great Heaps of Tunicks and Mantles, some course, and others very fine and curious; another of *Maiz*, of dry'd *Papas*, and other Provisions; besides Abundance of Quarters of the best Flesh in the Kingdom: In fine, there was every thing that could be ask'd for, and this Fair or Market lasted from Morning till dark Night; and Silver being daily dug out of the Mines, and these *Indians*, especially such as deal among the *Spaniards*, being fond of eating and drinking, whatsoever came to the Market was sure to be sold; and therefore Provisions were brought from all Parts, and several *Spaniards* got Estates, by only keeping two or three *Indian* Women to deal for them in this Market: Besides, there came Multitudes of *Anaconas*, which are free *Indians*, that do not belong to any Proprietors, as also the most beautiful Women in all the Kingdom. I took Notice whilst I was there, of very much sharp and unfair Dealing, and that many little regarded the Truth of what they said.

Prodigious Trade at Potosi.

Anaconas free Indians.

Such

Such vaſt Quantities of Goods were carry'd in, upon the Fame of the ready Sale, that *French* Linnen Cloth and *Holland* were ſold as cheap as in *Spain*, and I ſaw other things diſpos'd of by Outcry, at ſuch Rates, that they wou'd have been thought good Pennyworths at *Sevil*. This was the Occaſion that many, who had acquir'd much Wealth, ſtill giving Way to their inſatiable Avarice, were at length ruin'd by buying and ſelling; ſome of whom fled from their Creditors to *Chile*, *Tucuman*, and other Provinces; ſo that all was full of Debates and Law Suits. The Situation of *Potoſi* is healthy, eſpecially for *Indians*, very few of whom ſicken there. They carry the Plate along the great Road of *Cuzco*, to the City of *Arequipa*; near to which is the Port of *Quilca*. It is all carry'd on the Backs of Sheep, without which it would be very troubleſome trading in this Kingdom, by reaſon of the great Diſtance there is between the Cities, and the Want of Beaſts of Burthen.

Sheep carry Burthens.

I believe no Part of the World has ſuch Sheep as thoſe of *Peru*, which are peculiar to it, the Province of *Chile*, and ſome adjacent Provinces; and certainly they are one of the beſt and moſt uſeful ſorts of Beaſts the Univerſe affords, and without which or ſome like it, the Mountain *Indians* of *Peru* could not ſubſiſt. In the Vales of the Plain and all hot Places, the Natives plant Cotton, and make their Cloth of it, ſo that they have no Want, thoſe Cotton Garments being fit for the Country. In many Parts of the Mountain Country, as *Collao*, the *Soras*, the *Charcas*, and other ſuch Vales, no Tree grows, nor would the Cotton thrive, tho' it were planted; nor were it poſſible for the Natives to get Cloathing enough by way of Trade, if they had it not of their own. To ſupply this Want, Nature has in theſe Parts provided ſuch vaſt Numbers of thoſe we call Sheep, that had not the *Spaniards* during the Wars deſtroy'd much, there had been no End of them. The Natives call the Ewes *Llamas*, and the Rams and Weathers *Urcos*, ſome of which are white, others black, and others of a ſad Colour: There are of them as big as little Aſſes, long legg'd, full belly'd, their Necks and Shape reſembling Camels, their Heads long, and ſomething like *Spaniſh* Sheep: The Fleſh of them is very

Sheep of Peru.

very good, when they are fat, and the Lambs better and sweeter than ours in *Spain*: They are very tame, and no way troublesome; each carries half or three Quarters of an Hundred-weight, and when tir'd there is no Loss, because the Flesh is so good. It is pleasant to see the *Indians* of *Collao* go out with their Packs upon these Sheep, and see them return at Night, loaded with Wood. When they complain, they lie down and groan like Camels.

There is another sort of this Cattle, call'd *Guanacos*, of the same Shape, very large, which run wild about the Fields in great Flocks, and so swift in their way of leaping and galloping, that it must be a very good Dog that can overtake them. There is still a third sort, call'd *Vicunnas*, more fleet than the *Guanacos*, tho' smaller, and ranging in the Deserts, where they feed on Grass. The Wool of these *Vicunnas* is excellent, and so fine that it surpasses the best in *Spain*. The Flesh of these *Vicunnas* and *Guanacos* has something of the Taste of Venison, and is good. I eat some of a fat *Guanaco*, hung and dry'd, at Captain *Alonzo de Mendoza*'s Lodging, in the City *La Paz*, and thought it the most delicious I had ever tasted. There is another sort of tame Cattle, call'd *Pacos*, very ugly and wooly, resembling in Shape the Sheep, but smaller, and their Lambs, when small, much like ours in *Spain*. These Ewes yean but once a Year.

Guanacos.

Vicunnas.

Pacos.

CHAP. XCI.

Of the Tree they call Molle, *and other Plants; of the Salt Pits and Baths, and of some Birds and Beasts.*

I Spoke of the *Zarzaparilla*, when I treated of the City *Guayaquil*, and thought fit in this Place to say something of the Trees call'd *Molles*, because of the great use that is made of them. There are great Woods in the Vales and Plains of *Peru*, and the same on the Mountains *Andes*, of several sorts of Trees, few or none of them to be found in *Spain*: Some of them, as the *Aguacates*, *Guavayos*,

yavos, *Caymitos* and *Guavos*, bear such Fruit, as I have mention'd in other Places; the rest are all thorny and prickly, or smooth, and there are some *Ceybas*, of a great Bulk, in which, and other hollow Trees, the Bees make excellent Honey, very orderly. In most Parts of the inhabited Country there are some large and some small Trees, call'd *Molles*: The Leaf is very small, and smells like Fennel, and the Bark of this Tree has such Virtue, that if a Man has great Pains in his Legs, and they swell very much, he need only boil it in Water, and wash them sometimes, and all the Pain will cease, and the Swelling fall. The little Twigs are good to pick the Teeth. A very small sort of Fruit grows on it, whereof they make good Wine or Liquor to drink, as also Vinegar and Honey, which is done only by bruising the said Fruit with Water in a Vessel, and boiling it to several Degrees, till so much is wasted as converts it into Wine, Vineger, or Honey. The *Indians* put a great Value upon these Trees.

Molle Tree.

Quimbaya Agats.

These Countries produce several Plants of singular Virtue. In the Province of *Quimbaya*, where the City *Cartago* stands, there is a sort of Roots growing among the Trees, excellent for purging, of which they need take but about a Fathom in length, it being of the Thickness of a Man's Finger, and put it into three Pints of Water, most of which it will suck up in one Night, and a Quarter of a Pint of what remains being drunk, is Cordial, and purges as well as Rhubarb. I us'd it my self once or twice at *Cartago*, and found Benefit, and all Men look'd upon it as Medicinal.

Medicinal plants.

There is a sort of Beans proper for the same Use, which some commend, and others say are dangerous. A Woman Slave of mine fell sick at *Bilca*, being troubled with some Sores in her lower Parts; and some *Indians*, for a Sheep I gave them, brought some Herbs, bearing a yellow Flower, which they dry'd at the Fire, and powder'd and applying it two or three times, she perfectly recover'd. In the Province of *Andaguaylas*, I saw another Herb, so good for the Mouth and Teeth, that if they were rubb'd with it for some time, it took away all ill Scent, and left them as white as Snow. There are many more Plants in these

these Plants of great use, and others which are deadly Poyson.

I said before, there were no Salt Pits in the Province of *Popayan*, but instead of them Salt Springs, which supply that Want. In *Peru* there are such plentiful Pits, as might furnish all *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and other Countries. Near *Tumbez* and *Puerto Viejo*, they took large Clods of Salt out of the Water, along the Coasts, which the Ships carry to *Cali*, *Terra Firma*, and other Parts. On the Plains and Sands of this Kingdom, not far from the Vale they call of *Guaura*, are many good and large Pits, the Salt whereof is extremely white, and there are great Heaps of it, but all lost, for very few *Indians* make any Use of it. In the Mountain Country, near the Province of *Guanlo*, there are other Pits, larger than those last mentioned. Half a League from the City *Cuzco*, there are other Pits, where the *Indians* make as much Salt, as serves great Numbers of them; so there are others in the Provinces of *Chuchesuyo*, and in some of those of *Andesuyo*, so that all this Kingdom is well furnish'd. *Salt Pits.*

There are also in divers Places great Baths, and many Springs of hot Water, where the Natives wash themselves, and I have seen many of them. Several Parts of this Kingdom, as the Plains and Vales form'd by Rivers, and the temperate Spots of the Mountain Country, are very fruitful; for they produce excellent Wheat, *Maiz*, and Barley, in abundance. For Vines, there is no less Plenty in the Territories of *S. Miguel*, *Truxillo*, *Lima*, *Cuzco*, *Guamanga*, and many other Places, whereof noble Wine is made; and so all other Trees and Plants brought from *Spain*, thrive, and grow to Perfection. Here is Land of all sorts to suit every Tree, temperate, wet, dry, or indifferent, and in the Plains it never thunders nor lightens, nor is there any Frost or Snow. No Oaks have been seen in this Kingdom, but if planted will certainly grow. *Hot Baths.*

In the Mountain Country of *Peru* there is a sort of small Foxes, which have such an intolerable Stink, that no Man can bear it, and if they piss upon any thing, tho' it be often wash'd, the ill Scent will continue a long time. No Wolves, or other noxious Creatures have been *Foxes.*

seen any where, except the large Tigers I said there are on the Mountains about the Port of *Buena Ventura*, in the Territory of the City *Cali*, which have kill'd some *Spaniards* and many *Indians*. Some Ostriches have been found beyond the Province of *los Charcas*, and the *Indians* valued them highly. There is another sort of Creature they call *Viscacha*, about the Bigness, and resembling a Hare, but that it has a long Tail like a Fox; these breed in stony Places, and among Rocks, and many of them are shot with Guns and Cross-bows, and taken by the *Indians* in Gins, they being good to eat, after hanging to tender, and of their Hair or Wool, the *Indians* make large Mantles, Cloaks or Blankets, as soft as Silk, and very valuable. Here are Abundance of Hawks, which would be worth Money in *Spain*. I have said before there are two sorts of Patridges, the one small, the other as large as Hens. The Ferets here are the best in the World. Both in the Mountain and Plains there is a sort of very stinking Birds, call'd *Auras*, which live on Carrion and other filthy things. Of this same sort are the vast great *Condores*, almost like Griffins, some of which will fall upon Lambs and small *Guanacos* in the Fields.

Tigers Ostriches and Viscachas.

Hawks.

Auras *and* Condores.

Chap. XCII.

Of the notable Works perform'd by the Indians *of this Kingdom, and of the rich Mines in it.*

THE *Indians* themselves inform us that they were not so polite or civiliz'd before the *Ingas* subdu'd them, as afterwards; since when there have been such curious Works among them, as all Men admire, and the more, for that they have very few Tools, or Conveniences for doing them, and yet they are brought to such Perfection. When the *Spaniards* conquer'd the Kingdom, they found Curiosities of Gold, Silver, and Earthen Ware, so artificially joyn'd together, that they look'd as if they had naturally grown in that Form, besides many other Rari-

ties

ties of Figures, which I do not mention, becauſe I did not ſee them. This I declare I have ſeen, that is ſeveral Utenſils of Plate, Baſons, Ewers, Candleſticks, and the like, made with no other Tools but two Pieces of Copper, and two or three Stones, and yet ſo delicately wrought in Foliage and Figures, that our Workmen with all their Tools and Conveniences, would find it a very hard Task to match them. They have no other Furnace but a little earthen one, into which they put the Fire, and blow thro' Trunks, inſtead of Bellows. Beſides the Silver Works, they make Gold Pictures, Twiſts or Laces, and ſeveral other things, and there are Children employ'd about it, who a Man would think could ſcarce ſpeak; but they do little now to what they did under the *Ingas*. Their *Chaquira* or ſmall Beads, are ſo nice and exactly alike, as ſhews them to be very able Goldſmiths, and the *Ingas* kept many of them in ſeveral Parts.

Buildings.

They are no leſs maſterly at Building, and accordingly all the Houſes and Dwellings of the *Spaniards* are their Work; they make the Brick and Tile, and lay great Stones, ſo neatly one upon another, that it is hard to ſee where they join. They alſo make Images, and that in many Places, without any other Tools but Stones, and their own Ingenuity. I do not believe any Nation in the World ever drew Trenches thro' ſuch uneven difficult Ground as they did, which has been already mention'd. The *Mamaconas*, we have before ſaid the *Ingas* kept in the Temples of the Sun, had no other Employment but weaving of the fineſt Cloth of the Wool of the *Vicunnas*, which all People in *Spain* admir'd. The Garments the *Ingas* wore were Tunicks of this Cloth, all adorn'd with Gold, or Emerauds, and other precious Stones, others with delicate Feathers, and ſome only of the Wool. The Colours they us'd for weaving of this Cloth, as Crimſon, Blew, Yellow, Black, &c. were ſo ſprightly, and laſting, that they excell ours in *Spain*.

Cloth and Garments.

Andes Mountains their wealth.

It has been already ſaid that the Mountains *Andes*, beginning at the Streights of *Magellan*, run Northward through many Provinces. On that Side next the South Sea, which is to the Weſtward, there is great Wealth found in moſt of the Rivers, and on the Hills, but thoſe

on

on the East Side are reckoned poorer in Metal, as has been discover'd by many that have cross'd all the Country between *Peru*, and the River of *Plate*; and *Francis de Orillana*, when he ran down the River of the *Amazons* into the North Sea, tho' he was in many great Towns, saw little, or no Gold, or Silver; and in short no Treasure has been found beyond the *Andes*, in any Province, except that of *Bogota*. On the Contrary the East Side, next the South Sea has yielded the immensest Wealth, that ever was known in the World, excessive Rich Mines having been discover'd throughout all the Kingdom of *Peru*, and there will be Gold and Silver for ever, if there be Hands to dig it, these Metals Abounding on the Mountains, in the Plains, and in the Rivers. Besides there is great Plenty of Copper, and more of Iron about the Heads, and Brakes of the Mountains, coming down to the Plains. There is also Lead, and all other Metals in the Universe, so that I believe there will never want Wealth, as long as there are Men, and yet so much has been carry'd out as has prodigiously enhanc'd the Prices of all things in *Spain*.

Chap. XCIII.

How the Caciques *oppress'd the* Indians, *and a notable Story of their Superstitions.*

Indian *Oppression abolish'd.*

These *Indian* Nations were continually at War among themselves, and the strongest possess'd themselves of the Provinces belonging to the weaker, as has been seen already in several Places, and in *Peru* they all tell us they came from other Parts, till the *Ingas* made themselves Masters of all that great Empire. Nor were they free from Discord among themselves, for we see that *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* were contending for the Government, when the *Spaniards* discover'd the Country, and their Division facilitated the Conquest of it. Some of

the

the *Caciques* us'd at first to oppress their *Indians*, but that is now redress'd, since the Government is well settled, for there are Courts erected in all Places, which severely, and impartially punish any Person whatsoever, either Native, or *Spaniard* that dares offer them the least Injury.

Having said enough concerning the Customs, and Manners of these People, where there was Occasion, it will be needless to repeat it, and therefore shall only declare a Relation given me in writing by a Priest, concerning their Superstitions, which is as follows. *I Marc Otazo*, Clergyman, born at *Valladolid*, being in the Town of *Lampaz*, instructing the *Indians*, in the Christian Religion, in the Month of *May* Anno. 1574 the Moon being then at the full, the *Caciques*, and prime Men came to me, earnestly intreating I would give them leave to do as they were wont, at that Time of the Year. I answer'd, I must be present, that in case what they did were not allowable among Christians, it might be prevented for the future. They consented, and went their way home. Just at Noon they began to beat many Kettle Drums in several Places, with only one Stick to each, as is us'd among them. Then they spread several Blankets, in the Nature of Carpets, in divers Parts of the Square, or Market Place, for the *Caciques*, and chief Men to sit on, they being very fine, in their best Attire, and their Hair breaded down to the Bottom, after their Manner, one Braide of four Strands hanging on each Side. When they were all seated, I saw the Beautifullest Boy they could find, richly dress'd come forward, towards the *Caciques*, his Legs and Arms cover'd with red Tufts representing a Savage, and on his Body many Medals, and carv'd Pieces of Gold and Silver. He had in his right Hand a Sort of Weapon, like a Halberd, and in his left a great Woollen Purse, in which they carry their *Coca*. On his left side came a beautiful Girl, about 16 Years of Age, clad in their usual Dress, only that she had a great Train behind, which other Women did not use to wear. This Train was born up by an Older *Indian* Woman, but handsome and grave. After her follow'd many more Women, like Ladies of Honour, very demure,

Relation of Indian Superstitions.

demure, and decently. The Girl carry'd in her right Hand a rich woollen Purſe full of many carv'd Pieces of Gold and Silver. Over her Back hung a ſmall Lion's Skin, which quite cover'd it. After the Ladies attending came ſix *Indians* like Peaſants, with each his Plow on his Shoulders, and Diadems on their Heads, with fine Feathers, of ſeveral Colours. Then follow'd ſix more, as if they had been their Servants, carrying Sacks of *Papas*, and beating a Drum. When they were within a Pace of the *Cacique*, the Boy and Girl aforeſaid, and all the reſt in Order made him profound Obeyſance, bowing their Heads, which the *Cacique* and his Company anſwer'd a little lowering theirs. Each having done thus to their own *Cacique*, for there were two Parties, they all drew back in the ſame Manner they came, without turning their Faces from the *Caciques*, about 20 Paces, where the Peaſants ſtuck their Plows in the Ground, all in a Row, and on them hung their Sacks of *Papas*, which were choice, and large. This done, their Kettle Drums beating, they all made a Sort of Dance, without moving off the ſame Place, but only raiſing themſelves on their Toes, now and then lifting up thoſe Purſes they held in their Hands. Only thoſe who attended the Boy and Girl, both Men, and Women did this, for the *Caciques*, and all the reſt of the People ſate orderly on the Ground, keeping profound Silence, and obſerving what the others did. When this was over, another Parcel of *Indians*, who had gone for it, brought a Yearling Lamb, all of one Colour, without any Spot, and many of them hemming in the chief *Cacique*, that I might not ſee, they in his Preſence, laid the ſaid Lamb on the Ground, and pull'd out his whole Pluck, before he was dead, which they deliver'd to their Southſayers, whom they call *Guacacamayos*. I took Notice, that certain *Indians* ran haſtily with as much of the Blood as they could carry in their Hands, and threw it among the *Papas*, that were in the Sacks. Juſt at this Time out came a great Man, who was but newly become a Chriſtian, crying out aloud, calling them Dogs, and other things in their Language, which I did not underſtand, and running to a high Croſs that ſtood in the Middle of the Square, boldly call'd out, condemning

demning that Helliſh Superſtion. They being daunted by Reproaches ſlunk away, out of Countenance, without concluding their Sacrifice, which was to foretell what Harveſt they ſhould have, and other Events of the Year. There are other Diviners, whom they call *Homo*, of whom they enquire after future Events, becauſe they converſe with the Devil, and carry about them a Repreſentation of him, made of a hollow Bone, with a Figure on it, of a Sort of black Wax they have.

Converſion of an Indian.

I being in this Town of *Lampaz*, on a *Maundy Thurſday*, a Boy I had, who lay in the Church came to me in a Fright, deſiring I would riſe and go Baptize a *Cacique*, that was then kneeling in the Church, and very fearful; for that having been the Night before in a *Guaca*, where the Heathens worſhipp'd, he ſaid, he had ſeen a Man, clad in white, who ask'd him, what he did there, with that Stone Statue, and bid him come preſently to me, and be made a Chriſtian. When it was day I roſe, and ſaid my Office, not believing what the Boy had told me, till going to the Church to ſay Maſs, I found the *Cacique* ſtill kneeling there, who as ſoon as he ſaw me, fell down at my Feet, begging I would make him a Chriſtian, which I told him I would. Then I ſaid Maſs, ſome Chriſtians being preſent, and having Baptiz'd him, he went out very joyful, crying, he was now a Chriſtian, and not ſo bad as the other *Indians*. Then without ſpeaking a Word more to any Man, he went to his Houſe, and burnt it, dividing his Women and Cattle among his Brothers, and Kindred, returned to the Church, where he always continu'd preaching the Doctrine of Salvation to the *Indians*, and admoniſhing them to forſake their Vices, which he did with extraordinary Fervor, and many *Indians* were converted by his Perſwaſions. He ſaid the Man he had ſeen in the *Guaca*, or Temple, was fair, and beautiful, and his Garments very bright. This is what that Prieſt gave me in Writing.

CHAP. XCIV.

Remarks on some wonderful Actions of Spaniards, *and the Judgments that fell upon such as were cruel, and the Conclusion of the Work.*

BEfore I conclude this Work, I cannot but obſerve that the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of theſe Countries looks like ſomething above the Power of Man; and that on the other Side there have been ſingular Inſtances of Judgments on thoſe *Spaniards* who ſignaliz'd themſelves in their Cruelty to the *Indians*. Not to mention the firſt Diſcovery, by *Chriſtopher Columbus*, or the Conqueſt of *Mexico* by *Ferdinand Cortez*, and of other Provinces by ſeveral Commanders, I ſhall only briefly obſerve ſome few things of later Years. How many Miſeries did the Marquiſs *Don Franciſco Pizarro* and his Companions endure, without being able to get beyond *St. John*'s River, notwithſtanding all the Supplies ſent him by *Don Diego de Almagro*. The Governour of *Panama*, *Peter de las Rios*, becauſe there was a Ballad made calling *Almagro* the Drover, and *Pizarro* the Butcher, who deſtroy'd all the Men that follow'd him, ſent *John Tafur*, with Orders to fetch them all back, and they accordingly return'd, except only 13 that ſtaid with *Pizarro*, in the Iſland *Gorgona*, till *Almagro* ſent them a Ship, in which they ſet Sail, and in 10, or 12 Days found that which they had not before been able to diſcover in 3, or 4 Years. Thus theſe 13 *Spaniards*, with their Commander firſt ſaw this Country, and ſome Years after, when he enter'd it with 160 *Spaniards*, it had been impoſſible for him to withſtand the Multitude of *Indians*, had not the two Brothers *Guaſcar* and *Atabalipa* been at War among themſelves. When the general Inſurrection of the *Indians* broke out, there were but 180 *Spaniards*, Horſe and Foot at *Cuzco*, and *Mango Inga* made War upon them with above 200000 Men, for a whole Year, ſo that it is wonderful they ſhould prevail.

Pizarro's *Sufferings.*

Captain

Captain *Francis Cæsar* with only 60 *Spaniards*, travell'd over vast Mountains, and forded mighty Rivers, in Spight of the Natives, and being beset in the Province of *Guaca* by above 20000 of them, tho' weak, and spent with want, and travel, he routed them without losing a Man, and what is no less strange, found a way, that carry'd him back to *Uraba* in 18 Days, when he had been travelling the other way almost a Year. We have frequently seen many such unaccountable Actions, but let it suffice to say, that 40, or 50 *Spaniards* would settle in a Province where there were 30, or 40000 *Indians* and subdue them all. It is yet stranger that some Territories, which were scarce habitable, on Account of the violent Rains, and Earthquakes, since the coming in of Christians are become pleasant, and fruitful. *Captain Francis Cæsar.*

On the other Hand, as Providence has favour'd some, so have we seen severe Judgments fall upon such as were cruel, and Tyrannical, few of them dying a natural Death; as particularly all the chief Men concern'd in the killing of *Atabalipa*, most of whom came to miserable, and unhappy Ends. Nay the bloody Wars in *Peru* seem to have been a Punishment upon all that were there. Thus the inhuman Major *Caravajal* may be allow'd to have been the Executioner of Divine Justice, on those that deserv'd it, till his Turn came to attone with his Life for his own grievous Offences. Marshal *Don George de Robledo*, who suffer'd many *Indians* to be butcher'd in the Province of *Pozo*, was in that same Town condem'd, executed, and had no other Grave but the Bellies of the *Indians*. *Ferdinand Rodriguez de Sosa*, and *Baltasar de Ledesma* being guilty of the like Cruelties, had the same Fate. The *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, who destroy'd so many *Indians* at *Quito*, being depos'd by the Judge deputed to try him, dy'd poor and miserable at *Cartagena*, as he was going over Prisoner into *Spain*. *Francis Garcia de Tovar* so much dreaded by the *Indians*, for having murder'd so many, was at last himself kill'd, and eaten by them. I knew one *Roque Martin*, an Inhabitant of the City *Cali*, who quarter'd our *Indians* that dy'd, when we came to that City, and hung them up to feed his Dogs, yet afterwards the *Indians* slew, and I believe eat him. I *Judgments on men cruel to the Indians.*

could bring other Inſtances, which would be too tedious, and ſome of thoſe that have dy'd ſuddenly, an End more to be dreaded than the reſt.

Since thoſe Times the Government has been ſettled in an excellent Form, ſo that the *Indians* now enjoy their Liberties and Eſtates, no *Spaniard* daring to moleſt, or offend them, for Fear of the Courts of Juſtice, which puniſh them with the utmoſt Rigor. The King defrays the Charge of the Religious Men that go over to the *Weſt Indies*, which has occaſion'd thoſe Parts to be Abundantly ſupply'd with them, for the inſtructing of the *Indians*, and there are very many Monaſteries. The whole Kingdom is divided into Biſhoppricks, and thoſe into Pariſhes, all of them well ſerv'd, that neither Natives, nor *Spaniards* may want any Chriſtian Aſſiſtance. Thus I conclude, having begun to write this Account, in the City *Cartago* of the Province of *Popayan*, in the Year 1541, and ended it in the City of *Lima* in *Peru*, in 1550, at the Age of 32 Years, 17 whereof I ſpent in the *Weſt Indies*.

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THE Reader is desir'd to take Notice, that notwithstanding our Author Peter de Cieza *refers to his History of* Peru *in some Places, that Book of his was never made publick; which is necessary to be signify'd that no Person may think this an imperfect Work, whereas it is in truth the most compleat Description of* Peru *given by any Traveller whatsoever.*

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